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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.
OCTOBER, 1823.

ART. I.—*Travels in New England and New York.* By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D. LL.D. late President of Yale College; Author of *Theology Explained and Defended.* 4 vols. New-haven.

THIS writer was known in England about thirty years ago by an heroic poem upon the Conquest of Canaan, and a descriptive one, entitled 'Greenfield Hill,' both republished in this country. More recently his *System of Theology* has been reprinted here, and with considerable success. But the work before us, though the humblest in its pretences, is the most important of his writings, and will derive additional value from time, whatever may become of his poetry and of his sermons.

Soon after Dr. Dwight had been appointed President of Yale College, he found it necessary for his health to employ the vacations in travelling—of all restoratives, both for body and mind, the most effectual for men of sedentary habits. A wish to gratify those who, a hundred years hence, might feel curiosity concerning his native country, made him resolve to prepare a faithful description of its existing state. He made notes, therefore, and collected information, on the spot; the materials were arranged and composed at leisure; and when a weakness of sight compelled him to desist from the undertaking, the students of his college offered to write for him in succession—a fact creditable to both parties, as showing an attachment on their part which could not have existed unless it had been deserved. The work is in the form of Letters addressed to an English gentleman; the author, however, wished it to be understood that they were written for his own countrymen, supposing that few persons in Great Britain felt any desire to be acquainted with the condition of the United States, or the real character of the Americans.

'By the government,' he says, 'indeed we must, from the extent of our territory, our local circumstances, our population and our commerce, be considered as possessing a degree of political importance; and by the merchants of Liverpool, and the manufacturers of Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield, we may be regarded with some attention as customers. But, except by the religious part of the British nation, we seem to be chiefly unknown or forgotten in the character of rational beings; or known and remembered almost only to be made the object of contempt and calumny. A book which professes nothing more than to give a description of a country and a people regarded in this manner,

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manner, can form no claims on the attention of those, by whom the subjects of which it treats are thus estimated. It may, indeed, be read, or at least reviewed, by some or other of the literary journalists of Great Britain. From these gentlemen Americans and their writings have customarily met with one kind of treatment only. I neither claim, nor wish, any exemption from the common lot of my countrymen.

There would be little courage in taking up a dead man's gauntlet; but, had the author been living, we should have examined his book in the same temper as is now brought to the work; with no hostile feeling toward him or his country, though with a natural and proper predilection for our own; willing to learn, inquire and compare; glad of whatever grounds we may perceive for believing that the Americans may become more and more an enlightened and a virtuous people; but not without a sense of satisfaction and thankfulness if, in those points wherein the constitution of their society differs most essentially from ours, cause should appear for concluding that, in proportion as they have departed from the example of the mother-country, where that example might have been followed, they have gone astray.

The present work (like all those collections of travels which begin and end always at the same place) is not one in which a reviewer may follow the author by the thread of his adventures. In default, therefore, of that easy and natural arrangement which a traveller's journal usually affords, we must form an artificial one, and notice the facts which the author records; the theories which he advances; and lastly, his political views, whether of retrospection or of hope.

The remarks upon natural history are those of an observant and sagacious man who makes no pretensions to science; they are more interesting therefore than those of a merely scientific traveller; and, indeed, science is not less indebted to such observers, than history to the faithful chroniclers and humbler annalists of former times. In travelling through the forests (which, even in the old states of America, still occupy no small portion of the soil, notwithstanding the improvident destruction of wood) Dr. Dwight was forcibly struck with the wisdom of Divine Providence displayed in the decay of the foliage. Were the leaves, when they fall, to go through the usual processes of fermentation and putrefaction, like other vegetables, the atmosphere would be rendered so unwholesome that it would be impossible for man either to inhabit or to clear a forested country. But the juices are exhaled before the leaves fall; they lie lightly on the ground, so as to permit a free circulation of air; so far from being offensive in their decay, they have even a peculiar fragrance, which poets have sometimes noticed among the melancholy charms of autumn; the mould into which they are converted 'appears to be the best of all

all measures, being suited to more kinds, and producing higher degrees of vegetation than any other.' The pioneers of civilization bivouaque, or, in the true phrase, *squat*, in full assurance of their salubrity, in the woods; and endemical diseases are unknown there till men, collected in societies, prepare the way for and induce them, by their improvidence, their errors, their injurious habits or their crimes. For example, no country abounds more with small lakes and ponds than New England: they are supplied by subadjacent springs; the water is cool, sweet and pure; and the margins are universally healthy ground. Dr. Dwight could not, after 'very extensive inquiries,' discover a single exception to this fact; but where dams have been raised, and artificial mill-ponds constructed, remittent and autumnal fevers have become endemic to an alarming degree.

The Mongrel Cedar appears to shed its leaves in a manner which has not yet been observed in any other tree. It resembles in its growth a spreading oak of moderate size—which in Europe would be an enormous tree. In autumn red spots, not unlike roses at a little distance, but generally larger, are dispersed over it: upon examination it is found that these are small twigs, the growth of the existing, or perhaps the preceding, year, which die together with their leaves, assume a red or reddish brown colour in their decay, and fall; so that the tree sheds its leaves not singly but with the spray from which they spring, exchanging annually, according to Dr. Dwight's observations, about a third of its foliage, in this manner. Singular as the fact is, it seems heretofore to have passed unnoticed, and the author could find no person able to give him any account of it: but he had opportunities of examining and verifying it himself in his different journeys.

The seeds of forest trees (and probably of all others) spring more readily and successfully, he tells us, when left on the surface, than when buried in the ground even at a very small depth. He is mistaken however in asserting that they will not germinate upon a sward; for numerous instances to the contrary have fallen under our own observation: the fallen leaves supply them with moisture, and conceal them from birds and beasts. The changes which take place in forest vegetation in America, and which former travellers have related without always obtaining the credit they deserved, are noticed by the present author; and he has collected some curious facts to illustrate the subject. Where oaks have been destroyed, pines or other trees have sprung up. Such changes of dynasty in the forest world are common in New England and other parts of North America where the land has been cultivated, or cleared by fire, and again covered with wood; and

Dr. Dwight tells us it is 'commonly attributed by unthinking, as it has often been by thinking men, to equivocal generation; the material elements being supposed to possess a chemical power of originating and perfecting vegetation without the aid of seeds.' The opinion might perhaps be more accurately explained as agreeing with Azara's whimsical notion of an occasional creation. Neither theory, however, were it admitted, would afford the materialist the slightest help in his impossible system; and the present difficulty, as Dr. Dwight has clearly shown, stands in need of no such solution. His grandfather about a century ago abandoned the cultivation of a field because of the savages: upon the piece of ground thus left to nature, a grove of white pines sprung up, covering it, and exactly retaining its figure. There was not, and probably had not for ages been, a single tree of that kind near the spot; here, then was proof that cultivation had brought up the seeds of a former forest. A judge in Vermont informed him that cherry trees in immense numbers, and of a peculiar species, sprung up in the cultivated fields of his estate, there being no tree of that kind in the original forest. 'As he was walking in a field newly broken up and recently ploughed, he observed the infant stems of these cherry trees springing up in great multitudes. His workmen, who believed in the doctrine of equivocal generation, triumphantly asked him whence he supposed these trees to proceed? Without answering the question he forced his hand a little distance into the earth, and drew out a handful of cherry-stones.' These facts are decisive: but how, in a country which had never been cultivated, the forests of prior growth should have become extinct, and how seeds, which in the course of nature are dropt on the surface, should have been buried beneath an accumulation of soil deep enough to preserve them till chance should turn them up, are questions more easily to be asked than answered.

Some years ago, when some of the marshes on the eastern coast of England were drained, there sprang up a great quantity of white mustard on the earth which was thrown out of the ditches. The plant had not been known to grow any where in the vicinity within the memory of man; but it was ascertained, upon inquiry, that it had been extensively cultivated there by some Dutch settlers two centuries before. Many similar instances the author could have advanced; and he says, if seeds will continue possessed of vegetable life for twenty years, they may unquestionably for two hundred, two thousand, or twenty thousand. A much more extraordinary fact, concerning the preservation of an animal seed, came under his immediate knowledge:—but the fact and the reasoning upon it may best be given in the author's own words.

'In

“In September, 1806, I passed through this town on a journey to Vermont. While I was here, President Fitch showed me an insect, about an inch in length, of a brown colour tinged with orange, with two antennæ, or feelers, not unlike a rosebug in form, but in every respect handsomer. This insect came out of a tea-table, made of the boards of an apple tree, and belonging to Mr. Putnam, one of the inhabitants, and a son of the Hon. Major General Putnam, late of Brooklyn in Connecticut.

“I went with President Fitch to Mr. Putnam’s to examine the spot, whence the insect had emerged into light. We measured the cavity, and found it about two inches in length, nearly horizontal, and inclining upwards very little, except at the mouth. Between the hole and the outside of the leaf of the table there were forty grains of the wood. President Fitch supposed, with what I thought a moderate estimate, that the saw-mill and the cabinet-maker had cut off at least as many as thirteen more; making sixty in the whole. The tree had, therefore, been growing sixty years from the time when the egg was deposited in it, out of which the insect was produced. How long a period had intervened, between the day in which the apple tree was cut down and that in which the table was purchased by Mr. Putnam, is unknown. It had been in his possession twenty years. Of course, eighty years had elapsed between the laying of the egg and the birth of the insect.

“After its birth it was placed under a tumbler, and attempts were made, by offering it for sustenance wood of the apple tree, and bread, to prolong its life. It ate a small quantity of the bread; but, either from want of more proper food, or from being lodged in too cold a temperature, or from some other cause, it died within a few days. My own acquaintance with entomology is so limited, that I know not whether the observations which I am about to make may not seem idle, and be really superfluous, to persons acquainted with this branch of natural history. But, I confess, the fact opened to me a train of thoughts, in some measure interesting. I had often wondered at many things relative to this class of beings, and had often heard men of respectable understanding express their wonder and their doubts concerning the same things: particularly, the origin of many *new* tribes of insects, which within the last forty years had visited these States (tribes unknown even to the oldest men living, and therefore styled *new*); the periods intervening between the appearance and disappearance of other tribes, which are well known; for example, the locust; the apparently absolute disappearance of still other tribes; together with several other things of a similar nature.

“I had long been satisfied of the vivacious nature of seeds. Here I was presented with full proof of the same nature in the eggs of insects. The egg, from which this insect sprang, was unquestionably deposited eighty years before its appearance in a living form. Sixty of these years it existed in the tree, where it was laid. Perhaps it may be more unobjectionably said, that eighty years elapsed from the time, when the cause of its future animation was lodged in the tree, to the commencement of that animation. What was true of this insect, is in

all probability true of many other species. It ceases, then, to be strange, that various tribes appear once only during the life of man; or during the existence of several generations. Every such tribe must ordinarily be new to the existing generation, because no account of its appearance has been recorded. The want of a regular cause of their existence cannot any longer be alleged, even with plausibility; nor the doctrine of equivocal generation be maintained, even on the unsolid ground of inexplicableness. The appearance, in 1770, of the palmer-worm, after an interval of thirty years, ceases to be an object of wonder; nor can we be surprised, that it has not appeared again, although a longer period has elapsed. There can be nothing perplexing in the periods of the locust; nor any further necessity of inquiring, whence new species of insects are derived, or what has become of those which are apparently extinct.

‘It is here proved, that in the proper situation, always known, and selected by the insect for its eggs, and by the eruca for its chrysalis, the cause of animation may continue perfect through an indefinite period; while yet its operations are suspended. There may be eggs, as well as seeds, which may contain, uninjured, the principle of future life for several hundreds, or thousands, of years. Yet, afterwards, the one by a change of circumstances may produce a living animal, as the other a living plant.

‘It will be admitted, that every such being was created for ends, which it was fitted to accomplish. It must also be admitted, that, if all insects were to generate yearly, they would convert the earth into a desert. The Author of the world, therefore, while he has fitted them to fulfil the ends of their being, has subjected them to this slow and interrupted propagation, that they might not desolate the globe. The palmer-worm, were it to appear annually, would, within a few years, empty New England of its inhabitants; partly by destroying the means of their subsistence, and partly by spreading diseases, which would spring from the putrefaction of its innumerable millions. Who can fail to admire the wisdom and goodness displayed in this conduct of Providence!’—Vol. ii. p. 379.

The locust appears regularly every seventeenth year; so Kalm also was assured; they are then very numerous, but in the intervening years are only seen or heard single in the woods. This insect, however, is not injurious in America, where it attacks only some of the forest trees. It differs, Dr. Dwight says, essentially in its qualities from that of the east. Is it a distinct species? or has it not yet learnt the great advantages which agriculture produces to the locust nation?—for the change which man produces wherever he takes possession of the earth as his inheritance and subdues it, extends to its inferior tenants, and he feels to his cost how insects and vermin adapt their habits of life to his. If what Dr. Dwight describes be the true locust, the Americans will not always find it so harmless. Once only in his life he remembered the palmer-worm. It came in infinite numbers,

bers, marching from west to east; walls and fences did not impede its progress, but the army was stopt by plowing trenches before it; the small particles of earth yielding to their feet as they attempted to climb the side. The multitudes which died in these trenches infected the air, and were believed in many places to produce a dangerous fever. The Hessian fly is supposed to have been an importation, because it first appeared in a field of wheat on or near the Hessian encampment opposite New York. We know not whether the Germans recognize it as one of the plagues of their country, or if it be the resurrection of some buried species which has in evil hour found its way to the light. It travels at the rate of twenty miles a year, and it has been so destructive that the cultivation of wheat in Connecticut has been in a great measure discontinued, in consequence of its ravages. It has indeed been found impossible longer to cultivate the particular sort of wheat which was best fitted for the soil and climate of New England, and furnished also the best bread. This species is actually 'lost out of the country,' and whenever wheat is sown, the fly multiplies with it, till, in a few years, it becomes numerous enough to destroy the crop. 'Nothing,' says the author, who has the merit of looking at all things religiously,—'nothing can more strongly exhibit the dependence, or the littleness of man,—nor any thing more forcibly display the ease with which his Maker punishes his transgressions.—The canker-worm, the caterpillar, the palmer-worm, and the locust—these and their compeers have in every age been the army of God, which has humbled the pride, frustrated the designs, and annihilated the hopes of man. The Hessian fly is less than a gnat, and when settled in its usual manner on the ground is commonly invisible, being seen only as it rises in small clouds immediately before your steps. It is feeble and helpless also in the extreme: defenceless against the least enemy, and crushed by the most delicate touch. Yet for many years it has taxed this country annually more perhaps than a million of dollars.'

Josselyn observes that the pease in America were the best in the world, and that during his eight years' residence he never saw, or heard of one that was worm eaten. The *Bruchus pisi*, or pease beetle, however, has since his time conquered the country. It was first noticed in Pennsylvania. The Swedes, who were the original colonists there, had every man his field of pease: the culture became hopeless after the legislature offered rewards for destroying the purple daw, as a maize thief; and it was discovered, when too late, that this bird had kept down the numbers of an insect far more injurious than itself. Kalm, the Linnæan traveller, had very nearly introduced them into

Sweden. He took home with him some sweet peas, which were fresh and green when he packed them in America; but on opening them at Stockholm, he found them all hollow, and the head of an insect peeping out of each: some of the beetles even crept out, but he hastily shut the packet. 'I own,' says he, 'that when I first perceived them, I was more frightened than I should have been at the sight of a viper; for I had at once a full view of the whole damage which my dear country would have suffered, if only two or three of these noxious insects had escaped. The posterity of many families, and even the inhabitants of whole provinces, would have had sufficient reason to detest me as the cause of so great a calamity.'—It appears, however, from Linnæus that the creature has been imported into the south of Europe.

A great interchange of incommodities is unwittingly carried on wherever commerce extends. The West Indian cockroach has found its way to the foot of Skiddaw; and we have seen the huge nest of the American wasp suspended from trees in Cumberland. Josselyn, in his first visit to New England, took one of these nests for a fruit, supposing it to be a pine-apple plated with scales. 'It was as big,' he says, 'as the crown of a woman's hat. I made bold to step unto it with an intent to have gathered it; no sooner had I toucht it but hundreds of wasps were about me.' The same old author gives a catalogue of such plants as had in his time sprung up since the English planted and kept cattle in New England. They were two-and-twenty in number. The common nettle was the first which the settlers noticed; and the plantain was called by the Indians, English man's foot, as if it sprung from their footsteps. The insect which destroys the apple trees comes to us from America, and is now travelling toward the interior of England as steadily, though not so fast, as the Hessian fly. Another destructive insect has within a few years attacked the fruit trees in New England, more especially the Morello cherry, which it has nearly exterminated; and the plum. Insects of this kind are not observed till their ravages excite attention. They then emerge into notice like the hordes of barbarians at the breaking up of the Roman empire, Goths, Vandals, Alans, Heruls, Huns, Bulgarians, &c. none of which were heard of till they became numerous enough to be the terror and the scourge of the civilized world. If the statements may be relied on that there is in one part of Louisiana a fly the sting of which is fatal to horses, and in Persia a bug whose bite is death to the traveller, it would seem that man has far more formidable enemies in the insect creation than he has ever yet contended with. It is however apparently so inconsistent with what we know of the order of creation, that such powers of destruction should be vested

tested in creatures against which no protection can be found either in courage or in foresight, that we must look for further testimony before we can implicitly give credit to it. Were the common fly armed with a mortal sting, neither fire nor flood would be needed to exterminate the human race.

Dr. Dwight has a theory that the diseases which are commonly imputed to stagnant waters and marsh miasmata, are produced by animalcular putrefaction. The reasons which he assigns are given in his own words, because they may fitly be made the subject of experiment.

* A number of years since, I put a quantity of ground pepper into a tumbler of water; and a few days afterwards, found a thin scum spread over the surface. Within a few days more, I perceived, on examining this scum with a microscope, that it exhibited an immense number of living animalcules. Two or three days after, examining the same scum again, I found not the least appearance of life. After another short period, the scum was replenished with living beings again; and, after another, became totally destitute of them. This alternate process continued until the water became so fetid as to forbid a further examination. The conclusion which I drew from these facts was, that the first race of animalcules, having laid their eggs, died, and were succeeded in a short time by a second, and these by a third.

* The fetor, which arose from the putrefaction of these ephemeral beings, differed in one respect from that which is produced by the decay of larger animals. Although it was perceptible at a small distance only, and perhaps less loathsome than the smell of a corrupted carcass, it was far more suffocating. When the effluvia were received into the lungs, it seemed as if nature gave way, and was preparing to sink under the impression. A pungency, entirely peculiar, accompanied the smell, and appeared to lessen the *vis vitæ* in a manner different from any thing which I had ever experienced before.

* The scum, which covered this pepper-water, was in appearance the same with that which in hot seasons is sometimes seen on standing waters, and abounds on those marshes exposed to the sun. To the production, and still more to the sustenance of the animalcules, vegetable putrefaction seems to be necessary, or at least concomitant; the nidus, perhaps, in which the animalculine existence is formed, or the pabulum by which it is supported.

* Whatever instrumentality vegetable putrefaction may have, I am inclined to suspect, for several reasons, that animalculine putrefaction is the immediate cause of those diseases, whatever they are, which are usually attributed to standing waters. It will, I believe, be found universally, that no such disease is ever derived from any standing waters, which are not to a considerable extent covered with a scum; and perhaps most, if not all of those which have this covering, will be found unhealthy. The New-England lakes, so far as I have observed, are universally free, even from the thinnest pellicle of this nature, are pure potable water, are supplied almost wholly by subjacent springs, and are, therefore,

therefore, too cool, as well as too much agitated by winds, to permit, ordinarily, the existence of animalcules.'—vol. i. p. 346.

Another opinion of the doctor's is that wheat is injured by dressing the land with animal manure; 'vegetation,' he says, 'is forced by it, so that the vessels burst and produce what is called the blast; or, if the season be stormy, the crop lodges by reason of its own weight.' The same effect, he shews, is not produced by other dressings which are less stimulant. A notion akin to this has been advanced in this country, that artificial pastures being thus forced are less nutritious than natural ones; and that the animals which are raised upon them are consequently of a laxer fibre, and the flesh less wholesome as well as less savoury; hence the superiority of heath or mountain mutton to the improved breeds, and of wild meats in general to tame. Dr. Dwight mentions a peculiar breed of sheep called, from some resemblance in their form, the Otter breed;—it is the only instance wherein man, for his own advantage, has availed himself of a defect in nature. An ewe in New England brought forth twins, thick and clumsy in body, with the fore legs remarkably short and bent inward, 'so as distantly to resemble what are called club-feet.' They were male and female, and the owner observing that they were not disposed to wander, and unable to leap the stone inclosures, raised a breed from them, which has increased to many thousands. In cases where the breed has been crossed, the lambs have in every instance, according to his information, entirely resembled either the sire or the dam, never exhibiting the least discernible mixture. As neither the wool nor the flesh is inferior to that of ordinary sheep, their quietness and inactivity must render them peculiarly valuable in any country where it is no part of the sheep owner's system that his flock should get their own livelihood in their neighbour's inclosures.

A physiological change in the human species fell under the author's immediate observation, which is of considerable interest as bearing immediately upon a very important question. Dr. Dwight saw a negro, Henry Moss by name, a native of Virginia, whose complexion, without any apparent cause, or the slightest diminution of his general health, was gradually becoming white, and that not of a leprous or cadaverous tint, but of a fresh and healthy hue. According to the man's own account the change was first perceived under and round the roots of his finger nails, and proceeded faster on those parts where the skin was covered than where it was exposed. In the course of four years the breast, arms, legs, and thighs had become wholly white; the hands, feet, and face were hideously spotted, the skin of the head also was changed in spots, and wherever it was changed the hair had

had become straight and flaxen. In four years more the change was almost complete. From the beginning he had been a hale, sound man, and no change had taken place in his habits of life; nor was he conscious of any peculiar sensation except that, where the discolouration was going on, it was just perceptible that the skin was more sensitive than in other parts. The same process had taken place to the same extent in one civilized Indian, and had commenced in three others. From hence Dr. Dwight fairly infers that 'the varieties observed in the complexion and hair of the human species furnish no probable argument that they sprang from different original stocks. A black man in one instance, and a red man in another, have become almost entirely white, and without any such change in the internal parts of the constitution as to occasion a single new sensation of any consequence. The ordinary course of Providence, operating agreeably to natural and established laws, has wrought the change here. A similar course of Providence is therefore justly concluded to have wrought the change from white to red and to black, or, what is perhaps more probable, from red to white on the one hand, and from red to black on the other.' It appears elsewhere that the author is disposed to admit the old interpretation of the word Adam, as signifying red earth, and he has probably allowed some weight to it in this part of his reasoning. He notices that the Colchians, who were black in the time of Herodotus, are now as white as the people of Europe: the question must be asked whether they are the same people? or whether a black tribe has not been exterminated by a nation of white conquerors? A good cause is injured by adducing a weak argument for it. It is more to the point when he observes that the Jews have every tint of complexion, from that of Poland, Germany, and England to that of the black Jews of Hindostan. The same thing might perhaps be said of the Portuguese, were it not that, in their African possessions, a mixture of blood is so general, that it must always be suspected. The most important illustration which he adduces is from direct personal observation. 'The change of the blacks,' he says, 'whose ancestors were introduced into New England, is already very great as to their shape, features, hair, and complexion; within the last thirty years I have not seen a single person of African descent who was not many shades whiter than the blacks formerly imported directly from Guinea.' After he himself had thus distinctly perceived the effect of local circumstances upon the organization of man, Dr. Dwight ought not to have felt such indignation at a remark in this Journal,* that those circumstances had produced a trace of savage character both in

* Vol. ii. p. 311.

the physical and intellectual features of the Americans. That indignation would have been spared if he had understood the word *savage* in the meaning wherein it is there used, as equivalent to *Indian*. With all the infinite and marvellous varieties of individual expression, there is nevertheless a national countenance, produced not merely by moral causes which we can trace, but also by physical ones, the operations of which are inscrutable. Every one knows how different the Scotch physiognomy is from the English, the Spanish from the Italian, the French from the Flemish. Our meaning was that, in America, as the wild, hardy, and lawless habits of the back settlers and pioneers of civilization induce a resemblance to the worst part of the Indian character; other causes less tangible, but not less certain, impress upon the American countenance the same cast as that of the original inhabitants. And any one who looks at the portrait of Washington may see an example of this so striking, that it has frequently been observed.

This is a subject upon which Humboldt could bring the stores of science and history and philosophy to bear, with a power of mind and a range of intellect peculiar to himself. Dr. Dwight's volumes, however, derive much value from his unpretending fidelity; it gives his testimony that weight which the evidence of an honest and sensible man must always carry with it. With regard to the effects produced upon the animal economy by climate and other obscurer causes, we may be permitted to add some recollections to what he has noticed. A remarkable instance is mentioned by Mr. Tarabull, if he has not been deceived by false information, or betrayed into error by generalizing upon a few cases. He says that the children of European parents at Botany Bay 'are invariably of one complexion, fair, and with white hair. Out of eleven hundred children born in New South Wales, there is scarcely a single exception to this national distinction, as we may call it. Their eyes are usually black and very brilliant, their disposition quick and volatile, and their loquacity such as might render them a proverb.' This is very much the character of the Creole children in our sugar islands; and yet the climate of New South Wales is very different from that of the West Indies, and all the circumstances are still more so.

In these cases the effect was immediate, showing itself in the first generation. The type of the moral physiognomy is changed as soon. No two national characters can be more distinct and unlike than those of the Scotch and Irish, though both nations spring from the same stock. But the Irish children of Scotch parents assume the character of their mother-country even more

more surely than they acquire its accent: and of the descendants of the English settlers in Ireland, it was said in Queen Elizabeth's days, that they were *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. Whatever indeed, whether it be evil or good, is grafted upon the English stock, partakes of its strength. There are other modifications of the animal system which, whether they depend upon the changes produced on the climate itself, or upon other latent causes, are more slowly brought about. Such are the changes of colour in domesticated animals, and of complexion in the human species. Some of the South American savages used to practise a cruel art upon birds, by which they varied their plumage, exchanging one splendid colour for another. It is said that they could produce yellow, green, or purple feathers; yellow in place of green was most easily produced, but in the place of yellow they never could substitute another hue. The manner in which this was done we shall not explain, lest it should fall into the hands of any one unfeeling enough to try the experiment. The colour of certain flowers may also be changed with the same certainty by circumstances of soil and culture; here the cause is understood, but the manner in which it operates is as yet unexplained, and as we ascend to animal life the cause itself becomes inexplicable. Peter Heylyn says that Cæsar may be thought rather to have prophesied in his Commentaries the character of the present French, than described one of the ancient Gauls, for a Frenchman 'is nothing but an old Gaul moulded into a new name.' And he endeavours to explain, by 'the powerful influence of the heavens,' how it is that the Gauls, 'being in a manner all worn out, should have yet most of their conditions surviving in those men which now inhabit that region, being of so many several countries and originals.' But though the land has stamped upon the mind of its inhabitants through all ages the same indelible type, their physical characteristics are no longer those which were described by ancient writers. A similar change has taken place in our own country. It is certain that not only the earliest possessors of these islands; but all the various nations who have settled upon it by right of conquest, were of light complexion, with blue or grey eyes, and red or flaxen hair, the Romans alone excepted, and possibly also a colony from Spain:—possibly, we say, because the existence of such a colony is rather probable than certain, and it is as likely to have been Celtic as Iberian. That the Romans left little of their blood in the land when they withdrew from it, being no longer able to maintain their dominion here, appears from many circumstances: the Romanized, that is to say, the civilized part of the population, were either driven out or destroyed, and it is plain that few of their posterity

posterity remained, because few vestiges of their language are found either in the speech of the Saxon or of the Briton. It may therefore fairly be affirmed, that the ancestors of the British nation were all of Keltic or Teutonic race, both belonging to the same family of nations, and both of the same physical characteristics; and yet at this time dark hair and dark complexions, which belong to neither, predominate among us in a very great degree.

Dr. Dwight has perplexed himself with a needless difficulty, concerning the formation of water-spouts on land. Misled by the word, he supposes that a water-spout on land, like one at sea, is always formed upon the surface of some piece of water; and finding no water near enough to explain one which he describes upon the White Mountain, pronounces that few events in the natural world were more extraordinary. Had he heard it called by its good old English north-country name, a *burst*, he would have been at no loss to perceive the real nature of the phenomenon. A cloud attracted to the side of a mountain in some manner, which it is for chemists and electricians to explain, discharges its waters at once, instead of letting them fall in rain. This occurs frequently in the mountains of Cumberland and Westmorland, where we have seen much more considerable effects than those which Dr. Dwight describes. The name water-spout, however, has not been applied to it without some cause; the appearance and motion of the cloud bearing some resemblance to what is observed at sea. We happened to see one burst upon Helvelling, at the distance of about eight miles; a sort of arm or spout, shaped like a funnel, descended from the bottom of the cloud, and was twice or thrice retracted, before it appeared to touch the side of the mountain, when the whole cloud fell.

It is evident, from the instances which Dr. Dwight mentions, that these bursts are as frequent in North America as in the mountainous parts of England. If they depend upon electricity, we might expect them to be more so, because the electric fluid is more frequently collected in the atmosphere there, and more abundantly than in Europe. 'When I first saw thunder-storms in Philadelphia,' says Volney, 'I remarked that the electric fluid was so copious, as to make all the air appear on fire, by the continued succession of the flashes: their arrowy and zigzag lines were of a breadth and length of which I had no idea; and the pulsations of the electric fluid were so strong, that they seemed to my ear and to my face to be the light wind produced by the flight of some nocturnal bird.' In the course of three months he counted, in the American newspapers, seventeen deaths by lightning, and Bache, in the same time, reckoned eighty severe accidents; casualties which are certainly ten times more than occur from

from the same cause, among ten times the population, in any part of Europe. One fatal case, accompanied with very peculiar circumstances, is mentioned by Burnaby. A person in Virginia, standing at his door during a thunder gust, was killed; an intermediate tree, at some distance, was struck at the same time; and when the corpse was examined, it was found that the tree was delineated upon it in miniature; the surrounding part of the body being livid, but that which was covered by the tree, of its natural colour. He gives this as a well known and well attested fact, but adds, that he does not pledge himself for the truth of it, because it appears so improbable and unphilosophical. Our knowledge in many branches of natural history would be much less imperfect than it is, if many facts had not been suppressed either from a fear (like this) lest they should be thought incredible, or from that unreasonable incredulity which will not, even upon the strongest testimony, give credence to any thing that it cannot explain.

Where the materials for a thunder-storm are generated in such abundance, the actual process of the manufacture (if so it may be called) has been traced, in two instances, which Dr. Dwight relates. A small cloud of mist was observed to rise from the surface of a lake among the Green Mountains, in the county of Litchfield, and settle upon the summit of a neighbouring eminence; a second followed, and a third, and then a numerous series of such exhalations, all proceeding directly to the hill, till its summit was covered with a body of vapours. The mass soon began to move through the atmosphere in a south-west direction; and it had not been long in motion, before a flash of lightning burst from it, followed by a peal of thunder. It enlarged rapidly in its progress, 'to the size of a wide-spread thunder-cloud, and thundered and lightened till it had left the horizon.' The other instance was noticed on Lake Champlain. A copious exhalation rose from that lake, 'in the form of long curved lines or threads; these rapidly directed their course to a small cloud which hung over Onion river, at the distance of two or three miles. In this cloud they all centered and terminated their motions, appearing in some measure like meridians in the stereographic projection of a sphere. After a little while, the cloud began to move up the river with great velocity, discharging frequent flashes of lightning, and loud peals of thunder, in its passage. At no great distance the wind which carried it became a violent tornado, and spread desolation through the valley of this river.'

One most extraordinary statement we shall give at length.

'Friday morning, October 18th, we rode to the south end of the lake, accompanied by Mr. Whittlesey, to examine a rock, of which a
singular,

singular, not to say an incredible, opinion prevails in the vicinity. Our road, for near half a mile, lay on a natural causeway, about thirty feet in breadth, which separated the lake in two parts, and was formed of earth, probably washed up by its waves. The rock, which was the particular object of our curiosity, is said, by inhabitants long settled here, to have moved a considerable distance from the spot where it anciently stood, towards the south-western shore. You will not suppose we considered this story as founded either in truth or good sense. However, having long believed it to be prudent, and made it a regular practice, whenever it was convenient, to examine the foundation of reports credited by sober men, I determined to investigate this, as I saw that it was firmly believed by several discreet persons. One particularly, a man of unquestioned reputation, and long resident near the spot, declared, that, about forty years since, the top of this rock, at the ordinary height of the water, was at least two feet below its surface, and fifteen or twenty rods farther from the causeway than when we saw it. The shore has unquestionably remained as it then was; for the trees and stumps standing on the causeway are older than any man now living, and the space between them and the lake is very narrow, scarcely extending fifteen feet from the trees.

‘The top of the rock is now at least two feet above the water. This height it is declared to have gained imperceptibly, year by year, for many years, in consequence of its advancing towards the shore, and standing continually in water more and more shallow. The water is evidently of the same depth now as formerly, as is proved by the appearance of the shore,

‘When we came up to the rock, which was standing where the water was scarcely knee-deep, we found a channel behind it, towards the deeper water, formed in the earth, about fifteen rods in length. It was serpentine in its form, and was sunk from two to three feet below the common level of the bottom on its borders. In the front of the rock the earth was pushed up in a heap, so as to rise above the water, declining, however, at the distance of a few inches, obliquely and pretty rapidly. Not far from this rock we saw another, much less, attended by the same phenomena, except that they were diminished in proportion to its size. The whole appearance of each was just as one would expect to find, if both had actually removed from their original places towards the shore, throughout the length of their respective channels. How these channels were formed, or by what cause the earth was heaped up in front of these rocks, I must leave to the divination of others. The facts I have stated, as I believe, exactly.

‘Several years since this account was first written, I met with the following paragraph in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. iii. p. 240 :—“There is a curiosity to be seen in the Long pond in Bridgton. On the easterly side of the pond, about midway, is a cove, which extends about one hundred rods farther east than the general course of the shore; the bottom is clay, and the water so shoal, that a man may wade fifty rods into the pond. On the bottom of this cove are stones of various sizes, which, it is evident from visible circumstances,

stances, have an annual motion towards the shore. The proof of this is the mark or track left behind them, and the bodies of clay driven up before them. Some of these are, perhaps, two or three tons weight, and have left a track several rods behind them, having at least a common cart load of clay before them. These stones are many of them covered with water at all seasons of the year. The shore of this cove is lined with these stones three feet deep, which, it would seem, have crawled out of the water. This may afford matter of speculation to the natural philosopher."

'Until I saw this paragraph, I did not imagine that a story, such as I received at Salisbury, would ever be repeated.'—vol. iii. p. 245.

Dr. Dwight has not stated the size of the rock which is said to possess this extraordinary power of locomotion. If he had, it is possible that a story, which in another of his journals he relates of the Oneidas, might explain the apparent prodigy. Those Indians regard a large stone with religious reverence, and speak of it as their god, because it has followed them in their various removals, slowly indeed, but to a considerable distance. The truth is, a stout young man resolved to amuse himself with the credulity of his tribesmen, and therefore whenever he past that way, took up the stone, which was too large to be removed by a man of ordinary strength, and carried it some distance westward. In this manner the stone advancing by little and little, made in a few years a considerable progress, and was verily believed to have moved this distance spontaneously. 'The young fellow told the story to an American gentleman, and laughed heartily at the credulity of his countrymen.' But had the rock which Dr. Dwight saw, been of dimensions which would render such a trick like this possible, he would surely have suspected it; it is highly improbable that the same strange and troublesome deception should be attempted in two places; and in the statement quoted from the *Massachusetts' Transactions*, some of the stones are said to be of two or three tons weight. That statement appears to have been reprinted from a Portland newspaper, the place where the phenomenon is said to exist being only eighteen miles from Portland. Any thing, therefore, which might so easily be contradicted or disproved, would hardly have been published unless it had been commonly believed. But if science and literature are making such progress in this part of the United States as some suppose, the matter will doubtless be investigated as it deserves, and the truth or falsehood ascertained of statements apparently so impossible.

There is a fact related in these volumes, which seems to throw some light upon the nature of those hitherto unexplained explosions, that are heard in mountainous countries. Such an explosion, about forty years ago, was heard by the inhabitants of Kinsdale

dale township, in New England, from West River Mountain, on the Connecticut. Upon repairing to the place, they discovered that a metallic substance had been forced from the heart of the mountain, the hole which it had made being about six inches in diameter. A few trees which stood near were almost covered with the substance which had been ejected, and which consisted chiefly of melted and calcined iron ore, strongly resembling the scoria of a blacksmith's forge. The same substance was found upon the rocks and the face of the hill in several places, having evidently been propelled in a liquid or semi-liquid state. Is it not probable, that some of those phenomena which, when they are displayed upon a large scale, are generally noticed because they are severely felt, occur more frequently, in a smaller degree, than has hitherto been suspected? for example, such volcanic explosions as the instances here adduced, and slighter and less extended movements of the earth than are denominated earthquakes? Since it has been placed beyond a doubt, that stones fall from the sky, how many facts of the kind have been ascertained and recorded! The wonders which are related by the old chroniclers and annalists of every country might, if they were diligently collected and well sifted, confirm some philosophical speculations, and lead the way to further discoveries.

There is a mountain in the State of Vermont called Archbuteau, or the Three Brothers, a single conical eminence with several inferior summits, which are also conical. Supposing, from its appearance, that it had formerly been volcanic, Dr. Dwight made inquiries concerning it, and one of the first planters assured him he had several times seen flames ascend from it, which could not have been kindled either by hunters or by lightning, for they appeared once when the mountain was covered with snow three feet deep. Dr. Dwight himself observed something more remarkable connected with this mountain.

‘On the 10th of October, 1803, I was riding from Dartmouth College to Charlestown. A strong south wind blew during the whole day. The sky was overcast, and the clouds, flying low, impinged at times against the sides of the mountain, and covered its top. In these clouds, at a small distance from the summit, and in such a direction as to make an angle of about 25° with the perpendicular height of the mountain, appeared a luminous spot, from ten o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, the whole period during which the mountain was within our view. All this time the clouds wore a misty appearance, every where nearly uniform, and moved with great rapidity. Yet the luminous spot continued in exactly the same position, and scarcely at all changed its appearance. In a few instances the clouds were so thin, that the beams of the sun were faintly but distinctly seen on the side of the mountain. Generally they were intercepted. As the clouds

clouds changed their position every moment; as the sun, during this time, passed over ninety degrees of the heavens; as, when the spot was first seen, we were perhaps eight or ten miles north, and when it was last seen about the same distance south of the mountain; I could think of no satisfactory reason, why the position and appearance of the spot continued unchanged.—vol. ii. p. 95,

About twelve months afterwards he saw a similar phenomenon over the mountain Taghkanne. The luminous spot continued fixed in its relative position to the summit for several hours, though the wind was blowing violently, and the clouds were moving rapidly before it; nor did it disappear till it was gradually lost in the twilight. Every where else the cloud was of an uniform density, and, from the rapidity of its motion, fifty or sixty miles of its extent must have passed over the spot; which was at times so bright, that he and his companion thought the sun was shining through the aperture. In both cases the position of the luminous area, with respect to the mountain, was the same; the density and aspect of the clouds was the same, the direction and strength of the wind also, and both occurred at the same season of the year.

Is this phenomenon of the same kind with those which Humboldt describes as appearing on the granitic summit of Duida, and on the summit of Guaraco, by the testimony of the natives, confirmed by what he himself has observed as Cuchivera? Some such appearance may explain a story which Boyle introduced in his account of Mr. Clayton's diamond.

'There came hither,' he says, 'about two years since, out of America, the Governor of one of the principal colonies there, an ancient virtuoso, and one that has the honour to be a member of the Royal Society. The gentleman, finding some of the chief affairs of his country committed to another and me, made me divers visits; and on one of them, when I inquired what rare stones they had in those parts of the Indies he belonged to, he told me that the Indians had a tradition that, in a certain hardly accessible hill, a pretty way up in the country, there was a stone which, in the night time, shined very vividly, and to a great distance; and he assured me that, though he thought it not fit to venture himself so far among those savages, yet, he purposely sent thither a bold Englishman, with some natives to be his guides; and that this messenger brought him back word that, at a distance from the hillock, he plainly perceived such a shining stone as the Indians' tradition mentioned; and, being stimulated by curiosity, had slighted those superstitious fears of the inhabitants, and with much ado, by reason of the difficulty of the way, had made a shift to clamber up to that part of the hill where, by a very heedful observation, he supposed himself to have seen the light: but, whether it were that he had mistaken the place, or for some other reason, he could not find it there, though, when he was returned to his former station,

he did again see the light shining in the same place where it shone before.

Dr. Dwight is of opinion, that the periods of health and sickness which, according to Mr. Watson's Registers, have been observed in America, depend upon the temperature, and that there are periods of cool and warm weather, the latter being the sickly ones. To form any thing like a conclusive judgment upon that subject, would require the observation of much more time than has elapsed since the settlement of North America; and, indeed, in a subsequent note, the author observes that a succession of cold years had proved peculiarly unfavourable to health; the spotted fever, which was a new disease, and the spurious peripneumony, which had never before been known to be endemic there, having ravaged great part of the country. The latter indeed had become a formidable scourge to the people; heads of families, the men especially, having been swept away in such unprecedented numbers, that more children had been made orphans than at any preceding time since the country was colonized; and there was every reason to fear that it would pervade the Union; for, beginning in Connecticut in 1812, it had, in the course of three years, spread extensively over Virginia and Ohio.

An opinion has been advanced by Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, that the numerous evergreens in North America are the cause of the peculiar cold which is experienced there. Dr. Dwight was convinced by his own sensations that evergreens greatly increase the cold of their immediate atmosphere; but even if the evergreen forests had been more numerous and extensive than they are, he perceived that they would be wholly inadequate to produce so wide an effect. Local observations disprove the theory, which is opposed also by the fact that the west wind (the coldest in Connecticut) comes over no such woodlands. His own opinion is that the cold winds descend at times from the superior regions of the atmosphere, and he supports it by pertinent observations and plausible reasoning.

These winds are purer than any others; a fact universally remarked throughout this country. During their prevalence the lungs are feasted and the frame invigorated, in such a manner as is never experienced at any other season. Their influence on plants, also, is entirely peculiar. It is customarily said, by those who have long cultivated tobacco, that its leaves are perceptibly thicker and heavier, after a north-west wind has blown two or three days, than at any other time; and such a season is considered, by skilful cultivators, as the best for cutting this plant. When grass has been mowed at such a season, I have observed the scythes to be covered with its juice, so thick and viscid, and adhering so tenaciously to the scythe, as to oblige the mowers to employ the whetstone, not for the sake of giving the scythe

scythe an edge, but to remove the glutinous substance with which it was covered.

‘ During the prevalence of these winds, wood burns more rapidly, and with a more vivid flame. The flame, also, makes frequently a small explosion (if I may be allowed the term), resembling strongly that of a musket, discharged at a very great distance.

‘ All these facts, as it seems to me, are easily explicable on the supposition, that the north-west winds have their origin in the superior regions of the atmosphere. If this opinion be admitted, we cannot, I think, be at a loss for reasons why they are instantaneously, and, in the winter, severely cold; why they commence with violence and terminate suddenly; why they are remarkably pure and healthy; why in a singular manner they facilitate combustion; why they are wholly free from terrene exhalations; why, in many instances, they condense clouds immediately vertical, some time before they are perceived to blow on the surface; why they carry clouds, at times, toward the south-east, without interrupting at all the blowing of a south-west wind, and why in the month of March, during which the westerly winds almost regularly prevail, all kinds of wood shrink, and become dry, in a greater degree, than in the most intense heat of our summer sun.

‘ Particularly, the peculiar degree of cold, experienced in this country, seems to be explicable on this ground only. Every man, accustomed to read even newspapers, knows that the air, at a moderate distance from the earth, is usually much colder than near the surface. This fact has been so often proved by ascending high mountains, and by rising into the atmosphere in balloons; and is so evident from the ice and snow, always visible, even under the equator, at great elevations, that few persons are ignorant of it. Every degree of cold experienced in this country, must naturally be expected from winds, which have their origin in a superior region. — vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

From the historical matter which is dispersed through these volumes one story ought to be selected, for the honour of all parties concerned in it. A plain farmer, Richard Jackson by name, was apprehended, during the revolutionary war, under such circumstances as proved beyond all doubt his purpose of joining the king's forces, an intention which he was too honest to deny; accordingly he was delivered over to the high sheriff, and committed to the county gaol. The prison was in such a state that he might have found little difficulty in escaping; but he considered himself as in the hands of authority such as it was, and the same principle of duty which led him to take arms, made him equally ready to endure the consequences. After lying there a few days, he applied to the sheriff for leave to go out and work by day, promising that he would return regularly at night; his character for simple integrity was so well known that permission was given without hesitation, and for eight months Jackson went out every day to labour, and as duly came back to prison

at night. In the month of May the sheriff prepared to conduct him to Springfield, where he was to be tried for high treason. Jackson said this would be a needless trouble and expense, he could save the sheriff both, and go just as well by himself. His word was once more taken, and he set off alone, to present himself for trial and certain condemnation. On the way he was overtaken in the woods by Mr. Edwards, a member of the council of Massachusetts, which at that time was the supreme executive of the state. This gentleman asked him whither he was going? To Springfield, Sir, was his answer, to be tried for my life. To this casual interview Jackson owed his escape, when, having been found guilty and condemned to death, application was made to the council for mercy. The evidence and the sentence were stated, and the president put the question whether a pardon should be granted. It was opposed by the first speaker: the case, he said, was perfectly clear; the act was unquestionably high treason, and the proof complete; and if mercy was shewn in this case, he saw no reason why it should not be granted in every other. Few governments have understood how just and politic it is to be merciful; this hard-hearted opinion accorded with the temper of the times, and was acquiesced in by one member after another, till it came to Mr. Edwards's turn to speak. Instead of delivering his opinion, he simply related the whole story of Jackson's singular demeanour, and what had past between them in the woods. For the honour of Massachusetts, and of human nature, not a man was found to weaken its effect by one of those dry legal remarks, which, like a blast of the desert, wither the heart they reach. The council began to hesitate, and when a member ventured to say that such a man certainly ought not to be sent to the gallows, a natural feeling of humanity and justice prevailed, and a pardon was immediately made out.

'Never,' says the author, 'was a stronger proof exhibited that honesty is wisdom.' It was not the man's honesty but his child-like simplicity which saved his life; without that simplicity his integrity would have availed him little; in fact it was his crime, for it was for doing what, according to the principles wherein he had been born and bred, he believed to be his duty, that he was brought to trial, and condemned. This it is which renders civil and religious wars so peculiarly dreadful; and in the history of such wars every incident, which (like this, and the beautiful story of Vezins and Regnier at the massacre of St. Bartholomew) serves to reconcile us to humanity, ought carefully to be preserved. Let us add one such anecdote here, which may equally interest Americans and Englishmen. During the revolutionary war, when the two armies were near each other, an English officer, who was stationed at one of the outposts, observed

served a general officer of the enemy approaching to reconnoitre the English position with a telescope. He was on horseback, and, not perceiving the English piquet, approached within shot, so near as to afford the officer a sure mark; the gun was presented and the finger on the trigger, when the Englishman's heart failed him; he could not bear to take away the life of one who apprehended no danger; it seemed to him as an act of murder; and, lowering the gun, he suffered the American, utterly unconscious of his providential deliverance, to pass on. To the latest hour of his life the English officer blest God that he had in this instance yielded to the impulse of his better mind, for he had ascertained that the American whose life had then been in his hands was—General Washington.

Dwight was a young man at the commencement of those troubles, and embarked in the revolutionary cause with all the warmth of youth, and all the strength of inherited opinions. It is not to be supposed, nor was it to be wished, that in declining life he should have regretted the part which he had taken. Accordingly, all the incidents of the war which he has introduced into these volumes, are related in the temper and spirit of his younger days. His attachment to the institutions of his country leads him sometimes to an injudicious triumph, and sometimes to a premature boast. When he speaks of the independence of the New-England landholders, he says there is something to him 'in the sight of that independence, and the enjoyments by which it is accompanied, more interesting, more congenial to the relish of nature, than in all the melancholy grandeur of the decayed castles and ruined abbeys with which some parts of Europe are so plentifully stocked. The story of this happiness will indeed be less extended, and less amusing, but the actual prospect of it is incomparably more delightful.' The actual view of that happiness may be delightful, but his exultation at the sight is expressed by one whose attention is so wholly fixed upon the present that he neither looks backward nor forward. Of their government he says, that intelligent foreigners, who have gained some knowledge of it, 'see it in theory more liable to fluctuation than any other, and yet are obliged by facts to acknowledge that it is one of the most stable and unchanging in the world.' The government upon which Dr. Dwight passes this eulogium was thirty years younger than himself!

Montaigne, speaking of America in his days, says that it was *si nouveau et si enfant, qu'on luy apprend encore son a. b. c.* The Americans would be grievously offended were we to add that in political science they have still the alphabet to learn; nor would their anger be lessened by the honest acknowledgment that,

Sooner or later they must have become independent: it was expedient for both parties, and it was just and necessary that they should be so; and in whatever manner the separation had been effected, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have passed into a republican government, the transition being little more than nominal.

It is not, however, to its form of government, that the advantages which America possesses, are in any degree to be ascribed. Some advantages assuredly it has, and they are no trifling ones. It is not yet the land for arts or literature, (though both are beginning to receive encouragement there,) and it affords little field for ambition in other less generous pursuits. But there is employment for all who seek it; there is room to increase and multiply; none are necessarily born there to poverty and all its consequent degradations; nor is that prudential celibacy common or necessary there, which in the one sex is less frequently a virtue than a sin, and which is the sore evil of our more crowded society,—in whatever light it be viewed, an evil in all its bearings. Perverse, indeed, must be the understanding, and hard the heart, which should fail to perceive these advantages, or desire to depreciate them. They are found in the United States, as they are in Canada, in the Cape Colony, and in Australasia; wherever, in fact, colonies are established by occupancy, and the land not yet replenished. And so long will it be before these wide regions can be peopled, that to speculate upon the evils of a crowded population there, would be of as little utility as the comfortable anticipations in which certain philosophers have indulged, by calculating the time when all the coal in this island will be consumed, and when the sun itself will be burnt out.

These are natural advantages existing in new countries, as in the early ages of the world. It is obvious that Great Britain, possessing such extensive colonial possessions, and with its redundant activity and enterprize and wealth, may partake of them in an indefinite degree, to the great relief and benefit of all classes. It is not our intention to enter here upon the question of colonization, that most momentous and interesting question, which must assuredly occupy government ere long, more than the two main businesses of war and revenue, to which its attention heretofore, not less unhappily than necessarily, have almost exclusively been confined. Let us only observe, that the existence of these advantages in the United States, may be no slight good to England. The poor artizan and the labourer, who go there in search of higher wages or surer employ, though they frequently miss their object, relieve the parish by their removal, or make room for the industry of others. The malecontents, who, shaking the

the dust of England from their feet, go out with soured hearts and perverted minds, are no loss to us, and may be some gain to her. They may even become good subjects under another government, for, in moral as well as in physical diseases, change of climate not unfrequently effects a cure. One lesson they are sure to learn, for every thing combines to teach it, the value of the society which they have left. Many a man, who, having been trained up in discontent and disaffection, hated the institutions of his native land, is taught there to understand and to respect and love them, and becomes a better Englishman abroad, than prejudice and habit and evil communications would ever have permitted him to be at home.

There can be no danger of having too many safety-valves. The old states of America (for there is already a distinction of old Americans, and it is a most important one) are fortunate in this respect; the new states and the uncleared lands are to them as so many waste-weirs, over which the scum and wreck of society, and all who float loose upon its waters, are naturally drawn. Men who in the old states would be poachers or smugglers, or, becoming vagabonds in consequence of evil propensities not less than unhappy circumstances, prey upon their fellow kind either by fraud or force, find here an outlet. That inclination to the freedom and pursuits of savage life, which seems almost inherent in the animal part of our nature, takes here a useful direction. While they become more than half savages themselves, renouncing all the decencies and advantages of civilized life, without acquiring any one of the few virtues which savages might boast, they are the pioneers and advanced guards of civilization. And although every generation must have to travel farther in quest of uncleared lands, and of buffaloes and beavers, still the outlet will continue open longer than any political foresight can determine; for adventurers of this stamp make as little account of time and space as the lover in the play.

Of what importance it is to the tranquillity and even the existence of the old American governments, that this drain should be open, Dr. Dwight speaks even more strongly than we should have felt justified in doing.

'All countries,' he says, 'contain restless inhabitants; men impatient of labour; men, who will contract debts without intending to pay them; who had rather talk than work; whose vanity persuades them, that they are wise, and prevents them from knowing, that they are fools; who are delighted with innovation; who think places of power and profit due to their peculiar merits; who feel, that every change from good order and established society will be beneficial to themselves; who have nothing to lose, and therefore expect to be gainers by every scramble; and who, of course, spend life in disturbing others, with the hope of gaining some thing

thing for themselves. Under despotic governments they are awed into quiet; but in every free community they create, to a greater or less extent, continual turmoil; and have often overturned the peace, liberty, and happiness of their fellow-citizens. In the Roman commonwealth, as before in the republics of Greece, they were emptied out, as soldiers, upon the surrounding countries; and left the sober inhabitants in comparative quiet at home. It is true they often threw these states into confusion, and sometimes overturned the government. But if they had not been thus thrown off from the body politic, its life would have been of a momentary duration. As things actually were, they finally ruined all these states; for some of them had, as some of them always will have, sufficient talents to do mischief; at times, very extensive. The Gracchi, Clodius, Marius, and Mark Antony, were men of this character. Of this character is every demagogue, whatever may be his circumstances. Power and profit are the only ultimate objects, which every such man, with a direction as steady as that of the needle to the pole, pursues with a greediness unlimited and inextinguishable.

Formerly the energetic government established in New-England, together with the prevailing high sense of religion and morals, and the continually pressing danger from the French and the savages, compelled the inhabitants into habits of regularity and good order, not surpassed, perhaps, in the world. But since the American revolution our situation has become less favourable to the existence, as well as to the efficacy, of these great means of internal peace. The former exact and decisive energy of the government has been obviously weakened. From our ancient dangers we have been delivered, and the deliverance was a distinguished blessing; but the sense of danger regularly brings with it a strong conviction, that safety cannot be preserved without exact order, and a ready submission to lawful authority.

'The institutions and the habits of New-England, more I suspect than those of any other country, have prevented or kept down this noxious disposition; but they cannot entirely prevent either its existence or its effects. In mercy, therefore, to the sober, industrious, and well-disposed inhabitants, Providence has opened in the vast western wilderness a retreat, sufficiently alluring to draw them away from the land of their nativity. We have many troubles even now: but we should have many more if this body of foresters had remained at home.'—vol. ii. pp. 441—443.

To this outlet it is, more than to any effect of laws and institutions, that the paucity of offences in the old states must be ascribed. The preserves which are maintained with such ambition, by certain great landholders, would not serve as nurseries for ruffians and preparatory schools for murder, if the men who are induced to steal game by the care with which it is collected for them, could follow the same pursuit in the wilderness. The miserable wretches who keep the tread-mill in motion, and supply subjects for our friend Jeremy's economical experiments on the human mind and the human stomach, would,

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in America, lead a life not less to their taste and to better purpose, as squatters, backsettlers, boatmen and hunters. Even rabbits may be impounded till they prey upon one another; and wolves and bears, if they have room, will return into the woods and wilds, where they offer no injury to man. It may well be then, as Dr. Dwight assures us, that 'fewer capital crimes have been committed in New England since its establishment, than in any other country on the globe, (Scotland perhaps excepted,) in proportion to the number of its inhabitants.' Will not this also explain the otherwise strange and inexplicable fact, that at New York, the proportion of female prisoners to the males, is not less than as three to two? The only solution appears to be the obvious one, that women of evil propensities are not drawn off from society like the Russian part of the male population, but find their cover in towns and populous places.

If, however, there be fewer crimes in a new country like America, than in an old one; or, perhaps, more truly speaking, if fewer come under the cognizance of law,—it must not be inferred that the average morals of the Americans are better than our own, nor that they are without their full share of those ignorant and brutalized classes, (more numerous in modern than in ancient states,) who, to the reproach of civilization, seem always to have increased with civilization itself, as if they were generated in its corruption. The fact that there is in the city of New York as large a proportion of paupers as in any one of our great manufacturing towns, would not be sufficient proof of this, because a considerable number of those paupers consist of emigrants, and especially of Irish, who carry with them their peculiar and miserable habits of mind, which render them the most reckless and intractable of all people, whether at home or abroad. The truth is, that America neither is, nor can be any more exempt from those evils which are the original sin of the trading system, than from the original sin of human nature itself. Commerce has everywhere its Helots; and whether they are brought to that condition at once by direct subjugation, or gradually by chance and choice, the consequences upon the race are the same. The evil is not effected by any form of government. It is the same under the despotisms of Italy and the Peninsula, the limited monarchy of England, and the representative republics of the United States.

In America then, as in other countries, whole classes are debauched and brutalized by their way of life. The persons employed in the business of getting lumber are described as 'poor, idle, haunters of taverns, and devoted to all the baser pursuits of vulgar vice.' Their employment requires hard labour during one part of the year, and leaves them to idle away their time during the

the remainder; and thus they are reduced 'to prodigality, thoughtlessness of future wants, profaneness, irreligion, immoderate drinking, and other ruinous habits.' Of the numerous persons employed in navigating the rivers, we are told that 'few collections of men are more dissolute,' and that 'the corruption which they contribute to spread among the ordinary inhabitants, is a greater evil than a stranger can easily imagine.' A picture equally unfavourable is given of the *labourers*, by which appellation Dr. Dwight designates 'that class of men who look to the earnings of to-day for the subsistence of to-morrow.' 'In New England,' he says, 'almost every man of this character is either shiftless, diseased, or vicious.' And yet 'employment is found everywhere, and subsistence is abundant and easily obtained. The price of labour is also very high, a moderate day's work being usually purchased at a dollar. Every healthy, industrious, prudent man, may therefore live almost as he wishes, and secure a competence for old age.' Nevertheless he affirms, that 'few of these men are very industrious, fewer economical, and fewer still virtuous.' The *mechanics* he describes as being, in all respects, of a different character. Perhaps it will be found, that up to a certain degree in society, morals, as well as manners, improve at every step of the ascent; for character becomes of more importance, when there is more to lose and more to hope; and men sometimes become respectable in proportion as they feel their own respectability. Another class, who are important missionaries of civilization in South America, and whose services cannot easily as yet be dispensed with in many parts of the United States, are portrayed in dark colours. Speaking of the persons who are employed in peddling articles of small value about the country, Dr. Dwight says, the consequences of this employment, and of all others like it, are generally malignant, 'and that it has had an unhappy influence on both the morals and manners of the people.' 'Men,' he says, 'who begin life with bargaining for small wares, will almost invariably become sharpers. The commanding aim of every such man will soon be to make a good bargain; and he will speedily consider every gainful bargain as a good one.' The tricks of fraud will assume in his mind the same place which commercial skill and an honourable system of dealing hold in the mind of a merchant. Often employed in disputes, he becomes noisy, pertinacious and impudent.' Here the author imputes to a particular class of men, vices which certainly result less from their erratic course of business than from the pursuit of gain, or, in other words, the spirit of trade itself. The defect in the constitution of American society is, that there is so little to counteract them; and the worst danger which the United States have to apprehend

is from the operation of those popular and most unwise laws, which, by preventing the accumulation of property, level men down to one mean standard, above which it would be the object of an enlightened policy to raise them. But you might as well expect a Catholic to give up the doctrines of transubstantiation and infallibility, or a Turk to renounce polygamy and predestination, as to make an American perceive, or at least acknowledge, the beneficial effects of the law of primogeniture.

To the sure consequences of the opposite system Dr. Dwight appears totally blind. He contemplates with benevolent satisfaction a present state of things, which is indeed in many respects pleasing.

‘In these countries lands are universally held in fee simple. Every farmer, with too few exceptions to deserve notice, labours on his own ground, and for the benefit of himself and his family merely. This also, if I am not deceived, is a novelty; and its influence is seen to be remarkably happy in the industry, sobriety, cheerfulness, personal independence, and universal prosperity of the people at large. Great wealth, that is, what Europeans consider as great wealth, is not often found in these countries. But poverty is almost unknown. Comfortable subsistence is enjoyed everywhere, unless prevented by peculiar misfortunes or by vice. The feelings of a benevolent man are very imperfectly satisfied by the sight of opulence and splendour in the hands of a few, contrasted by want and suffering in the many; of palaces and villas, encircled by cottages and cabins. A succession of New-England villages, composed of neat houses, surrounding neat school-houses and churches, adorned with gardens, meadows, and orchards, and exhibiting the universally easy circumstances of the inhabitants, is, at least in my own opinion, one of the most delightful prospects which this world can afford.—vol. i. p. xv.

‘You are to understand, that every man in this country, almost without an exception, lives on his own ground. The lands are universally holden in fee simple; and descend by law to all the children in equal shares. Every farmer in Connecticut, and throughout New-England, is therefore dependent for his enjoyments on none but himself, his government, and his God; and is the little monarch of a dominion, sufficiently large to furnish all the supplies of competence, with a number of subjects as great as he is able to govern. In the cultivation of his farm he gratifies his reason, his taste, and his hopes; and usually finds the gratification at least sufficient for such a world as this. Here he can do every thing which is right, and no man can with impunity do any thing to him that is wrong. If he is not in debt, an event necessary only from sickness or decrepitude, he is absolutely his own master, and the master of all his possessions.—vol. i. p. 182.

Dr. Dwight has not allowed himself to ask how long this happy and enviable state of things can continue. The system of gavel-kind is well adapted to colonial settlements in their early stage;

stage; perhaps it may even be their best, because their natural order. Large grants of territory are obtained, or wide domains purchased at a *nihili* price, and such estates, exceeding an ordinary English parish in extent, will bear to be divided and subdivided for several generations. But whatever mathematicians may predicate of the infinite divisibility of matter, estates are not infinitely divisible, and their division becomes injurious to the community even before it reaches that point at which it must be ruinous to the individual inheritors. The process will not stop even at inheritances so humble as those of the Cumberland and Westmoreland statesmen. Chance cannot possibly counteract this perpetual tendency to diminution. The system aims always at levelling, and effects it only by lowering what it levels. An absolute equality, founded upon a community of lands—the Spencean system—the polity of the Jesuits in Paraguay, or the schemes of Owen of Lanark, would be more tenable in theory, and ultimately less injurious in practice. For woe be to that nation in which mere wealth shall become the sole object of ambition—the single title of respect—the only acknowledged superiority! If there be any one question in politics which may be said to have been fully and fairly decided by experience, it is that concerning primogeniture. The strong opposition to it which prevails at this time among the *Liberals* of France is but a part of that system which aims at the subversion of all ancient usages and established institutions. The prejudice against it in America is explained by General Hamilton, when he admits that the existing constitutions of the several states 'were all formed during the prevalence of an unusual ardour for new and opposite forms, produced by an universal resentment and indignation against the ancient government;' and that 'they bear very strong marks of the haste, and still stronger of the inexperience under which they were framed.'

If the present well-intentioned writer has shut his eyes to the consequences of partitioning estates at every descent, he has clearly seen the end of those subdivisions of states and counties, and even of townships and parishes, which are popular measures in America,—where the people have none to withstand them.

'Formerly Connecticut was divided into six counties. The distribution into eight was injudicious, as well as unnecessary. Great counties have a sense of importance and dignity which is eminently useful. It prompts to honourable and beneficial conduct, and prevents much of that which is little, degrading, and of course mischievous. The same things are true, *mutatis mutandis*, of subdivided townships and parishes. Where men are impatient to become judges, sheriffs, and county clerks, to be representatives, select men, or even parish committees,

mittees, these unfortunate subdivisions will, however, be pushed so earnestly and so long, as in the end to be accomplished. This spirit of subdividing has produced, and is still producing, unhappy consequences in the state of society in New-England. Offices are multiplied to a useless degree, and beyond the ability of the country to fill them with advantage. Yet the fact, that so many of these subdivisions have been made, becomes a powerful reason for making more. He, who voted for the last, claims the suffrage of him, who has been profited by that vote, in his own favour. In this manner a silly and deplorable ambition becomes a source of multiplied mischiefs to the community. Small parishes are unable, without serious inconvenience, to keep their churches in repair, and support their ministers. Small towns are often obliged to send diminutive representatives, because they can send no other. Small counties have often very imperfect courts, because they have no materials out of which to constitute better. Representatives also are in this manner multiplied beyond every rational limit. In most of the New-England states the number is twice, and in Massachusetts at least three times as great as either experience or common sense would justify.'—vol. i. p. 146.

'The county of Hampshire, after having existed as a fine Doric column of industry, good order, morals, learning, and religion; in Massachusetts for more than a century, was by an unwise legislature broken into three parts. Of its ruins were formed the three counties, of Franklin on the north, Hampshire in the middle, and Hampden on the south; each of them extending through the original breadth of the county of Hampshire. One political purpose, intended to be accomplished by this disruption, was to destroy the firm order and sound principles of the inhabitants. How far this plan will succeed time alone can discover. From analogy it may be concluded, or at least rationally feared, that the inhabitants will lose some part of their elevation of character. Little counties almost of course have little officers, and little concerns; and the existence of these is but too commonly followed by a contraction of views, a diminution of measures, a destruction of influence, and a deterioration of character.'—vol. ii. p. 258.

The motives for which the separation of states is promoted or opposed, are stated by Dr. Dwight without disguise, and though they belong to human nature such as it every where exists where the principle of selfishness is in full action, they throw some light upon the constitution of society in America. It was proposed to erect the district of Maine into a state; and Massachusetts, from which it was to be dismembered, declared its readiness to consent, resistance being of no avail in a country where the will of the people carries with it the power. The people of Maine, however, were divided in opinion. 'On the one hand, ambitious men, who felt their own apprehended merit to be neglected, and their rivals unwarrantably preferred, looked forward with eagerness to this separation, as opening a field of action more auspicious to their wishes, and promising an undoubted harvest of ho-

nours and profits.' The number of such men, he tells us, was 'not small.' On the other hand, men 'possessed of offices under the existing government wished to retain them, and did not feel sufficiently assured that they should possess offices of equal importance under the government which was proposed. Many of them also had long been accustomed to spend the winter amid the bustle, amusements, luxuries, and eminently social intercourse of Boston; and felt unwilling to lose those enjoyments, or the personal consequence of appearing there as representatives or senators.' Other interests, besides those of pride, were involved. Great part of their mercantile business was so connected with Boston, as to depend upon that connection for its very existence. With regard to any better and more disinterested feeling, the author tells us, that men of purer minds, more enlarged views, and more correct principles, 'dreaded a separation, lest, at so early and fluctuating a period, the system of government resolved upon should be so loose and feeble, as to promote the purposes of public and private justice, peace and safety, in a very imperfect and ineffectual manner. They believed,' (he adds,) 'and I think justly, that a state of society established on an unfirm foundation and unhappy principles, would extend a malignant influence through a series of generations.' The people at large were influenced by considerations better adapted to their temper and comprehension. They were told that the new government would be more expensive than the old; for that, if Maine were made a state, many new officers must be appointed, and their maintenance must fall upon the inhabitants. The opinion of the author himself is clearly shown; yet he says, the population of the district was so rapidly increasing, that the question might be asked whether Maine will be separated from Massachusetts, or Massachusetts from Maine. And many of the most respectable inhabitants desired a measure to which they were otherwise averse, because they believed that Maine, in its present state of population, becoming one state, might long continue so; whereas, if the separation were delayed for a considerable time, it would then be divided into two. A few years after Dr. Dwight had thus described the state of opinion upon the subject, the separation took place.

The effect of all such divisions is to weaken a government which stands in need of strength, and to loosen the bands of an union which is already too relaxed. The unexceptionable witness before us affirms that the respective states before their revolt from the mother country, 'felt themselves to be as widely separated as communities, situated as they were, could be;' that their views and wishes were in every respect not only opposed
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but hostile; that each was inclined to dislike, censure, ridicule and depress its neighbour; that the degree of union which subsisted during the revolution was the result not of affection, but of fears and burdens only. That at the moment when those fears were ended they resumed their alienation and were advancing fast towards open hostility, when new burdens and fears forced them to adopt their present form of government; and that even under this they were very imperfectly united. With regard to the local governments, his opinion is evidently implied, even when it is not plainly expressed. Though he has a natural and proper attachment to the institutions of his native state, Connecticut, he acknowledges that the system of government in that state is fitted for no other country; that such a system could not be commenced successfully by the present inhabitants; and that it is no small honour to them that they had been thus long able to preserve it. The dependance of the judges and the weakness of the executive he acknowledges to be gross defects; and it is evident that the more important the concerns of the state become, the more will these defects be felt.

Dr. Dwight was too judicious a man not to perceive and understand this evil. 'A weak and powerless executive, (he says,) will never be able to awe bad men; but bad men will usually awe the executive. If men are to be protected in their lives and rights; if they are to live in peace; in a word, if they are to enjoy the blessings of civilized society, such men must be deterred from disturbing either their neighbours or the public.' And again, '*the influence of a weak and fluctuating government on the morals and happiness of mankind, is, to say the least, not less malignant than that of an established despotism.*' The words are printed as we have copied them, in italics, to force their importance upon the attention of the reader; so well assured was this author, as his countryman Hamilton had been before him, that 'the vigour of government is essential to the security of liberty.'

It was a favourite opinion among the Americans when they were on the point of establishing their independence, and realizing their political theories, that 'it had been reserved for them, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitution on accident or force.' Washington himself lived to feel and express his apprehensions that what he called this 'last and fairest experiment in favour of the rights of human nature would be turned against them.' He had been willing to believe that his countrymen, in their moral and intellectual characters, were ad-

vanced beyond even the most enlightened of the European nations, because he judged of them by their better qualities which had been called into action during a long and arduous contest, and perhaps also because deeming too highly of others and too humbly of himself, it was from himself that his estimate was drawn: His friend General Hamilton presumed upon the same ground: 'as there is a degree of depravity in mankind,' said this excellent man, 'which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence. Republican government presupposes the existence of those qualities in a higher degree than any other form.' Five and thirty years have added largely to our experience since the *Federalist* was written; this however is a point upon which further experience was not required. That there is in human nature some obscure remnant of original goodness, as well as an innate infirmity, we firmly believe, remembering in what likeness we were created. But it is the business of government, to use all means for exciting and cherishing this goodness, not to relax its own duties in reliance upon it:—to provide ways for making men good, not to rest in the assumption that they are so.

The experiment, in reality, which our brethren in America are trying, is to see, with how little government, with how few institutions, and at how cheap a rate men may be kept together in society. Is this a safe experiment? Can it possibly be a successful one? Can it tend to reform and to exalt the manners and morals of the people, upon whom it is made? Whatever political opinions they may have inherited from their ancestors, nothing assuredly which could lead to this is to be found either in their principles or their practice. The founders of these states ran into an opposite extreme, and legislated with puritanical tyranny upon matters with which legislation has no concern. But where their minds were not warped by sectarian bigotry, they were wise and enlightened men, the wisest and best by whom any colonies ever were established; they carried with them to the new world sound English sense as well as sterling English virtues; and knowing that no prosperity can be stable, no society secure, unless it be founded upon good principles and supported by good habits, they never settled a township without providing for the education and religious instruction of the inhabitants. The beneficial effects are still felt in New England, every village there has its church and its schools, almost every village its library. See now the different manner in which new settlements are made, and by how different a class of men!

'In the formation of colonies, those, who are first inclined to emigrate,

grate, are usually such as have met with difficulties at home. These are commonly joined by persons, who, having large families and small farms, are induced, for the sake of settling their children comfortably, to seek for new and cheaper lands. To both are always added the discontented, the enterprising, the ambitious, and the covetous. Many of the first; and some of all these classes, are found in every new American country, within ten years after its settlement has commenced. From this period, kindred, friendship, and former neighbourhood, prompt others to follow them. Others, still, are allured by the prospect of gain, presented in every new country to the sagacious, from the purchase and sale of lands; while not a small number are influenced by the brilliant stories, which everywhere are told concerning most tracts during the early progress of their settlement. A considerable part of all those who *begin* the cultivation of the wilderness may be denominated foresters, or pioneers. The business of these persons is no other than to cut down trees, build log-houses, lay open forested grounds to cultivation, and prepare the way for those who come after them. These men cannot live in regular society. They are too idle, too talkative, too passionate, too prodigal, and too shiftless, to acquire either property or character. They are impatient of the restraints of law, religion, and morality; grumble about the taxes, by which rulers, ministers, and school-masters, are supported; and complain incessantly, as well as bitterly, of the extortions of mechanics, farmers, merchants, and physicians, to whom they are always indebted. At the same time they are usually possessed, in their own view, of uncommon wisdom; understand medical science, politics, and religion, better than those who have studied them through life; and, although they manage their own concerns worse than any other men, feel perfectly satisfied, that they could manage those of the nation far better than the agents to whom they are committed by the public. After displaying their own talents and worth; after censuring the weakness and wickedness of their superiors; after exposing the injustice of the community in neglecting to invest persons of such merit with public offices; in many an eloquent harangue, uttered by many a kitchen fire, in every blacksmith's shop, and in every corner of the streets; and finding all their efforts vain, they become at length discouraged; and under the pressure of poverty, the fear of a gaol, and the consciousness of public contempt, leave their native places, and betake themselves to the wilderness.

* Here they are obliged either to work or starve. They accordingly cut down some trees and girdle others; they furnish themselves with an ill-built log-house, and a worse barn; and reduce a part of the forest into fields, half-enclosed and half-cultivated. The forests furnish browse, and their fields yield a stinted herbage. On this scanty provision they feed a few cattle; and with these, and the precarious products of their labour, eked out by hunting and fishing, they keep their families alive.

* A farm, thus far cleared, promises immediate subsistence to a better husbandman. A log-house, thus built, presents, when repaired with moderate exertions, a shelter for his family. Such a husbandman is therefore induced by these little advantages, where the soil and situa-

tion please him, to purchase such a farm, when he would not plant himself in an absolute wilderness. The proprietor is always ready to sell; for he loves this irregular, adventurous, half-working, and half-lounging life; and hates the sober industry and prudent economy, by which his bush pasture might be changed into a farm, and himself raised to thrift and independence. The bargain is soon made. The forester, receiving more money for his improvement than he ever before possessed, and a price for the soil, somewhat enhanced by surrounding settlements, willingly quits his house, to build another like it, and his farm, to girdle trees, hunt, and saunter, in another place. His wife accompanies him only from a sense of duty or necessity; and secretly pines for the quiet, orderly, friendly society, to which she originally bade a reluctant farewell. Her husband, in the mean time, becomes less and less a civilized man; and almost every thing in the family, which is amiable and meritorious, is usually the result of her principles, care, and influence.

When these settlements are more advanced, the picture is not more favourable.

‘Neither schools nor churches can, without difficulty, be either built by the planters or supported. The children must be too remote from the schools, and the families from the church, not to discourage all strenuous efforts to provide these interesting accommodations. Whenever it is proposed to erect either of them, the thought that one’s self, and one’s family, are too distant from the spot to derive any material benefit, will check the feeble relentings of avarice, the more liberal dispositions of frugality, and even the noble designs of a generous disposition. Should all the first difficulties be overcome, trifling infirmities, foul weather, and the ill state of roads, will prevent a regular attendance. But the family or the children who do not go with some good degree of regularity to the church or the school, will in the end scarcely go at all. The education of the one, and the religion of both, will therefore in many cases be prevented.

‘At the same time, persons who live on scattered plantations are in a great measure cut off from that daily intercourse which softens and polishes men. When we live at a distance from every neighbour, a call demands an effort, and a visit becomes a formal enterprise. A family, thus situated, must in a great measure be confined to its own little circle of domestic objects, and wrought insensibly into an insulated character. At the sight of a stranger, the children, having been unaccustomed to such an object, are abashed, and the parents awkward and uneasy. That which generally gives pain will be regarded with apprehension, and repeated only from necessity. Social intercourse, therefore, exercised too little to begin to be pleasant, will be considered as an incumbrance; and the affections which cherish it, and which it cherishes and refines in its turn, will either sleep or expire. The gentle and pleasing manners, naturally growing out of it, can never be formed here. On the contrary, that rough and forbidding deportment, which springs from intercourse with oxen and horses, or with those who converse only to make bargains about oxen and horses, a rustic sheepishness, or a more awkward and provoking impudence, take possession of the man, and manifest

manifest their dominion in his conduct. The state of the manners, and that of the mind, are mutually causes and effects. The mind, like the manners, will be distant, rough, forbidding, gross, solitary, and universally disagreeable. A nation, planted in this manner, can scarcely be more than half civilized; and to refinement of character and life must necessarily be a stranger.

‘In such settlements schools are accordingly few and solitary; and a great multitude of the inhabitants, of both sexes, are unable either to write or read. Churches are still more rare; and the number of persons is usually not small, who have hardly ever been present either at a prayer or a sermon. Unaccustomed to objects of this nature, they neither wish for them, nor know what they are. The preachers whom they hear are, at the same time, very frequently uneducated itinerants, started into the desk by the spirit of propagandism; recommended by nothing but enthusiasm and zeal; unable to teach, and often even to learn. In such a situation, what can the character and manners become, unless such as have been described?’

‘A New-Englander, passing through such settlements, is irresistibly struck with a wide difference between their inhabitants and those of his own country. The scene is changed at once. That intelligence and sociality, that softness and refinement, which prevail among even the plain people of New-England, disappear. That repulsive character, which, as Lord Kaimes has remarked, is an original feature of savage man; intelligence bounded by the farm, the market, and the road which leads to it; affections so rarely moved as scarcely to be capable of being moved at all, unless when roused to resentment; conversation confined to the properties and price of a horse, or the sale of a load of wheat; ignorance, at fifty years of age, of what is familiarly known by every New-England school-boy; wonder, excited by mere common homespun things, because they are novelties; a stagnant indifference about other things, equally common, and of high importance, because they are unknown; an entire vacancy of sentiment, and a sterility of mind, out of which sentiment can never spring; all spread over a great proportion of the inhabitants, make him feel as if he were transported to a distant climate, and as if he were travelling in a foreign country.’—vol. ii. p. 300—302.

In this manner it is that the new states have been formed. Looking at the extension of territory, the growth of towns, the rapid increase of inhabitants aided by continual immigration,* the activity of trade where every man is a trader, and the spirit of speculation and adventure with which all are possessed,—nothing can be more hopeful than the prospect, nothing more congenial to the temper of a most ambitious people, who, as we have heard it well observed, having no ancestors to be proud of, place their pride in their posterity. But, on the other hand, there is a government, weak by original constitution, and be-

* The Americans have judiciously adopted this word from our old writers. It is one which we should not have suffered to become obsolete.

coming necessarily weaker in proportion to the indefinite augmentation of territory over which it extends; there is a lack of religious instruction in most places, an utter destitution of it in many; there is little to exalt the character of the settlers, less to refine and soften them; there is scarcely any other gradation of rank and manners than what arises from the hateful distinction between master and slave, in those new states where it is the pleasure of the sovereign people that slavery should be established. Contemplating this side of the picture, it might well be asked, whether the United States have more to hope or to fear from such prosperity?

But we must conclude. Time will show whether a people can become powerful without an efficient government; whether they can be prosperous without a liberal public expenditure; whether they can advance in arts and literature without a gradation of ranks, and the influence and permanence of hereditary wealth; whether they can be virtuous and happy without a religious establishment.

Whatever may be our anticipations, our wish is, that such measures as may best provide against the existing evils and danger of their society may be adopted in good time; that the Americans may strengthen their general government, not weaken it; consolidate the local ones, not divide them; that they may become more and more enlightened, more and more religious, more and more virtuous, more and more worthy of their parentage; rivalling us in arts, sciences, literature, and whatever conduces to the general good, and that this may be the only rivalry between us.

ART. II.—*The Orlando Furioso. Translated into English Verse.*
By William Stewart Rose. Vol. 1. Post 8vo.

THERE is nothing new under the sun!—Geologists discover the earth we inhabit to have been made out of one which previously existed; and the learned detect, in the writings of the present day, little but the spoils of generations past. Indeed in those inventions which seem to admit of dates, as in mechanical or philosophical discoveries, it is no easy task to follow them to their origin; and were Beckman himself called upon to make out a list from Elysium of worthies,

— qui vitam excoluere per artes
Inventas,

he would find himself often unable to determine to whom priority of place belonged. Hints are thrown out by one, which another picks up and improves. Principles are established, without any view to distant results; yet by means of them results the most important

important are obtained. Ages are required to perfect what a moment has commenced, and by the time the work itself becomes useful, it is too late to ascertain its author. But if this be true in the progress of works of art and science, it is more obviously so in those of the imagination. It is wonderful how little pure invention is to be met with in the world, and with what difficulty we trace a popular story to its source. To cry 'stop thief,' is vain, when the property is transferred from hand to hand in endless succession, with so much expedition and secrecy. The most we can do is to trace a literary theft to Homer; and yet it is contrary to all experience, to suppose that a poem, so complete in its structure, so melodious in its verse, so finished in its language, should have been the first of its kind.

No wonder then that the origin of that delightful species of writing, known by the name of Romance, should be involved in more than common obscurity, when, in addition to the ordinary causes which occasion it, we call to mind that romance was the offspring of an age, of which the records are scanty, and the attainments but very imperfectly known.

Still however it has furnished ingenious men with a very fertile subject of investigation and conjecture—One theory maintains it to be purely of Arabic invention, and to have found its way into France, Italy, and Britain, through the Saracens of Spain. Another, assigning it the same Oriental birth, conveys it into Europe by a different and more recent channel, the Crusades. A third argues that we are indebted for it to the Scalds, or Bards of Norway and Denmark, some of whom, attending Rollo in his expedition to France, introduced it into Normandy. A fourth endeavours to reconcile these conflicting systems, and finds that 'soon after Mithridates had been overthrown by Pompey, a nation of Asiatic Goths, who possessed that region of Asia which is now called Georgia, and is connected on the south with Persia, alarmed at the progressive encroachments of the Roman armies, retired in vast multitudes, under the conduct of their leader Odin or Woden, into the northern parts of Europe, not subject to the Roman government,' and that having settled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the neighbouring districts, they might thus have imported into Scandinavia those Arabian tales which Rollo perhaps forwarded to France. And lastly, there is a project for tracing it, without the help of that 'figure which the learned call the ambagatory, and the vulgar the circumbendibus,' directly to the writings of the classics.

We confess that we are inclined to look with a favourable eye upon this last hypothesis, and are scarcely in charity with such men as Percy, Warton, and Ellis, when they pass over a theory so obvious, as if utterly unworthy their attention;—more especially

as the last admits that 'the theory, which is most comprehensive and which embraces all the avenues of information to which the writers of the twelfth century can be supposed to have had access, has so far the greatest probability;'—and doubtless one avenue, nor that an inconsiderable one, must have been the works of the more popular Latin authors;—whilst Warton confesses, in his second Dissertation, that those very Arabians, from whom he would derive romance, possessed, at a very early period, numerous translations from the Greek, not of scientific works only, but even of Pindar and Homer.

The classical system then we are disposed to embrace, not simply because all our prejudices run in favour of the friends of our youth, or that we would ascribe to them, from groundless partiality, an honour to which they have no claim,—but because we honestly think that the rough material of romance is to be found in the writings of Greek and Roman story; (especially the latter;) admitting, as we undoubtedly must, that it did not in their hands assume the regular and systematic form which it afterwards exhibited. For instance—the magical operations of Alcina are only counterparts of those of Circe—a cup duly drugged furnishes these ladies alike with the means of transforming men into monsters; and on the other hand, while a ring affords to Ruggiero protection against the arts of his mistress, the herb moly is a specific of precisely the same kind by which Ulysses is enabled to set at naught the enchantments of the daughter of the Sun; nay, the very ring itself, so favourite and powerful an instrument of the writers of romance, could boast very extraordinary properties in more ancient days too—and if, by virtue of wearing it, Bradamante could pass unseen amidst horse and foot, it was no more than Gyges could do by the very same help some hundred years before. Again, what need to recur to Arabian mythology for a hippogriff, which a cavalier might mount, and ride through the air in a reasonable time, if business called him, from France to the Indies, when Bellerophon and Pegasus performed the like journies together of old? and when Bojardo himself actually numbers 'pegasie' amongst the winged monsters with which Ruggiero in his youth had been taught to contend? * The polished shield, which it was destruction to look upon, is a defensive weapon endowed with the same qualities, and used for the same purposes, as the Gorgon's head; and Perseus and the necromancer, are alike subject to the reproach of stooping to the use of 'magical arms.' Or—if the hero of romance could expose to the enemy an invulnerable person,

'Io dirò che anche Achille fu fatato.' †

* Boj. lib. 3. c. 5.

† Berni, c. 6. s. 3.

Neither does the favourite Horse form any distinctive feature of romance, for Bucephalus was upon the same terms with Alexander as Brigiadoro with Orlando, or Bojardo with his cousin. Caesar too had a charger of the like extraordinary sagacity, impatient of every rider but himself, and after death honoured by his master with a statue in front of the Temple of Venus ;* and, not to multiply instances needlessly, Hector himself addresses his steeds by name, as his friends and companions in arms. The circumstances under which Perseus delivered Andromeda from the sea-monster, and released her from chains, manifestly suggest the exposure and rescue of Angelica and Olimpia ; and if these latter adventurers wear a somewhat more extravagant and Munchausen air than their prototypes, (which must be allowed,) such exaggerations are sufficiently explained by a reference to the times in which they were told, without travelling to Arabic literature in search of more florid and excursive originals. Merlin's two fountains of Love and Hate are discoverable in those two arrows of mythology,

‘ Quorum fugat hic, facit alter amorem ;’—

Or yet more clearly in the two Fountains of Claudian, whereof one ran honey and the other poison, and in whose mingled stream Cupid dipped his shafts.† If a hero of romance ties his horse to a myrtle-bush and finds it inhabited by a gossiping ghost ; or, if a magician impregnates a wood with plaintive disembodied spirits, ready to distil ‘gouts of blood’ at the fracture of a branch ; the marvel is no other than that which a classical hero experienced when Polydorus bled and suffered and spoke from the body of a tree ; or than that which a classical god beheld exercised upon the forlorn and fugitive Daphne. Are the writings of romance adorned with the resplendent castles of an Atlante or a Logistilla ? The palace of the Sun, glittering with gold and fiery gems, had been already described by the poet of Roman fable, and might have furnished a superb model of ideal architecture to those who should come after him. The Martial games, as Dunlop in his History of Fiction observes, may be fairly reckoned to have supplied the first idea of the tournament, and bards were at hand in both cases to celebrate the fortunes of the day in chivalrous songs ; while Hercules and Bacchus are both represented as wandering over the world in quest of adventures, and may be set down (which indeed they are, by romancers themselves) as the legitimate heroes of ancient knight-errantry.‡ Indeed very many stories from classical fables are introduced, without any attempt at concealment ;—as that of Narcissus, by Berni ;—that of the House of Sleep,

* Sueton. Cæs.

† Nupt. Honor. et Mariæ.

‡ Vide Pulci, c. 3. 38. Berni. 2, 19.

by

by Ariosto;—that of the Sphinx, with her orthodox *Ænigma*, by Bojardo;—even the quaint conclusions of the cantos, in which the romance writers so much delight, are not unclassical. Virgil himself, after a long work, breaks off—

‘Sed jam tempus equūm fumantia solvere colla;’

And in the same spirit, and almost in the same words, Berni closes the subject of the second book of his poem,

‘Sciolzo il collo fumante, e levo il morso,
Però che spatio assai con esso ho corso.’

Neither will the case be altered if romances are to be reckoned instructive allegories, since Berni, who maintains that they are to be thus interpreted, still shelters himself under classical precedent, and argues with Horace, that the *Odyssey* itself is only a parable. And indeed, in general we may observe a disposition, on the part of these fabulists, to connect their subject with the heroic ages—now deducing the pedigree of Charlemagne and his Knights, from Hector and the Trojans; and now, by a like fanciful process, proving the *Durindana* of Orlando to have been the very sword which was once wielded by the Defender of Troy.*

These instances (which might be multiplied tenfold) may suffice to show, that the elements of romantic poetry existed in the writings of the classics, scattered and uncombined perhaps, but only awaiting the genius of some master-hand to embody and produce them.

Neither can it be objected to this theory, that such species of composition came into vogue at the very dawn of the revival of learning, and consequently at a period when classical literature was almost or altogether unknown. In Italy Latin was never forgotten. During the reign of the Goths, lived the famous Cassiodorus, and yet more famous Boetius, whose verses Scaliger scruples not to call divine;—and though ‘darkness, clouds, and thick darkness’ beset the country, under the barbarous dynasty of the Lombards, yet, in the ninth century, we discover a ray of light again breaking out,—a stirring amongst the dry bones; and application is now made by a French abbot to Benedict III. for Cicero’s work *de Oratore*, the *Institutions* of Quintilian, Donatus on Terence, and S. Jerome on the Prophet Jeremiah; whilst Pope Sylvester II. who died in 1003, and to whom, it is said, we are indebted for the use of Arabic numerals, which he brought with him from Cordoba, has left behind him no mean proofs of his proficiency in the Latin tongue. About the same period too, the Monks of Cassino both composed treatises on music, astronomy, logic, and architecture; and also employed a portion of their time in transcribing several

* Bojardo, lib. 3. c. 5. and c. 1.

Roman and some Grecian poems. Unquestionably, however, the knowledge of the latter language was as yet exceedingly confined. Greek was not understood by Petrarch, and Boccaccio began to learn it late, and probably made in it no great progress. Dante, it is true, in a well-known passage, assigns to Homer the first place in poetry; it is a compliment, however, that he might have paid him at second hand after all, without much acquaintance with the author; (for Petrarch is no less loud in his praises, though all that he knew of him was confessedly by Latin translations of detached passages;) and that such a compliment it was, seems the more probable, from the ill-assorted company with which he classes him, and from the absence of all accurate Homeric allusions in the further progress of his noble work.

To the classics then, particularly to those of Rome, and if we must narrow our ground yet more, to Ovid above all, we think the world may be indebted for the first outline of romantic poetry—and those passages in such authors which may be conceived to have suggested the rudiments of it, are precisely those which would be likely to seize the attention of an age awaking from the long sleep of barbarism—of an age which would delight in the incredible stories of flying horses and enchanted rings, on the very same principle that a child would prefer the adventures of Jack the Giant-killer to the exploits of Charles the Fifth. Nor would such sources be at all inaccessible to those Troubadours, or wandering minstrels, who have the credit of first applying the language of romance to metrical compositions; since tradition would probably preserve in every country where the Romans had established themselves, some vestiges of those popular fables which the poet of the *Metamorphoses* collected, for he did not invent them—tradition, which for many years, at least during the decline of Rome, must have been refreshed by the public lectures of those vernacular commentators, the ‘*Litteratores*’ of ancient Italy, especially since it is upon record, that the monks themselves in the retirement of the cloister, and with access at least to one or two of the common Latin authors, were often employed in furnishing fictitious adventures to these rhyming vagrants.

But if the origin of Romance be ascribed to the classics, to the superstition of the times may with equal probability be imputed its subsequent improvement and growth—a taste for miracles without evidence, which it was the interest of a corrupt clergy to encourage. The Acts of the Saints are a tissue of absurdities no less monstrous than those of Ovid himself, to whom indeed a large portion of them may be distinctly traced, so that the *Fasti* has been not unaptly designated, by a writer of the thirteenth century, the ‘*Martyrologium Ovidii*.’ And if in the legends of romance a degree of importance

importance is given to the female sex which it would be vain to look for in the writings of Rome, that gallant feeling is a far more natural consequence of a religion which, even in its purity, tended greatly to elevate and improve the condition of women, and which in its corruption held forth the Virgin as the first object of adoration and love, than (as some have supposed) to any political or Gothic institutions.

Nor, should it be forgotten in the question before us, that romance is peculiarly the province of the fancy; a faculty which does not require in its operations constant instruction and hints, but which, once provided with a few principles, can arrange and combine them without end or limit, presenting, like the kaleidoscope, a thousand fresh pictures without requiring one fresh supply of materials for composing them. Indeed the workings of the imagination are much the same as in visions of the night—and we could well believe, (with reverence be it spoken,) that a college tutor who had lectured his fresh men in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the morning, and assisted his powers of indigestion by a score or two of Colchester oysters and a glass of milk-punch at night, might dream a *bonâ fide* prose canto of romance.

But whatever may have been the rise and progress of romantic poetry, its perfection is confessedly exhibited in the *Orlando Furioso*, a work so extraordinary and yet, on account of its length and plan, (we are bold to assert,) so little read in the original in this country, that we must take leave to say a few words upon it, before we proceed to the more immediate subject of our article.

We are sportsmen enough to know that too much game on foot is no less fatal to a good day's diversion than too little—that dogs, horses, and men are alike wearied by the perpetual succession of fresh scents and fresh objects of pursuit, and that at evening they are apt to return home wet and forlorn and spirit-broken, having toiled all the day and caught nothing. The reader of the *Orlando* will readily make the application of this simile. Curiosity is fatigued by the endless number of plots which the poet endeavours to conduct simultaneously—and, hurried from one to another without notice and often without any connecting association, we

‘Find no end, in wandering mazes lost.’

But how should we, when the poet so often forgets *himself*? ‘*Soviemmi*,’ says he, (in joke, perhaps, but in joke many a true word is spoken,)

‘*Soviemmi, che cantare io vi doveva*
(*Già lo promisi e poi m’uscì di mente*)
D’una suspizion’

In one canto he makes Charlemagne dispatch a French peer to procure

procure succours in England, and in another tells us that the English king in person is at Paris all the while.* Sometimes he does not remember which of his heroes are dead and which alive, and occasionally employs those in active service whom he has killed outright several cantos before.† Doubtless it may be argued that Ariosto was treating of subjects with which his countrymen were already familiar—that many of his tales were popular legends—and that Bojardo had very fully discharged for him the duties of a Prologus in his *Orlando Innamorato*. This work must unquestionably have been of great assistance to his readers and to himself. There we find detailed the commencement of that enterprise, of which the *Furioso* is the continuation—see the African monarch in counsel debating upon the chances of success against France and Charlemagne—pass the sea—encamp before Paris, and carry on the siege. There, too, we have men, women, swords, and horses, bearing the same names as those in the *Furioso*, and performing the same feats. Enchanted rings too and proof armour, mixed up, however, with a much greater proportion of giants, (Bojardo was a contemporary and probably an admirer of Pulci,) and with as much long-winded heraldry as befitted the dignity of a Count of Scandiano. With such an introduction, however, the intricacy of Ariosto might have caused less confusion than we now imagine,—but in this confusion he manifestly takes a pride and pastime—conscious of great resources in himself, he prodigally displays them, with somewhat of purse-proud ostentation. It is not from any fear of wearying the attention, or exhausting the patience of his readers, that he so often changes his subject, though of this he sometimes makes profession; but no sooner is he aware that he has excited their curiosity to a pitch that must be almost painful, than, with a malicious and tantalizing air, he marches them away in the most perfect sang-froid to some new object, which in turn will be rendered interesting by his genius, and then be dismissed by his caprice. Indeed, on all occasions, Ariosto writes like one who is master of extraordinary powers, and knows it. It is for himself, we doubt not, that he claims the honours of a Maro when he compliments his patron, Hippolitus, on being an Augustus.‡ There is a certain *persiflage* and banter about him, let him be talking of what he will, that bespeaks superiority—and the paw which might lay low the ox, appears to take a good natured or perhaps a contemptuous pleasure in ‘dandling the kid.’ Like Hogarth, if he had to paint a Danaë, the general splendour of the subject would not prevent his introducing the old nurse biting a coin of the golden shower to prove the metal—nor, in a description of the Pool of Bethesda, would the

* c. ii. 26. c. viii. 27. † Compare c. xviii. s. 45. with c. xl. s. 73. ‡ iii. 56.

sublimmer features of the picture displace the lady's pampered menial beating back the beggar who presumed to seek the same celestial remedy. We cannot, however, but remark, that in this spirit, so far as it is exhibited in Ariosto, (whatever may be the case with some of his imitators,) there is nothing malignant—sportive it is—full of what the French call *agaceries*—delighting to throw the gravest matters into ludicrous contrast, yet we seldom or never discover it trespassing on grounds from which it ought to abstain; abusing any of our better and more sacred feelings; holding up to ridicule virtues which, as Christians and as men, we ought faithfully to cherish; or endeavouring, by a flippant sneer, to harden the heart. True it is, that it often assumes the form of satire, yet it is satire which is evidently prompted rather by the love of a joke than by spleen, and the monks themselves must have smiled at the ingenuity of the poet, though it was increased at their own expense, when he sends the archangel Michael from heaven to earth to look for Silence and Discord to be employed in the service of Charlemagne against his pagan foes; and makes him find the latter by accident in a monastery, where he had very naturally, but to very little purpose, been searching for the more peaceful object of his embassy, an exile from such abodes since the days of the good Saint Benedict. There are other indications of a just confidence in his own strength, which Ariosto discovers in common with the early poets of most countries: for the fact is, that such men write, only because they feel the god struggling within them.—*Phœbi nondum patientes*: It is for after-ages to force those to be poets, by artificial excitements, whom nature never endowed with the requisite gifts. No one can read either the Orlando or the Inferno without admiring the freshness, the vigour, the originality of the poetry. The only incense which such poets cast upon the altar, is *mascula thura*: There may be a reckless disregard of propriety, grievous violations of what is now called taste, (an idol that has unsinewed our style;) but Dante and Ariosto were ambitious of conveying to the minds of others the impressions on their own, with force and perspicuity and exactness, and to effect this they cared not to stoop to the meanest images. Thus, when the spirits gaze at Dante and Virgil; labouring to discern them through the smoke, the act is described in these striking words:—

E sì ver noi aguzzavan le ciglia,
Come vecchio sartor fa nella cruna—Infer. xv.

a simile which, low as it is, nevertheless puts us in the most complete possession of the poet's mind, and might have furnished Michael Angelo (a kindred soul) with a distinct and well defined subject for his nervous pencil.

By

By a figure of the same kind Ariosto describes the grief of Orlando at detecting the faithlessness of his mistress.

L'impetuosa doglia entro rimase,
Che volea tutta uscir con troppa fretta.
Così veggiam restar l'acqua nel vase,
Che largo il ventre, e la bocca albia stretta :
Che nel voltar, che si fa in su, la base,
L'umor, che vorria uscir, tanto s'affretta,
E nell'angusta via tanto s'intrica,
Che' a goccia a goccia, fuore esce a fatica.—c. xxiii. 113.

Indeed, in spite of all his romance, Ariosto is the poet of Nature ; his images (and he abounds in them beyond almost any other writer) are taken from things which seem all to have come under his own observation. They have all the sharpness and spirit of proof impressions. They are not copies from more ancient and approved artists, which by transmission through various hands have lost the more delicate features of the model, but they are original drawings by a most original master. Hence the motley mixture of the mean and magnificent which they sometimes present, because nature itself is a motley mixture of the magnificent and mean, and it is only by exhibiting natural objects in unnatural proportions, that this can be kept out of sight. Hence, again, the distinctness of these images, which, when they are introduced for the purpose of illustration, is a quality the most important. Thus, if the poet has occasion to make use of a lion or a bear, (and what poet has not ?) he exhibits them in a circus, or a cage, or with a rope about their necks, more frequently than amidst their native haunts ; because in the one situation he had probably seen them with his own eyes, in the other he must have taken his information on trust ; if he would describe a stream of blood staining the armour of a wounded warrior, he compares it to the purple riband which he had one day observed his mistress working upon a ground of silvery white. (xxiv. 56.) If a Diana or a Cytherea will serve him a good turn, he is more apt to refer his readers for them to the Ferrara theatre than to Delos or the Paphian Isle. (i. 52.) And though in some cases, (as we have admitted,) his subject is rendered undignified by such a practice, it is in all cases rendered vivid, and this the more, because it is not unlikely that such scenes may have been witnessed by his readers as well as by himself. Now the value of precision in thought and expression cannot be overrated either in poetry or prose, and it is with a view to it, that we find the loftiest poets of all countries affecting it in particulars which do not in any way whatever bear on the matter in hand. Thus Milton—

— As when a vulture on *Imaus* bred,
Whose snowy top the roving Tartar bounds,

Dialoging from a region scarce of prey,
To feed on flesh of calves and yearling kids, &c.

where the mention of the bird's habitation does not improve the resemblance, though it does improve the picture.

We have dwelt the longer upon this point, because we think that obscurity is the prevailing defect of modern poetry, a defect, arising, we apprehend, from our studies being books rather than men, from our images being the fruits of learning rather than observation. The obscure and the sublime are not perhaps of necessity related, much less are they identical. The two greatest poets that ever lived were both simple thinkers, and on the whole, what is best worth understanding is most easily understood.

One word more on the general character of the *Orlando*, and we have done. The respective merits and defects of authors are often best discovered by comparing them with one another; and, with this view, it may be imagined, (for the poems themselves are not at all cognate,) the *Orlando Furioso* and the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, have been often opposed to each other, and their rival claims asserted with all the acrimony of Italian controversy. Tira-boschi is not satisfied with that decision which declares Tasso to have written the better poem, but Ariosto to have been the greater poet. Perhaps, however, it is the fairest balance that can be struck between authors—*pares magis quam similes*. In *planu*, Tasso has all the praise; but then, Ariosto on this score lays no claim to any. So far as the integrity of his poem is concerned, the *Orlando* might as well have consisted of four hundred and sixty cantos, as of forty-six. The *characters*, again, of the *Jerusalem Delivered* are both more diversified and better sustained than those of the *Orlando*. Godfrey, Tancredi, Argante, Rinaldo, &c. have all their several parts to bear, which could not in general be interchanged without manifest impropriety. So again, Armida, Erminia, and Clorinda are perfectly distinct, yet are all consistent and interesting persons. It is not thus with the heroes and heroines of Ariosto. Orlando, Ariodante, Zerbino, Ruggiero, &c. are knights of very extraordinary prowess; blessed with very extraordinary armour; thrown into very extraordinary circumstances; but they are all alike—'Fortisque Gyas, fortisque Cloanthus;' except, indeed, that Orlando is remarkably chaste, a virtue which cannot be assigned with strict truth to all his companions; though perhaps he was in some measure indebted for it to a very ill-favoured face, and a squint in one eye,* which might do much towards protecting him from the affections of the ladies. The same objection applies to his women. It is true that some

* Bojardo, lib. 2. c. 3.

of them are belligerents, as *Marfisa* and *Bradamante*; but they only differ in sex from their male partners in arms, whilst *Angelica*, *Olimpia*, *Isabella*, &c. are merely so many names for one unlucky individual, who is youthful, pretty, amorous, occasionally condemned to be eaten up naked by a sea-monster, and much addicted to riding behind a gallant cavalier on a high-trotting horse. In pathos, again, Tasso has the advantage; the delightful episode of *Sofronia* and *Olindo*, the impassioned appeal by which *Armida* struggles to retain the object of her idolatry, the death of the generous and high-minded *Clorinda*, are all passages which breathe the tenderest spirit of poetry: not that Ariosto is deficient in feeling, whenever it is his pleasure to indulge it; the tale of *Clorindano* and *Medoro*, though a close imitation of that of *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, is much and deservedly admired; and he must have a hard heart who is not touched by the description (though certainly a little overcharged) of the sudden and violent workings of that passion to which the mind of *Orlando* fell a victim; or, who can read without emotion that beautiful passage in the twenty-fourth canto, where *Zerbino* expires in the arms of his mistress. Still, however, in scenes like these, Tasso appears to repose with peculiar satisfaction—scenes more congenial to the lover of a *Leonora* or a *Lucretia*, than to one whose character fitted him for a campaign against *Venice*, or an embassy to a pope. We may perhaps trace the same difference of temperament in these two great poets, in their respective theological opinions; the one adopting the religion of his country, with all its corrupt but picturesque accompaniments; the other exhibiting symptoms of a faith, more cold indeed, but more rational, pure, and reformed.—Tasso, relating the events of a holy war with intense interest, and chanting mass from the Mount of Olives, in a strain of the most lively devotion; Ariosto contenting himself with slight and occasional reference to the campaigns of the cross, (for it is a mistake to say that the *Orlando* contains no such allusions,) venturing to ridicule (though certainly encouraged in no such levity as this by Archbishop *Turpin*) *Constantine's* famous deed of gift, the genuineness of which even *Dante* called not in question,* and seldom, we almost wish we might say never, exalting the Virgin to that undue eminence to which she is raised (conformably to the practice of the Roman Catholic Church) in the *Jerusalem Delivered*.† But in originality,

* Inf. 5. 19.

† Had the reformation extended to Italy, Ariosto would have been reckoned one of its early promoters in that country, as *Langland* and *Chaucer* were in our own. He can with difficulty abstain from worrying a monk, even though his conduct may be praiseworthy.—See c. 29. 5. We have ventured to translate the following ludicrous stanzas :—

originality, in copiousness, in ease, in 'abandon,' (to use a French expression,) it is idle to compare Tasso with the Master of Romance; and it is for these qualities that he takes so exalted a station amongst poets, and demands at the hands of every nation which aspires to poetical taste, a translation worthy of him.

To Sir John Harrington, the god-son of Elizabeth, England is indebted for the first. In its day, as we learn from an epigram which he addresses to the Earl of Essex, it was read and praised; but though generally flowing, and frequently spirited, it is by no means a *faithful* representation of the original. The higher beauties of Ariosto, Harrington was not qualified to reach; and, therefore, he sometimes injures, sometimes curtails, and oftener omits them altogether. In the burlesque parts of his author he feels more at home, yet he is too apt to laugh outright, where Ariosto only gives him leave to smile; and he often palms upon his readers jokes of his own for those of his master. Still, however, he has much merit, and as the language of the Elizabethan age is and ever must be familiar to us, his version cannot be counted obsolete; nor is it easy to understand how it should have been superseded by either of those which followed it: of these, the one is by a writer in George the second's time, of a name somewhat unpropitious for a translator of Ariosto, William Huggins, Esq. who, ignorant that the task had been executed by an abler pen, till he had already embarked in his work too far to recede, inflicted on the public a version of the Orlando, filling (together with the Italian text) two volumes quarto: it professes

But when the implous Pagan long had heard
That fearless monk decant with small delight,
And bade him turn again, if he preferr'd,
Without her, to his cell, as well he might;
But still no sign of truce or peaceful word
Could gain, but unconceal'd and bold despight,
He straightway by the beard, in angry scoff,
Fast seized the man of God, and tore it off.

Anon, with hand firm as a blacksmith's vice,
He grasp'd his throat, so fierce his fury grew;
And, whirl'd above his head some once or twice,
Right towards the sea aloft the carcass flew.

What happened to him then, is matter nice
To judge, midst various rumours false or true;
Some say, how on a rock so batter'd fell he,
That head and foot form'd one continuous jelly.

While others, that he dropp'd, sound wind and limb,
Souze in the sea, some three miles off and more,
And there was drown'd, not knowing how to swim,
Though offering prayers and vows at least a score.

Others affirm a saint assisted him,
And dragg'd him with his naked hand to shore;
So, whether he was saved, or crush'd, or sunk,
Judge ye, for here my story quits the monk.

to

to be literal ; renders stanza for stanza, and line for line ; has no pretensions to poetry, and in its fidelity to the idiom of the Italian, forgets that its own should be English. The parable was now taken up by John Hoole ; but John Hoole, like Huggins, ' the gods had not made poetical ;' indeed, a more worthless translation than his, (we say it in spite of the numerous editions through which it has run,) a translation in which the spirit of the original has more thoroughly escaped, is scarcely to be found in the compass of English verse. Undertaking to put his readers in possession of a lively, sarcastic, picturesque, mercurial writer, he plods along in weary, monotonous, heroic couplets, without point, or humour, or expression ; leaving us to collect from them as much resemblance to the Orlando, as we can find to the speculative features of an intelligent face in the cast which has been taken from them after they are cold, and rigid, and dead. But as if this were not enough, some years after his first work, he subjects Ariosto to a further torture ; and when the tales of that volatile author had been disposed to suit his own taste, here abridged and there augmented, forth they issue at last from the shears of this Procrustean translator, in the form of an heroic poem in four and twenty mortal books.

It was certainly time that such a writer should be rescued from such hands. The present translator is already known to the public, not only as an observant traveller in Italy, but a successful imitator of more than one of the poets of romance. He is not, therefore, engaging in a work requiring the combination of very various powers to accomplish, without having first proved his armour.

The two characteristics of a good translation are, that it should be *faithful*, and that it should be *unconstrained*. Faithful, as well in rendering correctly the meaning of the original, as in exhibiting the general spirit which pervades it : unconstrained, so as not to betray by its phraseology, by the collocation of its words, or construction of its sentences that it is only a copy. These two qualities, easy of attaining separately, are not without great difficulty united—fidelity, by its very name, implying restrictions, and restrictions banishing ease ; freedom, on the other hand, denoting choice, and choice occasional deviation at least from any definite model. The version before us of the first six cantos of the Orlando, we scruple not to say, is eminently faithful ; adopting, like Harrington and Huggins, the *ottava rima* for his measure, far better calculated than any other to give life to those epigrammatic turns with which Ariosto so often closes his stanzas, fitted alike for dialogue or narrative, the grave or gay, the tender or burlesque, Mr. Rose catches and portrays the humour of his author, whatever it may chance to be, with a feeling the most kindred and congenial.

genial. This *general* praise, however, he partly shares with Harrington, (whom we think he somewhat undervalues in his preface,) not so, that which is due to the closeness of his translation in the *detail*; wherein, after having carefully compared the whole with the Italian, we have only discovered the following inconsiderable misinterpretations:—

‘————— It grieved him more

His dame should lift him from his courser dead’—c. 1. 66.

Literally—his lady too it was who removed the great weight from his back; i.e. the weight of his dead horse, which had fallen upon him (s. 68.); Mr. Rose has translated the passage as if ‘*dosse*’ applied to the back of the horse, instead of the back of Sarri-pants.—

‘But when the flock is launch’d and scattered,’ &c.—c. 2. 49.

‘Sparse’ and ‘tutte’ refer, we apprehend, to the crane’s *own* wings, not to any flock which she has to direct in her flight; she flutters first, and having thus gathered the wind, spreads forth her wings entire (*tutte sono al’ aria sparse*) and shoots away.

‘This you may witness and shall judge the case,’ &c.—c. 5. 38.

This is not the sense of ‘*sicche tu puoi veder*’; the proposal of giving Ariodante ocular proof of Ginevra’s infidelity is not made to him by Polinesso till the next stanza but one; and when it is made, the shock he feels proves that no hint of the kind had been previously communicated to him; ‘so that you may judge for yourself,’ (from what I have already said,) is the meaning.

It may be thought, perhaps, hypercritical to mention instances of mistranslation so very few in number and so trifling; Mr. Rose, however, challenges examination, by very properly proposing to ‘tread in the very footsteps of the Italian poet, wherever it is practicable.’

Occasionally, this commendable object leads him into unpleasant inversions of language—

‘And me amidst the worthiest shalt thou hear,
Whom I with fitting praise prepare to grace,
Record the good Rogero, valiant peer,
The ancient root of thine illustrious race.’—1. 4.

again:—

‘And oft I made my lover climb to me,
And (what he was to mount) a hempen stair,
When him I to my longing arms would call,
From the projecting balcony let fall.’—5. 9.

The following lines, for the same reason, are yet more obscure:

‘And him to hide, the night ensuing, prayed
I’ the street, which none their habitation made.’—5. 42.

Opus

Open est interprete—

‘Che s’accondema, la notte seguente,
Fra quella casa, ove non ata mai gente.’

When the translation is so close as we have represented, it may seem impossible that it should be too light and easy; but a light and easy style may readily sink into such as is slipshod and slovenly, and Mr. Rose occasionally forgets, we think, that to avoid going on stilts it is not necessary to go barefoot. Spontaneously as the verse of Ariosto seems to flow, there is good reason to suppose that it was the fruit of much study and toil. It was his own remark on the frequent alterations which he made in a house he was building, that he used it like his lines—*ars est artem celare*. Undoubtedly in appearance he is seldom laboured, but then he is never weak. Occasionally, too, Mr. Rose introduces gratuitous phrases, a cheap material for filling up chinks in ‘building rhyme,’ but which weakens the structure: we allude to such trite expressions as ‘damsel fair,’ ‘palace bright,’ ‘knightly guise.’ His verses again sometimes terminate in unemphatic words, a substantive verb, a pronoun, or an expletive; such words, in short, as will not endure the notice they provoke; and now we are on the head of faults, we must not omit to remark the number of false or imperfect rhymes which this translation exhibits.

‘This goodly town, with many miles of *plain*,
Which lie ‘twixt Var and Rhone, upon the *sea*,
To her was given by royal Charlemagne;
Such trust he placed in her fidelity.
Still wont with wonder on the tented *plain*,
The prowess of that valiant arm to *see*.’—2. 64.

Of course, Mr. Rose defends himself by the examples of the French and Italian poets, who have been followed, indeed, in a practice so convenient, (necessary perhaps sometimes,) by Spencer, and by those who have since written in his stanza. Authority, however, must not prevail over common sense; ‘it may be said that it is Persian, but let it be changed.’ Upon what principle does rhyme give pleasure? The pause which it occasions at regular intervals may afford time for the understanding to perceive and digest the meaning of the words, and thus relieve the oppression of a long sentence. But this, if something, is not all; the sound itself may be agreeable to the ear—for doubtless that organ is so constructed as to have a natural preference for one sound above another, without any reference to the associations which it may excite in the mind. In this case, then, false rhymes would be objectionable; for what can be more irksome than a constant repetition of the same sound? what more offensive, for instance, than to listen to the process of tuning a piano? Or—rhyme may gratify, from the

proof it affords of human ingenuity: to see difficulty overcome is always satisfactory. He who undertakes to write in rhyme, undertakes to run a good race in fetters; and, whilst he is redeeming his pledge, we regard him with the same feelings (to change the figure) as we regard a skilful rope-dancer, whose motions and attitudes we admire, not simply because they are graceful, (for it would give us small delight to see him go through the same on the ground,) but because they are graceful under circumstances calculated to produce awkwardness and restraint. From this reasoning, then, it would follow, as before, that false rhymes are a blemish; because they indicate that the difficulties of a composition which the writer has attempted, are an overmatch for him; that his efforts to reduce a refractory language to submission are unsuccessful; that its vocabulary does not supply the requisite terms, or that he himself wants a due command of it. In trifles, however, (for after all it is puerile to insist upon an extravagant nicety in rhyme,) occasional violations of established rules must be winked at for the sake of advantages more solid and important; we only exclaim against an abuse of poetical license.

We have now stated fairly and fully the only objections to Mr. Rose's Translation, which have occurred to us in a very attentive perusal of the six cantos; and we have done so with a view of directing Mr. Rose's notice to blemishes which he may easily avoid in the progress of his work, and not from any intention of giving our readers to understand that such blemishes bear any perceptible proportion to the merits of the whole. Of those merits, it remains for us now to enable them to judge for themselves; premising that the brilliant passages of Ariosto, his '*purpurei panni*,' have now justice done them for the first time—Mr. Rose uniformly rising with his author and moving steadily along with him in his best flights, however he may sometimes sink a little below him when he is disposed to grovel.

The following similes in the *Orlando* must be allowed to be rendered with extraordinary closeness and beauty.

'As the bewildered and astonished clown,

Who held the plough, (the thunder-storm o'erpast,)

There where the deafening bolt had beat him down,

Nigh his death-stricken cattle wakes aghast,

And sees the distant pine without its crown,

Which he saw clad in leafy honours last;

So rose the paynim knight with troubled face,

The maid spectatress of the cruel case.'—1. 65.

The sixth line does not quite reach the original:

'Il pin che di lontan veder soleva.'

It was a pine which he had been long accustomed to remark—a well-

well-known object in his neighbourhood—the destruction of which created a gap in the landscape, and broke up many early recollections in the peasant's mind.

The next is a kind of burlesque picture in which Ariosto takes great pleasure; we quote the translation as singularly bold and literal :

'As two fierce dogs will sometimes stand at gaze,
Whom hate, or other springs of strife, inspire,
And grind their teeth, while each his foe surveys
With sidelong glance, and eyes more red than fire,
Then either falls to bite, and hoarsely bays,
While their stiff bristles stand on end with ire;
So from reproach and menace to the sword
Pass Sacripant and Clermont's angry lord.'—2. 5.

Count Pinabel is robbed of his mistress by the necromancer, who carries her on a winged horse to his lofty and inaccessible castle.

'Alas! what more is left me but to eye
Her prison on that cliff's aerial crest?
Like the she-fox, who hears her offspring cry,
Standing beneath the ravening eagle's nest;
And since he has not wings to rise and fly,
Runs round the rugged rock with hopeless quest.
So inaccessible the wild dominion
To whatsoever has not plume and pinion.'—2. 44.

This necromancer is challenged to single combat by Gradasso and Ruggiero, and forth he sallies in some very spirited verses.

'Arrived beneath the craggy keep, the two
Contend which warrior shall begin the fight;
When, whether the first lot Gradasso drew,
Or young Rogero held the honour light,
The king of Sericane his bugle blew,
And the rock rang and fortress on the height;
And, lo! apparell'd for the fearful course,
The cavalier upon his winged horse.'—2. 49, 50.

The following vivid passage describes a trip which Rinaldo made from Calais to England, on a mission from Charlemagne; we the more willingly select it because it is very characteristic of Ariosto's manner:

'Rinaldo never executed thing
Less willingly, prevented in his quest
Of that fair visage he was following,
Whose charms his heart had ravish'd from his breast.
Yet, in obedience to the Christian king,
Prepared himself to do the royal best.

To

- To Calais his good envoy wends with speed,
 And the same day embarks himself and steed.
- ‘ And then, in scorn of cautious pilot’s skill,
 (Such his impatience to regain his home,)
 Launched on the doubtful sea, which boded ill,
 And rolled its heavy billows white with foam.
 The wind, enraged that he opposed his will,
 Stirred up the waves; and mid the gathering gloom,
 So loud the storm and tempest’s fury grew,
 That topmast high the flashing waters flew.
- ‘ The watchful mariners in wary sort
 Haul down the mainsail and attempt to wear;
 And would put back in panic to the port
 Whence in ill hour they loosed with little care.
 “Not so,” exclaims the wind,” and stops them short,
 “So poor a penance will not pay the dare.”
 And when they fain would veer, with fiercer roar,
 Pelts back their reeling prow and blusters more.
- ‘ Starboard and larboard beats the fitful gale,
 And never for a thought its ire assuages,
 While the strained vessel drives with humble sail
 Before the billows, as the tempest rages.
 But I, who still pursue a varying tale,
 Must leave awhile the Paladin, who wages
 A weary warfare with the wind and flood,
 To follow a fair virgin of his blood.’—2. 27.

The sixth canto, containing the adventures of Ruggiero in the island of Alcina, is full of fine poetry, of which Tasso has not scrupled to avail himself in his gorgeous description of the gardens of Armida. As a specimen of the present translator’s admirable success in rendering the picturesque scenes of his author, we extract a few stanzas from this canto.

- ‘ A more delightful place, wherever hurled,
 Through the whole air Rogero had not found;
 And had he ranged the universal world,
 Would not have seen a lovelier in his round,
 Than that, where, wheeling wide, the courser furled
 His spreading wings, and lighted on the ground
 Mid cultivated plain, delicious hill,
 Moist meadow, shady bank, and crystal rill;
 Small thickets, with the scented laurel gay,
 Cedar, and orange, full of fruit and flower,
 Myrtle and palm, with interwoven spray,
 Pleached in mixed modes, all lovely, form a bower;
 And, breaking with their shade the scorching ray,
 Make a cool shelter from the noon-tide hour.
 And nightingales among those branches wing
 Their flight, and safely amorous descants sing.

‘ Amid

' Amid red roses and white lilies *there*,
Which the soft breezes freshen as they fly,
Secure the cony haunts and timid hare,
And stag, with branching forehead broad and high.
These, fearless of the hunter's dart or snare,
Feed at their ease, or ruminating lie;
While, swarming in those wilds, from tuft or steep,
Dun deer or nimble goat disporting leap.'—6. 20.

Rogero soon describes the city of the enchantress. The humour of Ariosto is excellently given in the following description of its exterior :

' A lofty wall at distance meets his eye,
Which girds a spacious town within its bound ;
It seems as if its summit touched the sky,
And all appears like gold from top to ground.
Here, some one says, it is but alchemy—
And haply his opinion is unsound—
And haply he more wittily divines:
For me, I deem it gold because it shines.'—59.

We have next the entrance and interior of this magical city. The last stanza may have been suggested by a very pretty passage in the *Epithalamium Palladii et Celerinæ* of Claudian, a writer with whom Ariosto not unfrequently betrays an acquaintance.* The version is worthy of all praise.

' Above, a cornice round the gateway goes,
Some deal projecting from the colonnade,
In which is not a single part but glows
With rarest gems of India overlaid.
Propp'd at four points, the portal did repose
On columns of one solid diamond made.
Whether what met the eye was false or true,
Was never sight more fair or glad to view.
' Upon the sill, and through the columns there,
Ran young and wanton girls in frolic sport ;
Who haply yet would have appeared more fair,
Had they observed a woman's fitting port.

-
- * Pennati passim pueri, quo quemque vocavit
Umbra, jacent, fluitant arcus, ramisque propinquant,
Pendientes placido suspirant igne pharetræ.
Pars vigiles ludunt, aut per virgulta vagantur ;
Scrutentur nidos avium, vel roscida læti
Mala legunt, donum Veneris, flexusque sequuntur
Palmitis, et summas pennis librantur in ulmos.
Deseudunt alii lacum, Dryadasque procaces
Spectandi cupidas, et rustica Numina pellunt.
Silvestresque deos, longeque tuentibus aurum
Flammea lascivis intendunt spicula Faunis.

All are arrayed in green, and garlands wear
 Of the fresh leaf. Him these in courteous sort,
 With many proffers and fair mien entice,
 And welcome to this opening paradise,

‘For so with reason I this place may call,
 Where, it is my belief, that Love had birth,
 Where life is spent in festive game and ball,
 And still the passing moments fleet in mirth.
 Here hoary-headed Thought ne’er comes at all,
 Nor finds a place in any bosom. Dearth,
 Nor yet Discomfort, never enter here,
 Where Plenty fills her horn throughout the year.

‘Here, where with jovial and unclouded brow,
 Glad April seems to wear a constant smile,
 Troop boys and damsels: one, where fountains flow,
 On the green margin sings in dulcet style;
 Others, the hill or tufted tree below,
 In dance, or no mean sport, the hours beguile,
 While this, who shuns the reveller’s noisy cheer,
 Tells his love sorrows in his comrade’s ear.

‘Above the laurel and the pine-tree’s height,
 Through the tall beech and shaggy fir-tree’s spray,
 Sport little loves, with desultory flight:
 These, at their conquests made, rejoiced and gay:
 These, with the well directed shaft, take sight
 At hearts; and those spread nets to catch their prey:
 One wets his arrows in the brook which winds,
 And one on whirling stone the weapon grinds.’—71.

After these extracts, we apprehend that we may leave the translator in the hands of our readers with perfect safety; we will only add, that we trust Mr. Rose is not wedded to his author for better *for worse*; and that he will abstain from rendering into English those passages, (few in number and easily detached,) which, however they may have been agreeable to the age of Ariosto, are very unfit for our own, or for any. Unfortunately for Italy, the desolation occasioned by the great plague, so signally felt at Florence, was the least of the evils it produced. That total disorganization of society which attended and followed it, left the viler passions of men without a check, and the writings of the period did not escape the general infection. Boccaccio published his *Decameron* soon after that dismal event, and his licentious scenes were probably in part supplied to him by those licentious times, and were, at any rate, in strict conformity with the prevailing taste. Had his work betrayed less talent, it might have sunk into that oblivion which is the lot of books that have nothing but their vice to recommend them; as it was, it has tended to impart to much of the literature of Italy, (and not

not of Italy only,) a loose and profligate character, and Ariosto has received and propagated the moral-contagion. Still it is satisfactory to find that, towards the close of life, he appears to have had some misgivings of heart upon this score. Ruscellai tells us that he had seen a printed copy of the Orlando in the hands of Galeasso Ariosto, the poet's brother, containing in the margin corrections for a future edition by Ludovico himself—that amongst these he observed a pen drawn across two of the most indecent stanzas (which he specifies)—and that asterisks were marked against a whole tale, as if for its omission. We have thrown out this caution, (needlessly we hope,) because it sometimes happens that those who would shrink from the responsibility of *writing* what is profligate, do not feel the same scruple about *translating* it. Quod facis per alterum facis per te ipsum, is, however, good in morals as in law.—We repeat, that we hope this caution is needless, that Mr. Rose will not sully his pages with that which he would be unwilling should meet the eye of the woman he respects or loves—that he will be satisfied with the praise of having improved the literature of his country without having offended its morals, and of having won a chaplet of that *chaste* laurel which has no reason to fear the anger of Him 'who formeth the thunder.'

ART. III.—1. *Recollections of the Peninsula*. By the Author of Sketches of India. 8vo. pp. 262. 1823.

2. *Campaign of the Left Wing of the Allied Army, in the Western Pyrenees and South of France, in the Years 1813-14; under Field-Marshal the Marquess of Wellington*. Illustrated by a detailed Plan of the Operations, and numerous Plates of Mountain and River Scenery, drawn and etched by Captain Batty, of the First or Grenadier Guards, F.R.S., &c. &c. 4to. pp. 185. 1823.

WE combine these works in the same Article, because they afford, when taken together, an almost unbroken series of lively and natural sketches of the warfare in which the British peninsular army was engaged; of the manners and customs of the people among whom they were thrown; and of the beautiful and magnificent scenery through which the military operations were conducted, from the middle of the campaign of 1809 in Portugal and Spain, to the termination of the struggle on the plains of Languedoc. The authors of both volumes are evidently men of education and intelligence; young, enthusiastic, and ardent in the pursuit of their profession; quick and observant in noting the peculiarities of the various situations in which they were placed, and always disposed to pour the warm colouring of
a youthful

a youthful and vigorous imagination over the sombre realities of a life of hardship and danger. Yet they are of very different character and pretensions. The anonymous writer of the '*Recollections*' aspires only to 'relate what he saw, thought, and felt, as a man, a traveller, and a soldier, for five interesting years;' he gives no regular memoir of the operations of the conflicting armies, and displays little acquaintance with the scientific departments of his profession. He describes—and apparently wishes to describe—nothing beyond the part which a regimental officer could act, and the view which he might, under common circumstances, and without much exertion, enjoy of the great events passing around him. To the general reader, however, the charm of these '*Recollections*' will not be the less because they are interrupted by no technical details, and burthened with none of those tactical dissertations which can interest only the professional student. They offer a genuine, animated description of the life which a soldier leads in the field; they bring before us all the pleasures, the privations, the adventures, even the feelings, which belong to such a life; and they abound moreover with the naiveté of a frank and enthusiastic spirit upon which, in a foreign country and in a new and busy career, every object and every occurrence impressed surprise, and curiosity and delight. It is impossible not to feel amused and pleased with the writer. His generous sentiments so well become the English soldier and gentleman, his principles are all so evidently in their right places, and he retains, with a romantic tinge of character, so much of that early devotion to the profession of arms which a few years of experience are too often calculated to sober, that we thoroughly respect him, even while we are tempted to smile at the boyish enthusiasm which breathes through his pages.

Captain Batty, on the other hand, obtrudes on us less of his personal identity and feelings, and more of the deeply interesting and momentous actions which were in progress around him. He evinces a refined yet passionate taste for the beauties of nature, an energetic and cultivated mind, and a keen relish for 'the pomp and circumstance of war;' but he ever appears more in earnest than the author of the '*Recollections*' in the real business of his vocation. The other seems to love the profession for its romance, but he for its science. We find him joining the Foot Guards in the Pyrenees as an ensign, and, at once, preparing his own military surveys of the country, tracing every operation of the army as methodically as he would seat himself to a study, and entering into the scientific observation of every movement as if he had grown old in twenty campaigns. His narrative of operations,—and particularly of that portion of them which was entrusted to the first division

division of infantry wherein he served—is always clear, full, and unaffected; and he has illustrated the whole by an excellent plan on a good scale of the country from the Bidassoa to Bayonne, on which the principal encounters of the combatants are very distinctly marked. But, while thus occupied in the immediate object of warfare, and in the improvement of his professional acquirements, he also found leisure, in the intervals between his duties in the field, to gratify an inclination for calmer pursuits. He has studied his volume with judicious and entertaining notices on the inhabitants, and on the sublime and picturesque features of the mountain regions in which he was quartered; and he has thus relieved much of the tedium attendant on the perusal of the mere military details of which his book is otherwise composed. The numerous etchings which he has given from his own landscape sketches are highly creditable to his taste and industry, and well calculated to support the reputation of a name already rendered familiar to the lover of art, by his beautiful views of French and German scenery. But it is time to enter on our own *campaigning*; which we shall do first with the lively author of the ‘*Recollections*,’ accompanying him until he is taken prisoner by the enemy, just at the period when our young guardsman opens his military career.

It was in the month of June, 1809, that the first of these writers, then a subaltern officer of infantry, embarked at Portsmouth to follow his regiment which had already sailed for Portugal; and a prosperous breeze soon bore him to the walls of Lisbon, near which he found his corps encamped. The delighted feelings with which he gazed on the new and striking scenes that surrounded him on landing, are expressed with all the freshness of early remembrance:

‘The appearance of every thing around me was so totally novel, that it is impossible for me to describe the singular, yet pleasing impression produced on my mind. To find myself walking amid a concourse of people, differing in feature, complexion and dress, so widely from the natives of England; to hear the continued sound of a language I could not understand; and to find myself, though a youthful foreigner, an object of notice and respect, as a British officer, was at once strange and delightful. The picturesque dress of the common peasants; the long strings of loaded mules; the cabriolets; the bullock cars, as rude and ancient in their construction, as those in the frontispiece to the *Georgics* of the oldest Virgils; the water-carriers; the lemonade-sellers; and, above all, the monks and friars in the habits of their orders: the style of the houses, the handsome entrances, the elegant balconies, the rare and beautiful plants arranged in them, all raised round me a scene which, real as it was, seemed almost the deception of a theatre. In the small square of San Paulo we stopped, and breakfasted in a light, cheerful room, which looked out on the quay. Here, while sipping my coffee, I commanded a view of the noble harbour, crowded with vessels;

vessels; while many pilot and fishing barks, with their large, handsome Latine sails, were coming up or going down the river; and, nearer the shore, hundreds of small neat boats, with white or painted awnings, were transporting passengers from one quay to another, or to the more distant suburbs of Alcantara and Belem. The whole of this picture was lighted up by a sun, such as is only to be met with in a southern climate, and so bright, that it appeared to animate every thing on which it shone. Immediately under the window of our café, some Moorish porters, of whom there are many in Lisbon, were occupied in their surprising labours. Their Herculean frames, small turbans, and striking features, and their prodigious exertions in lifting, and carrying immense and weighty packages, presented us with a new and uncommon scene. My mind naturally reverted to that era in past ages, when these Moormen, now so degraded, and, politically considered, so insignificant, swayed the sceptre of this beauteous land, and when, from the very source to the mouth of the golden Tagus, the crescent was triumphantly displayed. We proceeded, immediately after breakfast, to take a survey of the city; and ascending a very steep, though well-built street, made our way to the church of San Roque. My attention was arrested in passing the magnificent house, or rather the palace of the Baron Quintella, by the sight of one of those large groups of beggars, so common in this country. Round the gateway, and under the walls of this mansion, they lay, indolently stretched out, and only implored our charity by extending the hand. To follow, and importune us, was an exertion they never dreamed of; and in this last particular, they must be allowed to irritate a passenger far less, than the sturdy beggars occasionally met with in London, and the more numerous swarms, which infest half the towns in Ireland.—pp. 5, 7.

After a month had been passed at the camp near Lisbon in careless gaiety and in the indulgence of rational curiosity, the impatience of our Reminiscent to enter on his professional career was gratified by an order for the regiment to join the army, then actively engaged on the frontiers of Spain, after having driven the French out of Portugal. We cannot follow the writer in his sketches of the country through which he marched, but they are ever animated and pleasing. The bivouack, the midnight march by which it was varied, and the interval of repose which a camp could afford, have all equally their charms for the light-hearted soldier.

‘We bivouacked daily. It is a pleasing sight to see a column arrive at its halting ground. The camp is generally marked out, if circumstances allow of it, on the edge of some wood, and near a river or stream. The troops are halted in open columns, arms piled, piquets and guards paraded and posted, and, in two minutes, all appear at home. Some fetch large stones to form fire-places; others hurry off with canteens and kettles for water, while the wood resounds with the blows of the bill-hook. Dispersed, under the more distant trees, you see the officers; some dressing, some arranging a few boughs to shelter them

them by night; others kindling their own fires; while the most active are seen returning from the village, laden with bread, or from some flock of goats, feeding near us, with a supply of new milk. How often, under some spreading cork-tree, which offered shade, shelter, and fuel, have I taken up my lodging for the night! and here, or by some gurgling stream, my bosom fanned by whatever air was stirring, made my careless toilet, and sat down with men I both liked and esteemed, to a coarse but wholesome meal, seasoned by hunger and by cheerfulness. The rude simplicity of this life I found most pleasing. An enthusiastic admirer of nature, I was glad to move and dwell amid her grandest scenes, remote from cities, and unconnected with what is called society. Her mountains, her forests, and, sometimes, her bare and bladeless plains, yielded me a passing home: her rivers, streams, and springs, cooled my brow, and allayed my thirst. The inconvenience of one camp taught me to enjoy the next; and I learned (a strange lesson for the thoughtless!) that wood and water, shade and grass, were luxuries. I saw the sun set every evening; I saw him rise again each morning in all his majesty, and I felt that my very existence was a blessing. Strange, indeed, to observe how soon men, delicately brought up, can enure themselves to any thing. Wrapt in a blanket, or a cloak, the head reclining on a stone or a knapsack, covered by the dews of night, or drenched perhaps by the thunder-shower, sleeps many a youth, to whom the carpetted chamber, the curtained couch, and the bed of down, have been from infancy familiar.—pp. 42, 43.

‘With a small advanced guard I entered Golegão at the head of the regiment, just as early matin-bell was summoning the inhabitants to prayers. The attendance on public worship throughout Spain and Portugal is extremely regular, and no occupation or manner of life is suffered to interfere with this sacred duty. To mass go the muleteers before they load their train; and from the door of the chapel the peasants sally forth to their daily labours. The very changing of night into day, a measure rendered necessary by the extreme heat, carried with it the charm of novelty. I was well lodged, and hospitably treated, in a humble but clean cottage, and with the night again set forward.’

‘This march, and the following, our route, which passed by Punheto to Abrantes, led us often for miles along the banks of the Tagus; and through villages built on the very edge of the river. A clear bright silver moon lighted our silent path; not a lamp burning in any of the cottages; not a human voice to be heard; not a sound, save the dull tread of our weary men, and the gentle tone in which the waters told their ceaseless flow. The moon-beams which played upon the bright arms of our gallant soldiers, shone also on the glistening nets of the peaceful fisherman, which hung spread upon the rocks near his deserted bark. All within these humble dwellings was repose, and their happy inmates slumbered sweetly, unconscious that the tide of war (harmless and friendly indeed to them, yet bearing on its wave not only youth, ambition, and courage, but perhaps, even ferocity and crime) rolled, in the dead of night, past the vine-clad walls of their defenceless cots.’—pp. 38, 39.

‘Whenever we remained a week or a fortnight stationary, the sutlers who followed the army overtook and opened their temporary shops in the towns near us, or in our very camps; and thus we were often well, though dearly, supplied with many comforts, such as tea, sugar, brandies, wines, segars, &c. In these sort of camps, we felt two serious wants, I allow; books, and the society of women. It is true that in the Peninsula we never enjoyed either the one or the other in perfection; yet in quarters we could often procure a few odd volumes of Latin or French, which served to beguile, and often usefully to occupy our time; and for female society you frequently met with agreeable and interesting girls in your billet. Indeed I remember at Portalegre we used to frequent the grates of the nunneries, and all the sisters seemed flattered by our attentions. A military band was often brought down to the outer court of their sacred prisons, for their amusement, and some of the officers would sit for hours in the convent parlours, talking with the nuns, whom a double row of thick gratings, so contrived that you could only shake hands in the space between the two rows, separated from their gay innamoratos. Some of these unfortunates were young and engaging; one, a pretty interesting girl, in the convent of Santa Clara, died before we left the city. She was passionately in love with a British officer, who was himself at the time much affected by her loss. I considered her death a mercy; for she must have either lived a life of hopeless misery, or dared to rend asunder the sacred tie which bound her to her country, her family, and her convent, and have survived, perhaps, after all, the very flame to which she had so innocently given birth.—pp. 93—99.

The entrance of his regiment into Spain (too late, much to the chagrin of our author and his comrades, to join in the glories of Talavera) affords him the occasion for some entertaining pictures of Spanish costumes;—for these however we must refer the reader to his little volume. He passed but a very few months in Spanish Estremadura; but it is surprising how readily he seems to have naturalized himself among the inhabitants, and how quickly he caught the peculiar and interesting features of their character. Putting aside the charm that attaches to the narrative of a young soldier, unaffectedly recalling the vicissitudes of a life which he loved, there is so much truth and nature about his account of the people and scenery of the Peninsula, that we really find him a more agreeable informant than half the professed travellers who inundate the press with their ‘tours’ and ‘residences.’ The enjoyment which he knew how to extract from every thing around him, was interrupted, in the autumn of 1809, by a violent fit of illness, and he was ordered by the medical officers to Lisbon for the recovery of his health. Early in 1810, he again joined the army on the frontier, where the troops remained stationary for several months, until they began to retire through Portugal, before the overwhelming force of the enemy, to the lines of Torres Vedras.

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We pass over the remaining events of the year; the occupation of the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras by our army, and the subsequent retreat of the baffled enemy to the confines of Portugal. In the campaign of 1811 our author's regiment was attached to the corps d'armée, which operated in Spanish Estremadura under Lord Beresford, and subsequently under Lord Hill. The affair of cavalry at Campo Mayor on the 26th of March was the first occurrence of interest (with the exception of the battle of Buzaco) which he witnessed; and he has preserved two little circumstances connected with it, which we shall give in his own words.

‘ I remember well, among the events of this day, having remarked one fine manly corpse very particularly; it lay a few yards from the road-side; alone, naked, the face and breast downwards, and on the back of the head a deep and frightful cleft, inflicted by the sabre; all around the spot where it lay the ground was deeply indented with the print of horses' feet, who appeared to have gone over it at a furious pace. The sky was cloudy, and the wind high; the body was cold and pale, the fine formed limbs were stiff and motionless; the spirit, which had animated it, not an hour before, had indeed fled; yet, I know not how it was, the very corpse made a forcible appeal to the feelings, and seemed to suffer, it looked so comfortless, so humbled, so deserted. An English dragoon, leading a wounded horse, and conducting two prisoners, one of whom had sabre cuts on the cheek and shoulder, passed me while I was contemplating this scene. “ Do you recollect,” said I, “ friend, what took place here?” “ Yes, sir; they shewed us a front here, and we charged, and drove them; but this man, who was an officer, tried to rally them, and was cut down by our adjutant, as I think.” At this moment, one of the French horsemen, leaning down, exclaimed, “ C'est le colonel.” “ Comment diable?” said the other. “ C'est bien lui,” said his comrade; “ il est mort. Ah! qu'il étoit brave soldat; ce vilain champ de bataille n'est pas digne d'un tel victime.” They passed on. What! this carcase, on which the flies were already settling, which lay, all spurned and blood-stained on the rude and prickly heath, had been, but one short hour before, a man of rank, fortune, courage, whose voice breathed command, whose eye glanced fire, whose arm shook defiance:—even so, such is war.’

‘ The same day a young French officer was taken by the falling of his horse; he was of the compagnie d'élite of the twenty-sixth dragoons; a handsome youth, with a fine fair complexion; a serjeant escorted him past our column, which was, at the time, halted. I shall never forget the mortified and mournful dejection of his countenance: he suffered the bridle of his horse to hang on its neck, and sat in the saddle, thoughtfully careless. As he passed us, some of our officers moved their hats to him; he returned their salute, taking off his large bear-skin cap with much grace; but I could see that his eyes were filled with tears. A very few yards behind us, he had to pass a Portuguese column, whose officers crowded forward to look at him, with a sort of triumphant curiosity; though his back was to me, I saw that this

awakened all his pride and spirit, for he placed himself erect in his seat, spurred and reined up his horse, and rode slowly and haughtily by them. Two days after the affair, a flag of truce came to Elvas, to bring this young man some baggage and money. The French captain who came, remained with his young friend for half an hour, in the officers' guard-room, at one of the barriers. The trumpeter who accompanied the flag was a vieux moustache, of about forty, with the cheverons of twenty years' service on his arm. This man, when the two friends came out, and the captain mounted, rode up to the young officer, and cordially grasping his hand, put into it a purse of money, and rode off. The purse, I found, had been made up among the privates of the *compagnie d'élite*, who had charged the old trumpeter with its delivery. This was too strong a testimony, both of the amiability and gallantry of this youth, not to create a deep feeling of interest for him; and it was sorrowful to think, that he might be doomed for years, perhaps, to pine away at some *dépôt* of prisoners in England; his professional hopes and prospects blasted, and the brightest season of his life chilled by poverty, and consumed by inaction.—pp. 143—146.

Our author was afterwards present at the first and unsuccessful siege of Badajoz, at the battle of Albuhera, and at the surprize of General Girard's division at Arroyo de Molinos. Of the second of these events he has attempted a general description, which we could willingly have spared, for it is as dry, confused and uninteresting as the worst penned official dispatch; but the account of his personal share in the battle is of another character, and told with all his customary animation.

‘ We stood to our arms an hour before break of day: it was a brilliant sight, at sun-rise, to see the whole of the French cavalry moving along the plain; but in a short time they retired into the wood, leaving their piquets as before. The battalion being dismissed, I breakfasted, and immediately afterwards set out to walk towards the Spanish troops, little dreaming, that day, of a general action. But the sound of a few shots caused me to return; and I found our line getting hastily under arms, and saw the enemy in motion. The prelude of skirmishing lasted about an hour and a half, and our division lost a few men by random gun-shot; all this time we were standing at ease, and part of it exposed to a heavy, chilling, and comfortless rain. Sounds, however, which breathed all the fierceness of battle, soon reached us; the continued rolling of musketry, accompanied by loud and repeated discharges of cannon on our extreme right, told us, convincingly, that the real attack was in that quarter. The brigades of our division were successively called to support it. We formed in open column of companies at half-distance, and moved in rapid double-quick to the scene of action. I remember well, as we moved down in column, shot and shell flew over and through it in quick succession; we sustained little injury from either; but a captain of the twenty-ninth had been dreadfully lacerated by a ball, and lay directly in our path. We passed close to him, and
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he knew us all; and the heart-rending tone in which he called to us for water, or to kill him, I shall never forget. He lay alone, and we were in motion, and could give him no succour; for on this trying day, such of the wounded as could not walk lay unattended where they fell: all was hurry and struggle; every arm was wanted in the field. When we arrived near the discomfited and retiring Spaniards, and formed our line to advance through them towards the enemy, a very noble-looking young Spanish officer rode up to me, and begged me, with a sort of proud and brave anxiety, to explain to the English, that his countrymen were ordered to retire, but were not flying. Just as our line had entirely cleared the Spaniards, the smoky shroud of battle was, by the slackening of the fire, for one minute blown aside, and gave to our view the French grenadier caps, their arms, and the whole aspect of their frowning masses. It was a momentary, but a grand sight; a heavy atmosphere of smoke again enveloped us, and few objects could be discerned at all, none distinctly. The coolest and bravest soldier, if he be in the heat of it, can make no calculation of time during an engagement. Interested and animated, he marks not the flight of the hours; but he feels that,

—————“Come what come may,
Time and the hour run through the roughest day.”

‘This murderous contest of musketry lasted long. We were the whole time progressively advancing upon and shaking the enemy. At the distance of about twenty yards from them, we received orders to charge; we had ceased firing, cheered, and had our bayonets in the charging position, when a body of the enemy’s horse was discovered under the shoulder of a rising ground, ready to take advantage of our impetuosity. Already, however, had the French infantry, alarmed by our preparatory cheers, which always indicate the charge, broken and fled, abandoning some guns and howitzers about sixty yards from us. The presence of their cavalry not permitting us to pursue, we halted and re-commenced firing on them. The slaughter was now, for a few minutes, dreadful; every shot told; their officers in vain attempted to rally them; they would make no effort. Some of their artillery, indeed, took up a distant position, which much annoyed our line; but we did not move, until we had expended every round of our ammunition, and then retired, in the most perfect order, to a spot sheltered from their guns, and lay down in line, ready to repulse any fresh attack with the bayonet. To describe my feelings throughout this wild scene with fidelity, would be impossible: at intervals, a shriek or groan told that men were falling around me; but it was not always that the tumult of the contest suffered me to catch these sounds. A constant feeling to the centre of the line, and the gradual diminution of our front, more truly bespoke the havoc of death. As we moved, though slowly, yet ever a little in advance, our own killed and wounded lay behind us; but we arrived among those of the enemy, and those of the Spaniards who had fallen in the first onset: we trod among the dead and dying, all reckless of them. But how shall I picture the *British soldier* going into action? He is neither heated by brandy, stimulated by the hope of plunder,

nor inflamed by the deadly feelings of revenge; he does not even indulge in expressions of animosity against his foes; he moves forward, confident of victory, never dreams of the possibility of defeat, and braves death with all the accompanying horrors of laceration and torture, with the most cheerful intrepidity.'—pp. 158—163.

At Arroyo de Molinos the whole or nearly the whole of Girard's corps were captured. What followed was quite French, and a whimsical exhibition of the levity of spirit and contented vanity which belong to the national character.

'We had here a most amusing specimen of French character: in the French column one of the regiments was numbered thirty-four; in the British column also the thirty-fourth regiment led the pursuit, and got quite mixed with the enemy. Several of the French officers, as they tendered their swords, embraced the officers of the English thirty-fourth, saying,—*'Ah, Messieurs, nous sommes des frères, nous sommes du trente-quatrième régiment tous deux.'*—*'Vous êtes des braves.'*—*'Les Anglois se battent toujours avec loyauté, et traitent bien leurs prisonniers.'*—*'Ah, Messieurs, la fortune de la guerre est bien capricieuse.'*—Under any circumstances, however unfortunate, this people will find some method of disarming wrath, courting favour, and softening their fate:—they have spirits, too, wonderfully elastic; and have the readiest ingenuity in framing excuses for any disaster, or disgrace, which may befall them. I was on duty, over the prisoners, a few days after the affair; at the close of the day's march, a chapel was allotted to them for the night, and to have seen them take possession of it, one really would have thought that they were still marching free, and in arms; they entered it, singing, *'Grenadiers, ici; grenadiers, ici'*—*'Voltigeurs, là, là; voltigeurs, là, là'*—and ran tumultuously, the grenadiers to the altar, and the voltigeurs to the gallery. In ten minutes all were at home—some playing at cards, some singing, some dancing—here a man was performing punch, behind a great coat, with infinite drollery—there again, quieter men were occupied in repairing their clothes, or shoes, while in one part of the chapel a self-elected orator was addressing a group on their late capture, in such terms as *'Messieurs, vous n'êtes pas déshonorés'*—*'On nous a trompé; cet Espagnol nous a vendu.'*—*'Eh comment! qui vous a dit cela?'* said a rough voice. —*'Monsieur,'* replied my orator, *'vous me permettez de savoir. Je suis de Paris même, et je connois la guerre.'*—This speech was highly approved; for several vociferated—*'Ah! oui, il a raison; nous avons été vendus par ce vilain espion.'*—*'Nous aurions battu les Anglois dans une affaire rangée, mais certainement,'* said my little Parisian;—and just then, the rations making their appearance, they all hurried to the door, and singing some song, the chorus of which was *'Bonne soupe, bonne soupe,'* they eagerly took their meat, and set about preparing it.'—pp. 174—176.

A short absence in England, whither he had been summoned towards the close of the year, to proceed to the first battalion of his regiment in India, interrupted the course of our author's active service;

service; but 'a fortunate and well timed promotion to a company' restored him again to the Peninsula in August, 1812. He served with Lord Hill's division on the march towards Madrid, on the retreat from thence to Ciudad Rodrigo, and again on the advance through Spain in the following year; in the course of which he was present at the battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees. In the latter, on the 25th of July, he was unfortunately made prisoner in command of a piquet. It will be supposed, from the nature of the numerous extracts which we have given, that he has not left the last year of his service devoid of many interesting particulars, and the account of his capture, with which the volume closes, is among the most striking of them. But we must here, with the general repetition of our testimony to the merits of his narrative, be contented to part from him, that we may not appear wanting in acknowledgement for the agreeable hour which we have passed over the equally attractive and more important publication of Captain Batty.

It was shortly after the battle of the Pyrenees that this officer, with a reinforcement of men from England, joined the Foot-guards on the Spanish bank of the Bidassoa. As we before observed, he had no sooner landed than his mind appears to have been engaged deeply and enthusiastically in watching and recording the progress of operations. He correctly observes, that 'the difficulty of bringing together an accurate view of military operations, and more especially those which are carried on in a mountainous tract of country, where the several parts of an army are frequently separated and hidden from each other, makes it highly desirable, and indeed essentially necessary for understanding the details of any combined movements, that officers, in every corps of an army so circumstanced, should take down notes of such occurrences and manœuvres as may fall under their immediate observation.' It is indeed a matter of surprize and regret that, of the numerous young men of intelligence and activity who filled the ranks of the Peninsular army at this period, there have hitherto been found none to contribute their share of observation towards a connected view of so singular and glorious a campaign. In such mountain-warfare no one eye can trace the course of detached and distant movements; and here the regimental officer might afford useful assistance towards the compilation of a general history of the war by relating simply the circumstances that fell within his immediate knowledge. Captain Batty's example in this respect may be followed with advantage by all who shall hereafter possess the same opportunities and talent. He tells us, that he 'determined, from the first moment of his 'joining the Grenadier Guards in the field, to make notes of all occurrences in the order in which they took place; and to employ his leisure moments, which it will be seen could not have been

many, in making military surveys trigonometrically of such portions of the country as were accessible; and also in taking sketches of the most remarkable scenery.'

To elucidate the operations of the left wing of the allied army, to which the Guards in the first division were attached, Captain Batty has compiled, apparently from good authorities, a brief but clear and satisfactory view of the events of the campaign of 1813, from its opening, to the period at which he arrived at the army and commenced his personal journal. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that in this campaign, which began on the frontiers of Portugal, our Great Captain had with consummate skill turned the enemy's line of defence on the Douro; routed their main army at the memorable battle of Vittoria, with the loss of all their artillery, other matériel and treasures—the accumulated plunder of the Peninsula; and driven them in utter disorder across the Pyrenees. The subsequent siege of St. Sebastian, and the blockade of Pamplona by the allies, the repulse of Marshal Soult in his ineffectual efforts to relieve the garrisons, and the assault and capture of the former fortress, had all taken place before the end of September. Our author, therefore, on reaching the theatre of these splendid achievements on the last day of that month, found the different divisions of the allied army still occupying the passes of the Pyrenees, in momentary expectation that the surrender of the garrison of Pamplona, whose provisions were supposed to be nearly exhausted, would prove the signal for an advance into the French territory. The hopes of the left wing of the army were realized even before the fall of Pamplona. The passage of the Bidassoa, the first operation wherein Captain Batty was engaged, and which forms the subject of a highly interesting etching, was effected on the 7th of October, notwithstanding the opposition of the enemy, and the left wing of the British army firmly established on the hitherto unviolated soil of France. The movements and action on this day, in which our author had his share, are described by him with remarkable spirit and distinctness, and the sketches by which he has illustrated them, render the whole more like a picture than a narrative. The suspension, for some time, of any further movements, occasioned by the necessity of awaiting the surrender of Pamplona, gave fresh opportunities to the officers, says Captain Batty, of making excursions among the mountains, and enjoying their magnificent and ever-varying scenery. He speaks in rapturous terms of the grand and picturesque beauty of the vale of the Bidassoa. But the glowing admiration with which he every where looks upon nature, presented, as she must be, in her wildest and most imposing forms among the great mountain chain of the Pyrenees, would lose half its effect upon the imagination of the reader were

were it separated from the drawings which the author has etched. These are executed generally with great taste, and in a very artist-like manner. The careful accuracy of the mountain outline, the evident absence of fanciful making up in the foregrounds, (which are particularly good,) and the characteristic style of the scenery, all bear an air of truth that it is impossible to mistake. If we were required to specify a fault in them we should say that the lights—except in one exquisite view of Fontarabia and the mountain of Jaysquibel—are not sufficiently subdued. In the forest scenes, more especially, they are thrown over the foliage in patches, and frittered away without strength of effect. A glare is thus cast upon some of the plates, the force of which is unpleasantly increased by the want of finishing in the skies. This, however, we suspect, is merely the result of a little timidity in handling the etching needle, for a few deeper touches are almost all that is requisite; the fidelity and keeping of the sketches are admirable, and render them a most appropriate accompaniment to the volume.

The surrender of Pamplona, on the last day of October, having at length liberated the army, which protected the blockade, for the prosecution of its intended career in France, preparations were immediately made for the assault of the strong line of intrenchments on both sides of the river Nivelle, by which Soult had skilfully covered his army. The works constructed by the enemy on the right of their position, in front of the town of St. Jean de Luz and opposite to the left wing of the allies, were of so formidable a nature that it was not thought expedient to attack them in front; but, on the 10th of November, the centre and left of their lines were carried in gallant style, and fifty pieces of cannon and 1,500 prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. The left wing of the allied army bore no other part in the triumphs of the day than by a succession of well-planned feints against the enemy's right, which had the desired effect of diverting their attention from the real points of attack. As our author's division, during the greater portion of the day, was not seriously engaged, and occupied a situation well adapted for viewing the battle to a great extent, he has been enabled to offer a full and highly interesting account of it, which we regret that we are prevented by its great length from inserting. Soult being compelled, by the defeat of his centre and left, to evacuate the strong works in front of St. Jean de Luz, that town was occupied by the Guards, and became the seat of the British head-quarters. The French withdrew the greater part of their force into an intrenched camp under the walls of Bayonne, and the heavy rains, which commenced after the action of the 10th, and continued without intermission until the 18th of November, rendering the
cross-roads

cross-roads impassable, and swelling the mountain-streams into torrents, the allied army were placed in cantonments.

The period of inaction which followed was not lost upon our author. His residence at St. Jean de Luz—of the quay and part of which town, by the way, he has a bold etching that forcibly reminds us of the manner of Canaletti—afforded him some opportunities for interesting observation of the peculiar race who inhabit the country on both sides of the Pyrenees. The Basques pride themselves on an unadulterated descent from the ancient Cantabris, and there certainly appears strong reason for the belief that the purity of their origin has suffered little from the admixture either of Roman, or Gothic, or Saracenic blood. Captain Batty has wandered rather beyond the purpose of his volume into a tedious dissertation upon the pedigree and history of these mountaineers, without throwing much additional light upon the subject; but some of his remarks upon their present character are curious: and his account of the good effects which the excellent discipline of our army produced upon the disposition of these people is gratifying, and highly honourable to the invaders.

The resumption of offensive operations on the 9th of December again occupied our author in professional duties. It is not our purpose in this place, to follow him through the spirit-stirring details of the series of severe contests, which were carried on for five whole days, from the ninth to the 13th of December inclusive, in one part or other of the hostile lines, with scarcely an interval of rest. On the first of these days the passage of the river Nive was effected, and, on the four following, every effort of Soult to drive the allies back by desperate attacks on different points of their position was completely defeated; so that, on the 13th of December, our army remained established on both banks of the Nive, with its right resting on the Adour, and straitening the supplies and communications of the enemy in their intrenchments round Bayonne. The repose which followed these brilliant but harassing operations, lasted, with only one interruption, until the middle of February, 1814; when the snows, which had fallen in the interval, having disappeared, and the weather becoming fair, the army broke up from cantonments to effect its advance towards the interior of France. In the passage of the Adour below Bayonne our author was personally engaged, and he gives, we think, (pp. 117—127) the best general account which we have seen both of that celebrated operation, and of the formation of the bridge of boats near the mouth of the river. But we have no room for any part of it.

After the passage of the Adour had been effected, the Guards formed a portion of the corps d'armée, which was left to invest the citadel and town of Bayonne, on both banks of the river, under Sir John

John Hope (since Lord Hopetoun—whose recent death has deprived his profession of one of its brightest ornaments, and his country of an enlightened and amiable nobleman); whilst the main body, under the Duke of Wellington in person, prosecuted the more immediate objects of the campaign. Captain Batty therefore did not witness either the battles of Orthes and Thoulouse, or the movements connected with those victories. He has indeed given an abstract of that portion of the campaign, but his account offers nothing worthy of remark, and its best merit must be that it is a faithful though abridged transcript of official and authentic documents. But the particulars of the blockade of Bayonne, and of the night-sortie made by the garrison from the citadel on the northern bank of the river, are related by our author from personal observation. Of this last affair, in which unfortunately many valuable lives were sacrificed to the incredulity (real or pretended) of the French governor, after the war had actually terminated by the abdication of Buonaparte, Captain Batty has afforded us so lively a picture that we are tempted to extract it.

‘ On the night of the 13th, two deserters came over to the outposts, and gave information that the whole of the garrison was under arms, and prepared to make a sortie early on the following morning. At the early hour of three in the morning the first division was ordered to arms, and in a few minutes afterwards the enemy commenced his movements by a feint attack upon the troops guarding the outposts in front of Anglet. The night was extremely dark, and the view of their onset was very singular from the height near the citadel; but it was evident from the little vigour displayed in this feint, that the enemy’s chief efforts would not be made on that side. The troops around the citadel did not remain long in suspense, for parties of the French crawled up the side of the hill on which the allied piquets were stationed, and came upon them almost by surprize. Some of the sentinels being instantly put to death, two columns of the French rushed forward with loud cheers of *En avant, En avant!* and, by their overpowering numbers, broke through the line of piquets between St. Etienne and St. Bernard. Another very strong column advanced direct upon the village of St. Etienne, and, in a few moments, a most furious contest ensued along the greater part of the line of piquets on the right bank of the Adour.’

‘ The cross-road, which has been already described, marking the line of outposts through the village of St. Etienne, and along the height towards Boucaut, is worn in places to a deep hollow way; or, as the French term it, is a *chemin encaissé*, and the banks at the sides are so steep that it is no easy matter to get out of the road, excepting at long intervals, where gaps were broken down for the passage of the troops; in many places too, it is bounded by high garden walls; and thus, when the French columns broke through the line in different places, part of the piquets were completely cut off from all communication with their supports, and retreat was impossible; in these places the soldiers fought
with

with desperation, and heaps of the slain, both French and English, were afterwards found on the points of attack; most of them had been killed with the bayonet. It was supposed that the enemy would make his principal efforts against the bridge of vessels; and to be in readiness for the approach on that side, Lord Saltoun barricaded every entrance to the old Convent of St. Bernard; this post he had strongly intrenched, and with great ability had converted it into a respectable little fortress. The French gun-boats descended the river opposite to the limits of the intrenched camp, and opened a heavy flanking cannonade against the first division, which now moved forward to support the piquets upon the right flank of the line. Major-General Hay, whose division had crossed the Adour some time before, and encamped near Boucaut, was the general in command of the outposts for the night; and, whilst giving directions for the defence of some of the most important buildings in the village of St. Etienne, was unfortunately killed, and the enemy gained possession of nearly the whole of them.

‘In the early part of the attack, Sir John Hope, accompanied by all his staff, went forward to ascertain the enemy’s movements against St. Etienne; and wishing to arrive there by the shortest way, entered the cross-road, or lane, before described, not aware that a great part of it was in the enemy’s possession, and that the piquets of the right flank had fallen back when the French columns pierced the line of outposts. He had not proceeded far, before he discovered, by a faint glimmer in the horizon, that he was upon the point of riding into the enemy’s line, and immediately ordered his staff to face about and get out of the hollow road. The general with his aide-de-camp Lieutenant Moore, and Captain Herries of the Quarter-Master General’s Department, were in front, and consequently the last in retiring; however, before they could get out of the road, the French infantry came up to about twelve yards distance, and began firing. Sir John Hope’s horse received three balls, and instantly fell dead, bringing him to the ground, and entangling his foot under its side. Lieutenant Moore and Captain Herries immediately dismounted to his assistance, and were in the act of attempting to raise the general and disengage his foot, when the latter officer fell severely wounded; and, as ill-luck would have it, the instant after a ball struck Lieutenant Moore and shattered his right arm. The general himself received a slight wound in the arm, and the French soldiers instantly came up and made them all prisoners. It appeared that they were only able to extricate Sir John Hope by drawing his leg out of the boot, which was afterwards found under the horse’s side. As the French were conducting the general along the road towards Bayonne, he was again struck by a ball, supposed to be fired from our own piquets, which wounded him severely in the foot.’

‘The enemy, having thus far completely succeeded in his attack, lost no time in filling up the intrenchments made by the allies on the line of outposts. They had taken many prisoners, and amongst them was the Honourable Colonel Townsend, commanding the piquets of the first brigade of Guards. Nearly seventy pieces of their artillery had been constantly firing to support their attack; shells were continually flying through

through the air, describing beautiful curves of light as they fell; and the flashes from the cannon were almost incessant, rendering darkness doubly obscure at any momentary pause.

‘In this state of the action, Major-General Howard directed Colonel Maitland to support the right flank with the first brigade of guards, to co-operate in recovering the ground between the right flank and St. Etienne. Major-General Stopford was soon after wounded, leaving the command of the second brigade to General Guise. As it was supposed that the enemy would push on in the direction of Boucaut, with a view to destroy the bridge of vessels, Colonel Maitland formed his brigade on the heights above the old convent of St. Bernard, to be in readiness to charge the enemy in flank, should he advance towards the bridge; but, when it was found that the attack was wholly directed against the centre of the semicircular countervallation opposite to the citadel, he advanced with the third battalion of the First Foot-Guards, under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, to attack the French in the hollow road, and in the fields in its rear, of which they had gained possession.’

‘On arriving near the French line, which, from the extreme obscurity of the night, we could still only distinguish by the firing of their musketry from behind the hedges and walls, the whole battalion was ordered to lie down on the ground, and await a signal to rush forward and charge; whilst orders were communicated to the Coldstream Guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford, to make a simultaneous attack for the recovery of the old position in the hollow road. During this interval, a hot fire was kept up by the skirmishers, and several officers and soldiers, in both brigades, were wounded. The third battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, was obliged to keep close to the ground, on a little eminence, which was so exposed to the fire of artillery from the citadel, that, had they stood up for a few moments, they must soon have been nearly annihilated. At length, the signal was given to charge; and the battalion, rising in mass, rushed forward with an appalling shout; the Coldstream battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford, charging the enemy in the opposite flank at the same moment. This well-combined attack decided, immediately, the contest on this part of the line; for the French, fearing to have their retreat upon the citadel cut off, ran with all speed to scramble through the difficult hollow lane, which, in a few moments after, was again in possession of the Guards. A most destructive fire was instantly commenced by both battalions against the French, in their retreat over the glacis of the citadel within the covered way.

‘On the side of St. Etienne, the contest was extremely obstinate; but the enemy in vain endeavoured to take possession of a house occupied by Captain Foster of the thirty-eighth regiment, who bravely maintained his post, although the greater part of his men were killed and wounded, till the brigade of the King’s German Legion, commanded by Major-General Hinuber, retook the village, and rescued this brave officer and his intrepid little garrison. When the enemy was driven out of St. Etienne, a field-piece was brought to bear on the retreating columns,

columns, and no less than thirteen rounds of grape and canister shot were fired with effect at them, as they retreated down the great road into St. Esprit: the slaughter at this point was terrific.

'Towards the close of the action, the moon had risen, and, as dawn broke over the scene of battle, we began to discern the dreadful havoc that had been made; the French and English soldiers and officers were lying on all sides, either killed or wounded; and so intermixed were they that there appeared to have been no distinct line belonging to either party.

'It would be almost impossible to convey an idea of the effect produced by the numerous flashes from the cannon and the sparkling light from the musketry, or of the confused noise from the roar of cannon, the bursting of shells, and the cheers of the soldiers, intermingled with the piercing shrieks and groans of the dying and wounded. At times the darkness was in part dispelled by the bright blue light of fire-balls thrown from the citadel, to shew the assailants where to direct their guns; which they effectually did, by the great brilliancy with which they burned. Some of these fire-balls and shells fell into the midst of the dépôt of fascines, which instantly caught fire and burnt with great fierceness; so as to require constant exertions before they could be extinguished. Several houses caught fire, and two in particular burnt for a time with great violence, casting a lurid light under the vaulted clouds of smoke which rose to the skies. It seemed as if the elements of destruction had all burst forth together over this deep ensanguined scene of two contending armies.'

'The loss, as may well be imagined, was severe, during so hard a conflict on a narrowly circumscribed space. It amounted, of the allies, to nearly eight hundred men, of whom about three hundred were prisoners. The loss of the French was much more severe; besides a general of brigade and a great number of officers killed, their ascertained loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was nine hundred and thirteen, but of these there were barely twenty prisoners. Independent of the mortification caused by the capture of their General-in-Chief, the left wing had to lament the loss of many brave officers. In the brigades of Guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Sullivan, and Captain Crofton of the Coldstream Regiment, were killed, and about twelve officers of the three regiments received severe wounds, and unhappily most of these proved fatal.

'After the engagement was over, a momentary truce took place on the outposts, and the officers of both armies conversed together. On our expressing the deep regret we felt at the useless sacrifice that had been made of so many brave men, it was quite disgusting to observe the *nonchalance* affected by these gentlemen, and the light manner in which they pretended to treat it, remarking that, after all, it was nothing more than a *petite promenade militaire*. But it would be difficult to convey an idea of their astonishment, when we informed them of the events which had recently occurred in Paris, and they would not believe it possible that their idol Napoleon had abdicated the throne.'—pp. 159—165.

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This obstinate conflict terminated our author's career of service until the crowning glories of Waterloo. The blockade of Bayonne ceased, very soon after the sortie, by the conclusion of the convention between the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Soult; and the Guards commenced their march through the Pays des Landes to Bordeaux there to embark for England. Of the scenery on the Adour and Garonne, and in the Landes, our author has a few pleasing views, accompanied by an agreeable journal of his route to Bordeaux; but for this closing part of his work we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

ART. IV.—*The Epistles of Paul the Apostle translated, with an Exposition and Notes.* By the Rev. Thomas Belsham, Minister of Essex Street Chapel. 4 vols. 8vo. London. 1823.

MR. Belsham has lately been in so unusual a state of quiescence, that we began to doubt whether the lapse of years had not extinguished his love of controversy and prevailed over his hatred of dignitaries and establishments. He has now atoned for his silence by the production of four ponderous octavos, containing what he is pleased to call an exposition of St. Paul. The task of examining his former publications assuredly has never been rewarded by the occurrence of any depth of research, any felicity of conjecture, or even any ingenuity of paradox. His learning is altogether mean, his reading principally confined to the meagre catalogue of writers of his own party, his method of ratiocination positive and dogmatical, and convincing to himself alone, or to a few devoted followers. We were, on these accounts, so heartily wearied with Mr. Belsham's writings in general, that we little expected to have been provoked into any further discussion of them. But the work before us possesses claims to attention. It is the first full and systematic exposition of the opinions of the modern Unitarians on the momentous question of man's justification, founded indeed on principles already avowed, but differing from former works by considering, at great length, the whole of St. Paul's writings, in which that question is so fully treated, and endeavouring to bend or force every expression in them to an agreement with the Unitarian theory. We need hardly say that we are far from thinking Mr. Belsham a sufficient commentator on any part of the Sacred Volume; but the writings of St. Paul are assuredly that portion of it which he is the most incapable of explaining. We do not say this merely because a logician of Mr. Belsham's school may find peculiar difficulties in following the bold and rapid reasonings of the great Apostle, as we shall see hereafter is really the case; nor because the sudden breaks, the

the perpetual change of person and the other 'disturbances' in St. Paul's Epistles, arising, as has been well said, 'from the plenty and vivacity of his thoughts,' must add in no inconsiderable degree to the difficulties which a superficial scholar will always find in a language of such infinite variety as the Greek, and especially in so peculiar a dialect of it as that used by the writers of the New Testament. These are not the only nor the principal reasons which disqualify Mr. Belsham for an expositor of the writings of St. Paul. These writings contain the most awful views of religion, and the profoundest and most spiritual knowledge. The doctrines which they inculcate of the intimate connexion of the moral and intellectual frame; of the efficacious operation of the Divine Wisdom on the human being, enlightening and developing the understanding by reforming the heart; the discernment of even the most remote and spiritual truths which they promise to the Christian as the fruits of that *θεοπαροδος σοφια* to be bestowed on a holy life; these truths, we say, and others of an exalted character, must make the writings of St. Paul a closed volume for the disciples of the tangible and sensible philosophy of the Deist and the Unitarian. When, indeed, we remember the elevation of thought, of hope, and of affection to which these divine writings have given birth in us, the high and holy contemplations to which they have conducted us, and, we humbly hope, the improvement of heart and of mind which we owe to them; it is really odious and painful to think of the degradation and debasement which they undergo in the hands of an Unitarian commentator. But if we descend to lower grounds than this, and remember merely that St. Paul was a Pharisee of great learning, and consequently intimately acquainted with all the literature of his sect, and imbued with their opinions; when we consider that, even at this day, it is in the power of any man of moderate acquirements to obtain an extensive acquaintance with the Rabbinical learning, and thus to comprehend much that might otherwise be obscure in the writings of the Apostle, what can we think of one who presumes to undertake an exposition of those writings without the slightest qualification of this nature? For the idle and empty parade of ostentatious learning, for the exhibition of long lists of names unknown to the wondering reader, we profess the most entire contempt. The coxcombray of learning is at least as miserable as any other coxcombray; but, in this case, it does not require a single word to show that the acquisition of the learning to which we have alluded is essential to the commentator of St. Paul, and the neglect of it fatal to his pretensions.

.. But we feel so little interest in the general character of the book that we shall hasten at once to a discussion of the only important part of it, the Unitarian exposition of the system of justification delivered

delivered by St. Paul. As that exposition rests, however, for its foundation, on the peculiar views entertained by Mr. Belsham of the degree of inspiration enjoyed by the sacred writers, it will be necessary for us previously to investigate the truth of his opinions on that subject. Now the view which Mr. Belsham takes of the inspiration of St. Paul appears to us as absurd as any which could be offered on the subject. He adduces the testimony, indeed, of Paley and Burnet in his favour; but we must beg our readers to assign to the opinions of these writers, as far as they go with him, no greater degree of authority than their individual names challenge, and not in any degree to conceive that they express the opinions of the church of which they were members. The theory of inspiration, then, which Mr. Belsham adopts, is, that though the doctrines of St. Paul were unquestionably revealed to him, and must therefore be received without doubt or hesitation, yet the arguments by which he supports them may be wholly false, groundless and inconclusive. Nor on this hypothesis is it thought necessary to ascribe to him any knowledge of scripture, any protection from misunderstanding it, or any view of the preceding dispensation superior in clearness or correctness to those which ordinary men enjoy.

We are far from wishing to make Paley and Burnet answerable for the indecent use which Mr. Belsham has made of this theory, but we decidedly and entirely object to the theory itself. If, indeed, the Apostles had been left to defend the truth by false or inconclusive arguments, how miserable would have been the provision made for its reception and extension! It may well be presumed that there were in the Apostle's days, opponents at least as eagle-eyed in the discovery of weak or fallacious arguments as Mr. Belsham, and even more interested in overturning them than he can be. What triumphs then would they have enjoyed, how entire would have been the discomfiture of the Apostles, and how deadly the injury to their cause, as often as a flaw or a fallacy was detected in their reasonings! But, without looking to the consequences, what can be more absurd than to suppose that the mind may be left in all its original ignorance, not exalted, not enlightened by Divine influence, believing in false facts, and reasoning falsely upon them, till the errors and wanderings of the understanding are made to conduct it to truth and certainty? It is true, indeed, that the degree of illumination afforded to the Apostles needs not imply a general illumination of their minds on all subjects. We do not suppose that they were astronomers, or chemists; but it is not going too far to suppose that a perfect knowledge was vouchsafed to them of that religion which they were to preach and to defend, and that more especially the scriptures were opened fully to them, as by them were they

they to prove the truth of the divine mission of their Master. Yet by Mr. Belsham's theory, this is wholly denied, and it is not only supposed that they *might* mistake the meaning of the Scriptures, but it is actually asserted that they not unfrequently *did* so. . . None of our readers, we imagine, will have any difficulty in understanding Mr. Belsham's motives for these assertions. . . St. Paul, it will be remembered, directly assumes the truth of that part of scripture which asserts that the human race were ruined by the transgression of Adam; he speaks of that transaction as an undoubted fact, and teaches that Christ came into the world to repair the mischief then caused to mankind. If St. Paul therefore be right, we have here, in one shape or other, (for we will not now dwell on the minor differences among the Orthodox,) the doctrine of *original sin*, and that of *an atonement for it*, doctrines not only in direct opposition to the opinions of the Unitarians on the moral state and wants of mankind; but involving the most direct contradiction of the whole foundation and groundwork of their theory. But surely nothing except the abandonment of all pretence to sanity, could tempt any party thus openly to state that their opinions are in entire opposition to the doctrines of 'the chiefest of the Apostles,' and cannot be held except by denying that he understood the meaning of scripture or was capable of reasoning rightly upon it. We offer our thanks indeed to Mr. Belsham for the grounds on which he virtually avows that the controversy between the Orthodox and the Humanitarian party rests. This party, according to their acknowledged champion, require us to believe not only that what stands at the very beginning of a simple narrative of facts, and is related as a fact, without a hint of its not being so, is a mere allegory; but they further require us to believe that St. Paul too was deceived by the method of narration, and assumed this fanciful allegory as a fact on which he founded some of his most important conclusions. But let us for a moment assume that Mr. Belsham's theory of inspiration is the true one—that is to say, let us suppose that the Holy Spirit only taught the Apostle the doctrines which he inculcated, without suggesting the arguments by which they were to be supported. For them St. Paul himself, on this hypothesis, is wholly responsible, and they are entitled only to that degree of weight which may be thought due to his character as a man of learning, and as the chosen vessel, the instrument expressly selected by God to spread the Gospel, to advance it by his zeal, and to defend, adorn and illustrate it, by the rectitude of his own unassisted judgment and knowledge of scripture. We scarcely wish for further concessions; it is sufficient to ask whether, if St. Paul expressly affirmed a certain interpretation of scripture and a certain fact to be true, and Mr. Belsham expressly affirmed them to be false, any reasonable

sonable man could hesitate in deciding whose side of the argument to adopt. Surely Mr. Belsham's disciples must pause when they find their leader thus openly avow that the truth or falsehood of the doctrines which they maintain, depends not only on the correctness or incorrectness of their private judgment, but that that judgment is in direct opposition to the belief and the authority of St. Paul. Let them consider too the extraordinary fact that in no instance, we believe, except where the admission of St. Paul's accuracy as a reasoner or interpreter of scripture would be prejudicial to the Unitarian doctrines, is that accuracy impugned; or at all events that while, in general, his reasonings gain Mr. Belsham's assent and even excite his admiration, the very moment that he differs from the views of the Unitarians, he is denounced as an illogical reasoner and an ignorant expounder of scripture. We cannot trust ourselves to express all the feelings which Mr. Belsham's language on this point has excited in our minds; yet we are equally unable to quit the subject without testifying our indignation at the language itself, and our disgust at the spectacle which this book ventures every where to present, of the great Apostle of the Gentiles rebuked and reprimanded for ignorance and incapacity by the Minister of Essex Street Chapel!*

The remarks we have made on Mr. Belsham's Theory of Inspiration, if they are correct, entirely destroy his system of justification. That system assumes, for its foundation, the falsehood of St. Paul's sentiments respecting the fall of man, or, at least, is wholly incompatible with its truth and reality. It might, therefore, be deemed superfluous to enter into any further investigation of it; but, persuaded as we are of the falsehood of the primary principles on which Unitarianism depends, it is satisfactory to receive the further proof of the correctness of our notions, afforded by the grievous absurdities to which that system leads, when it is attempted

* As the offence of which we have here accused Mr. Belsham is one of a very grave nature in most men's minds, though it may be none in his, we deem it right to support the accusation by a few quotations.

Vol. i. p. 110. 'We are authorised to admit the Apostle's conclusions even though we may doubt of the validity of his arguments and the correctness of his premises. The Apostle does not say that he was inspired to assert the literal truth of the Mosaic history of the Fall: *probably he knew no more of it than we do.*'

P. 112. 'Such is the train of the Apostle's reasoning, the defect of which need not be pointed out.'

P. 125. 'His argument, if it prove any thing at all, proves,' &c.

P. 171. 'Such, no doubt, was the Apostle's meaning, if he has any meaning at all, &c.'

Vol. ii. p. 105. 'In every light in which I can view this argument, it appears to me irrelevant and inconclusive.'

Vol. iii. p. 229. 'The Apostle argues that as Jesus ascended, he must first have descended: the inference perhaps is not perfectly logical.'

Vol. iv. p. 196. 'Such is the nature of the Apostle's argument, which, to say the truth, is of no great weight.'

to adopt the Bible system of Christianity to it. We can indeed say, with perfect truth, that the most furious ultra-Calvinism does not exhibit propositions at all equalling the absurdity or the impossibility of those contained in these volumes of Mr. Belsham. Previously, indeed, to taking up any Unitarian commentary on the writings of St. Paul, it is difficult to conceive by what process this part of the Scriptures which treats so copiously of man's justification, and the effectuation of that great work, by the sacrifice of the death of Christ, can be so explained, as not to contradict all the views and hypotheses of the present Unitarian party. The Polish school of Socinians, while they denied the divinity of Christ and endeavoured to prove that the benefits of his death arose from the reward which it pleased God to bestow on his obedience, still did not dream of denying those benefits. They taught openly and unreservedly that mankind were purged from their sins by the blood of Christ, and attained by faith to eternal life.* Locke appears first to have introduced the new system of explanation, in his well-known work on the Epistles of St. Paul. Of that writer it is dangerous to speak, in this country, in any other terms than those of boundless respect; but there are subjects on which the full expression of opinion cannot be concealed without guilt, and it is therefore our duty to say, that, while we fully acknowledge the ingenuity of Locke in tracing out many of St. Paul's arguments, we can have no hesitation in characterizing the tendency of his whole work, and especially his statement of the doctrine of justification, as Socinian. That Locke denied the charge of Socinianism we are well aware; and it is abundantly manifest, from the quotations produced by Bishop Burgess and Archdeacon Wingham, that he was either ashamed of his faith, or that he was not aware to what conclusions his opinions, as to justification, necessarily led. In neither case could the authority of his name add any weight to the party whose cause he espoused. The first alternative is most creditable to his understanding, and the latter to his honesty. But we are not aware of any method by which he could escape from the dilemma; for it is clear, that he positively denied the charge of Socinianism, and equally clear that his views of justification have been adopted by the Unitarians, as harmonizing with their system. We are inclined to believe, that he had possibly adopted Arianism in some of its numerous shades; and assuredly, from the disagreeable and sneering tone of the pre-

* See especially the comment of Schlichtingius on Rom. iii. v. 24. and the Racovian Catechism, sect. vi. p. 349—360 in Rees's English edition. The expressions, indeed, are so strong, that the translator thinks it right to add a note, 'apprising the reader that few, if any, modern Unitarians, will assent to the preceding interpretations respecting the offering and sacrifice of Christ.'

face to his work, the needless and acrimonious taunts directed against the Orthodox, and the studious endeavours to cover the very name of Orthodoxy with obloquy, we are led to conclude, however unwillingly, that something more is meant than the writer ventured openly to avow. We shall sincerely rejoice to be convicted of error in our judgment of Locke; but holding the opinions which we do with respect to his paraphrase, and knowing the high opinion generally entertained of it, we have felt it a sacred duty to warn the younger divine especially, of what we consider as the tendency of the work. The opinions which it contains were speedily adopted, and expressed in great detail, by Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, whose work has since been the text-book of the Unitarian party; while the author has exhibited his opinions with so much art, that his work, as we learn from Archbishop Magee, was actually adopted by some of the Irish bishops as a proper subject of recommendation to the candidates for orders; and, what is less surprizing, is inserted in Bishop Watson's Theological Tracts.

'The general principle of Locke's and Taylor's theory,' says Mr. Belsham, 'is, that the Children of Israel, who had been formerly the chosen people of God, having been cast off by Him because of their great wickedness, and particularly for their rejection of the Messiah, believers in Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles, are now admitted into the same relation to the Deity which the Israelites once held; and those terms which were formerly applied to the state and privileges of the Israelites, are now used to express the state and privileges of Christian believers.'

'They who wish to ascertain the grounds on which this theory rests, will find them detailed in the Second Chapter of Taylor's Key prefixed to his Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans, and we could hardly refer to a more amusing specimen of inconclusive reasoning. Taylor in that chapter produces a variety of passages from the Old Testament, in which God is said to have *redeemed, saved, bought, called, and created* his people. And as the same terms are applied to Christians, he chooses to infer that they are applied precisely in the same sense as to the Jews, and merely in imitation of the language of the Old Testament. It requires but little attention to see that the inference, so far from being necessarily true, is absolutely false. In every passage cited by Taylor, there is a direct reference to the peculiar situation in which the Jews stood as a people towards God. He is called their Saviour, Deliverer, Redeemer, because He actually did save, deliver, and redeem them from the Egyptian yoke;* and their Creator, be-
cause

* In the passages which Taylor cites, as proving that God is said to have *bought* the Israelites, viz. Exod. xv. 6, Deut. xxxii. 6, Psalm lxxiv. 2, the verb used is קָנָה which

cause they owed their national existence to Him. What light, we would ask, can this throw on the phraseology of the Christian system, where no such explanation can be offered? Yet on this foundation does Taylor's whole system (which Archbishop Magee has justly characterized as a mere adaptation of scripture phrases) rest for its support. And on this foundation also rests the unitarian theory of justification. It is simply this:—that as God was before in covenant with the Jews, so is He now in covenant with Christians; that the two covenants are of the same kind, the object of both being eternal life offered by God to man on certain conditions; and that the difference in those conditions constitutes the whole difference between the covenants, the Jewish system requiring perfect obedience, and the Christian allowing repentance as a substitute for it. Thus the impossibility of performing the conditions of the first covenant caused the necessity for the second. Justification simply means admission into covenant with God; that is, admission into a state where the reward of eternal happiness, and such punishments as God sees fit to inflict, are held out on the observance or non-observance of the conditions He enjoins; the Christian covenant having, as was previously observed, this superiority over that which preceded it, that it does not require that unobtainable obedience which man is unable to render, but opens to him a road for reconciliation with God by penitence and submission. Now the whole of this theory is a mass of error. It begins with the gross absurdity of making Christianity nothing more than an appendix to Judaism, added for the purpose of correcting its errors and supplying its deficiencies. Here, in absolute contradiction to reason and to scripture, the greater is explained by the less. Scripture tells us distinctly that the law is the shadow, the Gospel the substance; while Mr. Belsham's system reverses this relation, and represents the law as the original and enduring dispensation, the *νόμος* *ἡ ἀλήθεια*, while the Gospel is a mere dependency upon it.

It can scarcely be necessary to point out the absurdities which follow from such views. While we conceive the rites and ordinances of the Jewish system to have a reference to something ulterior, they admit of an easy and satisfactory explanation; but if we

which denotes acquisition or possession in any way, and the LXX. in each case uses the word *κραναίω* as an equivalent; and the verb *ἐξαγοράζω*, which is translated to *redeem*, by no means includes of necessity the notion of a price paid.—See *Deyling Obs. Sacr.* tom. v. p. 319. It is curious to observe that the Unitarians have been so unkind to their friend Dr. Taylor as to undo his argument by one of the few correct observations in their performance. We allude to their remarks on Matt. xx. 28, where the Improving translators, after noticing that *ransom* may signify *any deliverance*, go on to observe that God ransomed the Israelites out of Egypt, not by any price paid, but by wonderful miracles.

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are deprived of this hypothesis, it appears impossible to affix any sufficient meaning to nine parts out of ten in that extraordinary dispensation, to the sacrifices, the scape-goats, the sin-offerings, and the various rites of expiation. If these are considered as realities, and the death of Christ is called a sacrifice figuratively only in allusion to them, how unintelligible does the Bible become! Various writers, indeed, have considered sacrifices as symbolical, or federal, or premial rites; but all their hypotheses have proved nugatory, or led only to absurdities. If we adopt the Humanitarian system, we shall be compelled at the same time to adopt the notion that God appointed the death of an irrational animal as a sufficient compensation for the guilt of his rational creatures.

But this theory does not merely conduct us to difficulties and contradiction; it is in itself wholly false. Our readers will observe, that the proposition on which it rests is this: that the reason why the Jewish system did not give eternal life, was, that the conditions on which it offered that blessing were too difficult for man to perform, since an obedience without any sin was exacted as the only claim to the benefits of the covenant. Now this is entirely false. In the first place, it is false that an unsinning obedience was at all required by the Mosaic law from those who sought the benefits, whatever they were, which it offered.* Witsius has pointed out with great force and justice the absurdity of supposing that the Jews, who assuredly contended that they were justified by the law, were so entirely bereft of understanding as to suppose that they could comply in every point, and at every instant, with the requirements of the moral or the ceremonial law. It is wonderful indeed that the assertion should be made in the very teeth of those declarations of the law which acknowledge the impossibility of unsinning obedience, by prescribing the satisfaction to be offered for transgressions. The Jews therefore held no such absurd opinions as Mr. Belsham ascribes to them, but contended that if they complied, to the extent of human power, with the commands of God, and, where they failed, submitted to offer the prescribed satisfaction, they were entitled to justification;† and assuredly if their

* Bishop Bull has shortly discussed the same question in the Seventh and Eighth Chapters of the Second Dissertation of his *Harmonia Apostolica*. We ought, however, to observe that he dwells at some length on the *defectus gratiæ adiuvantis*, or want of grace to assist the weakness of man in the Mosaic covenant, as well as its want of power to justify. His concluding words are memorable. ‘Qui hæc probe teneat, ei non obscurum erit quæ de causâ Apostolus legi Moysi justificationem detrahat, nempe non quia perfectissimam atque adeo impossibilem obedientiam, tanquam conditionem justificationis postulet; quin potius quod nullam omnino veram justificationem, h. e. cum vitæ æternæ donatione conjunctam sub quavis conditione concedat.’—*Harm. Apost. Diss. ii. c. vii. 13.*

† We transcribe the words of Witsius.—‘Id certe Judæi optinebantur, posse se justificari, si modo legem moralem pro virili observarent, et pro delictis suis præstarent eas satisfactiones,

their premises had been correct, their conclusions would be perfectly legitimate; for it is idle to contend that God would offer his creatures blessings on conditions manifestly impossible to be performed.

The error of the Jews consisted in supposing that their law possessed the power of justification; and this is the second and main error of Mr. Belsham's proposition, in which the power of the Mosaic law to give life is tacitly assumed. We regret to observe that writers* of a very different cast from Mr. Belsham appear to afford him some countenance in this opinion, and it is on that account, indeed, that we feel it necessary to point out its falsehood, and to make our meaning distinctly understood. And this can fortunately be effected by a very short statement. With the commencement of the history of man in his present state, commences the history of Christianity, the introduction of sin being only coeval with the introduction of its remedy, and with the introduction also of the knowledge of that remedy. The Redeemer was promised to Adam expressly as a cure for the evil caused by his disobedience; and although he did not come into the world at that period, the dispensation, of which he was the corner-stone, immediately commenced, and in virtue of his future sacrifice, the sinner who lived before his advent was released from the punishment of sin, as well as we who have been born since life and immortality were actually brought to light. This is the important point which must be kept constantly in mind, and the neglect of which will instantly involve us in error and confusion in our inquiries on this subject. The hope of salvation was held out from the beginning of the world through the sacrifice of Christ as well as since his advent; nor was any other door to eternal life opened. Then indeed, as well as now, a life of holiness, more or less perfect, according to the measure of light vouchsafed, was required as

satisfactioes, quas lex ceremonialis præscripserat. Ex his autem non credibile est quemquam fuisse qui se per totum vitæ suæ curriculum, ab omni vel minima peccati labecula intaminatum sese servasse dixerit.—*Vita. Miscell. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 743.

Bishop Bull has argued precisely in the same way.—'Neque credibile est quemquam adversariorum Pauli fuisse qui non ultro illi largiturus fuisset, neminem hominum esse posse qui legem sic exacte et per omnia servet, ut nunquam vel in minimo delinquat, ac proinde sic ex lege neminem justificari posse; et qui non simul Apostolo obiecturus fuisset; male homines omnes reos formaliter agi poenæ quando certum est impossibile esse, ut culpam evitent; i. e. legem perfecta et perpetua ista ratione servent.'

* See *Young's Sermons*, p. ii. note. We feel great obligations to Mr. Young for the able manner in which he has refuted several of Locke's mistakes, and for the masterly reasonings by which he has cleared up several difficulties attending this intricate subject. But we are constrained, however unwillingly, to say, that the opinion we have here touched on, is an insuperable objection to his work. We observe that in his notes he appears in some degree to vary from it, by representing the defect of assisting grace as the main reason why the Mosaic system could not justify; and no doubt that was one reason, but the main one is the defect of power.

an indispensable qualification to the participation in eternal bliss; but then, as well as now, that boon was actually gained, not through the merit of man, but the sacrifice of the Redeemer! What then was the Jewish system? It must be considered first, as strictly and truly, according to the Apostle's term, a ministry of condemnation; that is to say, a system by which the anger of God against sin, and his absolute condemnation of every kind and degree of it, was made more perfectly known to the Jews, than it was by the light of nature and voice of conscience to the Heathen; the same lesson being taught in both cases, viz. that in order to gain God's favour, something wholly out of man's power was absolutely necessary. Next; it must be contemplated as being a more exact and accurate introduction to Christianity by its rites and ceremonies, all of them constructed with a reference to the distinguished feature of that dispensation; and lastly, as an admirable system of Moral Law for the government of the Jews, with temporal rewards and punishments annexed to it. In neither of these points of view is it in the slightest degree connected with the *eternal* welfare of mankind, except as far as, when *spiritually* understood, it is a distinct form of anticipated Christianity. Separated from Christianity it neither pretends to nor possesses any power; it holds out no promise of eternal life, nor any conditions for obtaining it. It is true indeed on the one hand, that as Bishop Bull and others have sufficiently shown, the Jews had a knowledge and a hope of a future life—but *that life was not promised them by their law*. This belief was obviously connected with that knowledge of the future dispensation, which had been revealed from the moment of the fall, and rested for its foundation on that alone. That the law must have been a great confirmation of all his hopes to him who understood it *spiritually*, is assuredly true, because its rites and ceremonies so clearly shadowed out the promised scheme of salvation;—but to him who did not so understand it, it could hold out no hope, and no fear reaching to Eternity. It is true, again, that many of the Jews thought otherwise; that they did not understand the law in its spiritual sense; but conceived that it was an enduring dispensation, capable of giving to man all that he could require; but this was only one of the fatal errors which led the Jews to the rejection of the Messiah, and to their final ruin. A great part of St. Paul's reasoning with the Jews, indeed, is directed against this error, and yet strange to say, it is precisely this reasoning which has misled Mr. Belsham, and many wiser and more learned writers. The Apostle's arguments are, in fact, almost always a *reductio ad absurdum*. He assumes, as an indisputable fact, that the Gospel covenant alone gives life, and that the law has no power to do so. His opponents deny the truth of the assertion, and

and assert that the law can give life. Admitting then, or not denying, for the moment, that the law may *virtually* possess this power, he immediately shows them, that it is absurd to suppose it *actually* enjoys it, for that, at all events, the rewards offered, of whatever nature they may be, are offered on the condition of such virtue and obedience as man is capable of, while it is but too evident that, speaking generally, the Jews (as well as the Gentiles) are lost in sin, and can, therefore, make no just claim to the advantages of the law.

But Mr. Belsham is deceived by this style of reasoning; he does not perceive that the admission, or rather the non-denial of the Jews' assumption, as to the virtual powers of the law, is only made because the argument on the subject is shortened by it: he considers the admission as actually made, and that being the case, of course he can come to no other conclusions than those which we find in his writings; yet as they are contradicted by all the remainder of St. Paul's writings, they are surely untenable.* Instead of those lofty views of Christianity which the more distinct revelation vouchsafed to us would enable any Christian to take; and which he is not prevented from taking by those prejudices and passions which might embarrass the judgment of the Jew, the writer has engrafted on Jewish perverseness even a worse error of his own—Let us hear his comment on that passage in the Galatians, where, if words have any meaning, St. Paul declares that the hope of eternal life depended not on the Mosaic covenant, but on the promises of a Redeemer, made to Abraham. The Apostle's argument is simply this: the Jews trust in the law of Moses, and in that reliance they are wholly unjustifiable; for their hope of future life rests wholly on the promises made by God to Abraham of a future Saviour. The law was instituted at a period long subsequent to that promise, and for special purposes only; for if it were possessed of the power of giving future life and happiness, it is obvious that there would be no necessity for carrying the former promise and intention into execution, and thus the promise of God would be made of none effect,—a position too absurd to be held by any one who believes in his existence. It is here not tacitly assumed, but directly asserted, that the Jewish system had no power, as the Apostle phrases it, 'of giving life.'

* We may take the opportunity of observing, that the numerous passages in which St. Paul attacks the Mosaic law, are confined to the epistles addressed to those communities of which Jewish converts formed a large part. Had the Mosaic system really been an earlier life-giving dispensation than the Christian, there can be no doubt that he would have shown on all occasions, why it was superseded by the Christian, while his doing so in those cases only to which we have alluded, is a sufficient proof that, in them, he had a particular error to combat.

Mr.

Mr. Belsham's view of the argument runs thus, in the shape of a paraphrase on Galatians, chap. iii. 21.

'Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid; for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.'

'Some may be disposed to ask, whether this state of the case is not, in fact, setting up two dispensations in opposition to each other, one of which justifies by faith and the other by works? But I can assure such objectors, that there is no contrariety in the divine dispensations. They are all harmonious and consistent with each other. If indeed the Mosaic law had been such that its terms might have been rarely fulfilled, and its blessings rarely attained, this would have been a different mode of justification, and law and promise would have been at variance with each other. But in fact the conditions of the Mosaic law are so strict, and its condemning sentence is so severe and irreversible, that none ever were or could be justified by it, nor could any ever lay claim to life, upon the ground of right and of perfect obedience.'

Let it not be supposed that Mr. Belsham allows here all that we can require, when he allows that Judaism did not, and that Christianity alone does, ensure the blessings of eternity. The distinction between his opinion and ours turns on the *causes* to be assigned for the incompetency of Judaism; and the admission of his statements on that point would be the admission of Socinianism. The only colour which is given to his statements, is through the error to which we have already alluded, the juggle between the Mosaic covenant and that which theologians call the covenant of works; a term invented by divines, and useful enough for the purposes of compendious argument, but representing a state of things which either never existed, or only before the fall. It is almost unnecessary to say, that it supposes man endowed with the power of preferring the better to the worse, and an agreement existing between the Creator and him, by which he is to be rewarded as a matter of right for the good he does, and unrelentingly punished for his evil actions. Mr. Belsham quietly transfers these hypotheses to the Mosaic covenant, and thus has enabled himself to offer the show of argument. That this was done in ignorance, we would fain believe; but in addition to the numerous absurdities to which the substitution leads, and which can hardly have escaped Mr. Belsham himself, the distinction between what divines have called the covenant of works and the Mosaic law has been too frequently stated, to be unknown to any theologian. Our readers will observe that this juggle is practised in the passage cited from the commentary on the Galatians, and the substitution recurs in every passage where the topic is mentioned. But it is useless to quote any additional examples of what so often occurs. We proceed therefore to notice another

another convenient fallacy to which Mr. Belsham resorts in arguing on this subject.

It is, of course, a necessary part of his theory, to represent the Gentiles as out of covenant with God, (although no sufficient reason can be assigned why they should be excluded from the operation of the covenant of *works*, if it had any real existence;) and to show that consequently the Gospel dispensation was necessary to them, in order to reconcile them with God. He contends therefore, that the word *sinner*, as applied to the Gentiles, only denotes a state of ceremonial impurity; but whenever it is applied to the Jew, he refers it, without hesitation, to real moral transgression. Now not to dwell on the unfairness of this arbitrary attribution of different senses to the same word used precisely in the same manner, and under the same circumstances, the assertion itself, as far as it respects the Gentiles, rests on no foundation. That St. Paul frequently applies the term *sinner* to the heathen is true, but he does so for a simple reason, not because they were ceremonially impure, but because it did not appear possible to the Jews that any one living out of their dispensation could attain to any purity of life and conversation. If Mr. Belsham is not satisfied with our explanation, he will find very much the same in his favourite authority, Schleusner. It is in fact from this view of the matter that St. Paul's arguments derive their principal force. The Jews, he knew, considered all the Gentiles as transgressors, and his great object is to prove to them from reason and from scripture, that they were themselves exactly in the same situation as the Gentiles, and 'concluded under sin' equally with them, a doctrine from which the necessity of an atonement strictly followed. Now if the sin of the Gentiles were mere ceremonial impurity, the whole argument would have been false, as the Jews were ceremonially pure. Errors of this kind abound indeed through the whole work: but it is for the annotations on the Epistle to the Hebrews that the full effulgence of our author's system is reserved. Some of them may perhaps be more properly noticed in our particular examination of that part of the work; but one is so nearly connected with the point of which we have just been speaking, that it will find its fittest place in this general enumeration. Mr. Belsham finds the absolute necessity of some purification and expiation for the sins of the Jews which are asserted in the Epistle to the Hebrews in too strong terms to be overlooked or avoided. In the case of the Gentiles, as we have just seen, he assures us, that purification was required in order to free them from ceremonial impurity, as not being under the law of Moses. To an ordinary reader, it would seem that this explanation cannot possibly apply to the case of the Jews, who were the peculiar objects of the enactments of that law. But Mr. Belsham

is no ordinary reader, and assures us that the Jews really required ceremonial purification according to the law of Moses, because they had sinned against that law, and 'desecrated themselves' by deserting it to become Christians. It is difficult to conceive that the law would afford purification for the greatest offence which could be committed against it, whilst the offence was persisted in; or that, after the dispensation was abrogated, its rites and ceremonies remained. We hold, that when a covenant is abrogated, its rites are abolished and its threats at an end. Nor can we conceive how any purification can be required (even from the sources competent to afford it) for quitting a dispensation at the appointed time at which its author had ordained it should expire.

But it would be alike impossible and unprofitable to develop all the absurdities which necessarily follow from the admission of Mr. Belsham's theory. We shall therefore proceed to some particular passages of the work itself.

We have hardly made a step in our examination of the translations and confirmatory notes before we recognize the person of Mr. Belsham by most unequivocal signs, the same peremptory and unsupported assertions—the same inconclusiveness in every argument. In the note on Romans i. 3. (vol. i. p. 14.) we have the following passage: 'Christ is called the son of God for two reasons—first, because this title is equivalent to that of Messiah, and was so understood by the Jews.' But the words *Son of God* are no more equivalent to Messiah, than they are to Mediator or any other common title of Jesus Christ, though, like those titles, they undoubtedly are appropriated to him. Mr. Belsham, we know, has the authority of the German school on his side; but authority can be of no avail against facts, and it must be remembered, that those writers have the same reasons as Mr. Belsham for chusing to affix this meaning to the words. But, says Mr. Belsham, this name is given to Jesus also, because the title was understood by the Jews to be equivalent to Messiah. We must here read as before, *appropriated to the Messiah*. But Mr. Belsham forgets that significant words are not arbitrarily applied, that the Jews considered the term *Son of God* as indicative of the Messiah, because the former prophets had expressly foretold that the anointed deliverer of Israel was to be the Son of God; and that the Jews themselves affixed no very obscure meaning to the words, when they accused Jesus of blasphemy for appropriating them to himself. But Mr. Belsham tells us that Christ was called the Son of God—secondly, 'because he was raised from the dead, and put in possession of an immortal life.' Why Jesus, in particular, if a mere man, should be called the Son of God because he rose from the dead, as all other men will, it is not very easy to divine from any

any appeal to reason. Let us see then what Mr. Belsham can produce in the way of authority. He refers to Acts xiii. 33. and to Hebrews v. 5.* Of the latter of these passages we have spoken in the subjoined note. On the former we have somewhat more to remark. Mr. Belsham gives us his translation of it in the note below his text, 'God hath fulfilled his promise in that he raised up Jesus again, as it is also written in the 2d Psalm, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."' It is curious to observe that Mr. Belsham has here adopted what many have considered as an inaccuracy in our Version—we allude to the introduction of the word *again*—and departed from the Improved Version of his party, because it suited his purpose in this particular instance to do so. His object is to show, that St. Paul asserts that Jesus is called the Son of God because he was raised from the dead, and that the writer of the second Psalm has reasoned in the same way. But it has been supposed, that St. Paul is not speaking here of the resurrection of the dead: his words are ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν. Kuinoel indeed goes so far as to say, that ἀνίστημι cannot refer at all to the resurrection of the dead, unless joined with some such words as ἐκ νεκρῶν. This, however, is decidedly erroneous; but, such an adjunct is certainly more common, and the other sense of ἀνίστημι, namely, to *raise up* in the sense of *bringing forward*, is very frequent in allusion to the Messiah, Acts ii. 30. iii. 22. 26. It therefore remains to see what the sense of the particular passage requires. Now the Apostle proposes his subject in the 23d verse of the chapter. 'Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour Jesus.' To prove this he appeals to the testimony of John, (24, 25); to the preaching of Jesus himself, (26); to his death, as foretold by the prophets, (27, 29); and to his Resurrection. (30) Then, to accumulate proof, and principally for the sake of the Jews, he confirms his assertions separately, by an appeal to the prophecies on each point, for which purpose he repeats the thesis† in verses 32, 33. 'and we declare unto you glad tidings,

* We would caution Mr. Belsham against a habit which he has of quoting passages without looking at them. The quotation of Hebrews v. 5. in the present case, is an instance. It so happens that Psalm ii. is quoted in that passage as well as in Acts xiii. 33. Mr. Belsham has seen them cited together somewhere or other on that account, and therefore, without hesitation, he cites the second passage to prove the same point as the first. When he takes the trouble of looking at it he will find his mistake. But Dr. Smith has convicted him of using Schlichtingius's quotations without examining them, and Archbishop Magee has fully exposed him on the same point.

† That the thesis is here repeated, although a different verb is used, (ἡγείσθαι is the expression in the first case and ἀνάσσειν in the second) is clear from the passage itself, and is admitted by all the principal commentators. We shall however adduce only the opinion of one, to whose words Mr. Belsham will probably pay more attention than to the remarks of a more orthodox divine. Rosenmüller's words are as follows, ἀνάσσειν Ἰησοῦν

things, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers, God has fulfilled the same unto us their children in that he hath raised up Jesus again: as it is also written in the second Psalm.' (v. ii.) But the promise, as has been observed, was not fulfilled only by the resurrection but by the mission of Jesus; and that observation alone may show what sense should be affixed to *ἀνθρώπου* here. However, if we look on to verse 34, we shall find the writer entering on a fresh subject,* viz. the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and the proof of it from prophecy; and in that verse, as if to distinguish the use of the word *ἀνθρώπου* from its former meaning in verse 32, the writer adds the words *ἐκ νεκρῶν*. So clear indeed is the case as to the meaning of *ἀνθρώπου* in the 33d verse, that without doubt or hesitation the marginal note in the Breeches Bible explains the passage by the words: 'In that he was born and incarnate:' and this explanation is supported by some of the best interpreters. Erasmus is decided upon it. So are Wolf, Gerhard, Witsius, Calovius, Gataker, and Kuinoel, with many others. We may now therefore see the object of Mr. Belsham's attributing a meaning to a passage as undoubted, where so many great authorities are against him.

But we have not quite done with this note. Mr. Belsham tries to support the hypothesis that Christ is called the *Son of God* because he rose from the dead, by other texts of scripture. 'In this view,' says he, 'Christ is called the *first-born*, having been the first human being who was raised to immortality from the grave,' Col. i. 15. 18. Nothing was ever more unwise than the adduction of this passage; for if Macknight and others are right in asserting that *πρωτότοκος* there simply means *Ruler or Lord*, the passage does not apply to the case before us. If, however, the common translation be correct, nothing can be stronger against Mr. Belsham, than the Apostle's reasoning, for he there expressly says, that Christ *being* the first-born of every creature was also first born of the dead, that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. The title therefore of first-born was so far from being given to him because he first rose from the dead, that he was first raised from the dead to preserve that character of first-born which he had already possessed.

* *Luc.* i. c. exhibens Jesum. ut supra, c. ii. 30. iii. 26. Τὸ ἀνθρώπου hic respondet verbo *ἔγχε* supra, v. 23. Alii de resurrectione ex mortuis accipiunt. Sed prior interpretatio melius contextui convenit. Thesis—proponitur v. 23. quam v. 24. et seqq. probat et confirmat, et v. 34. demum docet eundem Messiam a Deo missum post mortem in vitam rediisse.

* Witsius is perfectly satisfactory on this subject. (*Miscell. Sacr.* ii. p. 777.) After noticing how Christ's resurrection may be used as a proof of his being the Son of God, i. e. a divine being—he says, 'Sed si bene attendamus Paulus aliam rem agit. Non probat resurrectionem Christi ex Ps. ii. sed ex Jes. lv. 3. et Ps. xvi. 10, dum com. 34 ita inquit: Quod autem suscitaverit eum ex mortuis, &c. ita dixit, &c.—See Calovius against Crellius, p. 296.

Vol. i. p. 20. Romans, chap. i. v. 16. is thus translated. 'For therein the justification of God by faith is revealed to faith, as it is written, the just by faith shall live,' and the following note is added: 'I have given Dr. Doddridge's translation of this clause, which affords a clear sense to an obscure passage. Qu. "from faith to faith," that is, "wholly by faith,"—Locke; not so correct as Doddridge.' Does Mr. Belsham think a translation necessarily correct because it gives a clear sense to what is obscure? It would be strange indeed if a clear sense could not be given to every passage in every book; but the question is, whether that is the sense of the author. We are, however, totally unable to attach even any *clear* meaning to the sentence that, 'the justification by faith is revealed to faith.' But besides many other objections to the translation, the words *ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν* should not be disjoined. Locke very rightly cites Rom. vi. 19; and 2 Cor. iii. 18, as instances of St. Paul using the same figure of speech—and Schoetgenius (Hor. Heb. ad loc.) declares it is a common Hebraism, and cites Psalm lxxxiv. 7. as an example. Mr. Belsham has proceeded, in the note on this passage, to fix, by his own strange method of interpretation, a charge of misquotation or misinterpretation of scripture on the Apostle, who, in mentioning the benefits of faith, refers to a passage in the Old Testament, in which the blessings of faith are also extolled. The passage is said by some to be taken from Habakkuk, ii. 4. by others from Levit. xviii. and the words are, *ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται*. This Mr. Belsham construes, 'He who is justified by faith shall live;' (vol. i. p. 28.) and then complacently remarks, that this is one of many instances of the loose manner in which the writers of the New Testament cite the Old, as, in the original passage, there is no reference to the doctrine of justification. Pity, that in his eagerness to inculcate St. Paul on every possible occasion, he did not remember what Michaëlis (a critic, one would think, sufficiently liberal even for Mr. Belsham) says of this very passage, viz. that in many cases the commentators have created difficulties where in reality there are none, by attempting to discover in passages to which the apostles have alluded, a meaning perhaps not ascribed to them by the apostles themselves. Tom. i. p. 212.

On the well known passage Rom. iii. 24. Mr. Belsham says that no support can be gained for the unscriptural doctrine of the atonement from it, unless 'we receive as the genuine text a reading which is wanting in some of the best copies, and which is unwarranted by any similar phraseology in the New Testament.'—He alludes to the words *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*. We wonder at his venturing on an assertion to which so common a book as Griesbach at once affords the most decided contradiction. So far from the pas-
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sage being rejected by some of the best MSS.; it is in every MS. good and bad, except the Alexandrine! That the word *is* indeed is omitted by several good MSS. is true; and Griesbach on the whole is inclined to reject it, but we repeat that the words *did* *is* *not* *stand* on the whole exist in every known MS. of the New Testament good or bad, except the Alexandrine! Which party then were, as it reasonably, the Orthodox in retaining words so supposed, or the Unitarians in rejecting them on the authority of one MS., it is not very difficult to decide.

The fourth section of Mr. Belsham's commentary on this epistle (chap. v. 12, to the end) is a curious one. The passage to which it relates contains St. Paul's contrast of the effects of the fall with the effects of Christ's death; and the first two sentences of Mr. Belsham's remarks on it are as follows: 'He (the Apostle) states that all mankind are treated as sinners and suffered death in consequence of the sin of Adam. The Apostle here (v. 12) assumes and reasons on the account of the fall contained in the book of Genesis as an *historical fact*.' We recommend both these sentences to the attentive consideration of the Unitarian. Mr. Belsham afterwards tells us, 'that the Apostle does not say he was inspired to assert the literal truth of the Mosiac history of the fall, and probably knew no more of it than we do; that perhaps he argued *ex concessio*, upon the supposition of the fact; &c.' But all this wretched trifling does not shake the force of Mr. Belsham's two admissions—the one that St. Paul asserts that we are treated as sinners in consequence of the sin of Adam,—the other, that he reasons on the fall as on an historic fact. How unwillingly these concessions were wrung from Mr. Belsham, may be judged from the tone of the whole of this section, in which, as it were to rescue himself on St. Paul, he treats the Apostle with even more than ordinary disrespect. 'His reasoning is so bad that its defect need not be pointed out.' 'He has introduced a confusion of ideas which make it difficult to unravel the sense.' 'It is doubtful whether his argument proves any thing.' 'It is precarious, and not available as an argument, but only as an illustration.' After all this, Mr. Belsham condescendingly proceeds to show how this miserable argument *ought* to have been stated. 'If the Apostle had expressed himself in the clear distinct manner of a correct writer, it would have been in some such manner as this; and again: 'Had the Apostle been a correct writer, the antithesis would have stood in this form.' We almost doubt whether human nature ever produced an instance of vanity so contemptible. This man, who can scarcely see through the haze of his own ideas, whose definitions in metaphysics have been a perpetual laughing-stock for their indefiniteness; and who hardly writes one page without

contradicting that which precedes it, ventures to correct an apostle; to teach him how to state his arguments, and to expose their fallacy! This may excite our indignation for the moment, but the soberer feeling to which it gives rise is pity for the unhappy state of mind which can produce such thoughts; and the lesson which it teaches is one of humility. Here is the result of the spirit of self-will and self-sufficiency in religion—give it time and space enough.—It has already taught its votary to deny the authority and despise the reasonings of the very men commissioned by God to disseminate the truth.—It has already assumed that their knowledge may be false, their reasoning fallacious, and their belief wrong.—What shall be the end of these things? What *may be* the end of this widely spread spirit, as far as worldly interests are concerned, He only knows who controuls the operations of evil as he sees fit, or allows them to work out their own destruction in the ruin of much that is fair, and lovely and amiable, for purposes of which even here we may partly understand the wisdom and the goodness. But the present effects of this spirit on those who are under its domination, the pride, the unlovely vanity and the darker passions which follow in its train, these are clearly to be understood by all who will understand; and they must at once excite the warmest pity for the condition of those who suffer under their operation, and the most lively dread, lest our condition should resemble theirs.

There is another passage in the eighth chapter (26, 27, vol. i. p. 179.) which deserves notice on account of the shifts employed to affix anything like meaning to the Unitarian hypothesis. In the preceding verses the Apostle, having noticed the future redemption of the body, says, that we do not yet possess it, but hope, i. e. patiently wait for it. Then follow the well known words, *Ἐσπέρωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα*, &c. Mr. Belsham translates the commencement of this passage, 'Furthermore this spirit helps our infirmities, &c.' and says that the spirit here intended is that spirit just described, of hope, patience and resignation, which are the leading virtues of the Christian character. But the words *τὸ πνεῦμα* assuredly are not *this spirit* but *the spirit*, nor had the Apostle been describing any part of the Christian character, but merely saying that we look forward to the redemption of the body. We doubt, indeed, whether the words *τὸ πνεῦμα* ever bear the meaning here ascribed to them. It is true that a notorious divine, Mr. Sydney Smith, tells us in the invaluable sermons which we had the pleasure of reviewing some years ago, that 'the fruits of the spirit' mean 'the fruits of the Christian spirit.' Schleusner, we know, has also given this meaning to the word (*in voce*, § 20.); but whoever will examine the passages adduced, will find that they are all not only susceptible of another sense, but cannot bear that which he ascribes to them, without destroying

stroying the meaning and spirit of the passages in which they occur. But let us see to what good purpose Mr. Belsham uses the mis-translation of the words *τὸ πνεῦμα*. He tells us that the Apostle here, 'by a figure not unusual with him, personifies the Christian virtues, and represents them as interceding with God, for those who are at a loss to know what to ask themselves; thus the Spirit is said to help our infirmities!' Mr. Belsham's division of a man's affections and virtues from himself is barely intelligible; and we are wholly unable to conceive, why our purified affections should be said to intercede for us, and that with unutterable groans. The farther however we go, the more obscure does the meaning become; for in the next verse it is said that 'God knows the mind' (or, as Mr. Belsham explains it, the temper and disposition of mindy 'of the spirit, i. e. of our purified affections.' Here indeed is personification! Not only are the affections of our mind made a distinct object from the mind, but a separate and distinct mind is attributed to them. Mr. Belsham assures us in his note that the expressions are very intelligible; but we cannot pretend to understand what is meant by God's knowing the disposition of mind of the spirit of Christianity.

Vol. ii. p. 117. Mr. Belsham exhibits a strange specimen of ignorance or wilfulness. The passage is 1 Cor. vi. 14. 'And God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own power.' The last words Mr. Belsham translates by *the same power*, in order to show that the resurrection of Christ was exactly similar to that of any other man. The Greek words are *διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*. A schoolboy would have told him how to construe them.

Vol. ii. p. 197. It may be worth while to notice the well known passage, (1 Cor. x. 9.) not for the purpose of discussing a point on which there is neither doubt nor difficulty, but to illustrate the manner in which the Unitarian commentators conceal the truth, and resort to fresh evasion as soon as they are driven out of their last hiding-place. The question is first, whether the reading should be *Κύριον* or *Χριστὸν*. Now whenever there is even a tolerable agreement of authorities in favour of an Unitarian reading, Mr. Belsham raises the sound of triumph, and continues it ad nauseam. Why has he not here then the candour to confess that almost every authority is against him? that only two MSS. support his reading? and that, as Archbishop Magee pointed out to him, Erasmus, Locke, Rosenmüller, three favourite names with his party, are against him, as are also Mill, Wolf and Whitby? With regard to Griesbach, there is some strange conduct on Mr. Belsham's part. In the note on the passage in the Improved Version it is said, that though he retains *Χριστὸν* in the

text, he marks it 'so as to denote *Kúpiov* to be, in his opinion, the preferable reading.' Now the slightest examination will show that this is 'one of the readings judged by Griesbach to be *ulteriori examine digna*,' but still *'receptæ inferior.'* How then came the editors of the Improved Version to say that Griesbach judged it *preferable* to that reading? Mr. Belsham, though manifestly now not venturing to repeat the assertion in the same broad way, and only stating that 'Griesbach marks the reading *Kúpiov* as of high authority,'* neither acknowledges nor apologizes for the unfairness of the former statement. Again, Mr. Belsham in his '*Calm Inquiry*' stated that *Kúpiov* was the reading of the Syriac version; by which any one would naturally understand the Peshito or early Syriac; while the fact is, that it is a marginal reading only of the later version. Mr. Belsham has, indeed, tacitly retracted this fallacious statement in the work before us, but he does not apologize for it. Can it be said, that any of these proceedings are characterized by that openness and candour which should attend every controversialist?

We must next notice the tergiversations employed in the explanation of the text. The words are *Μὴδὲ ἐκτρεφέσμεν τὸν Χριστὸν ἡδονῆς καὶ τινες αὐτὸν ἐκείρασαν*. That after the last verb, *ἐκείρασαν*, the word *αὐτὸν* is to be understood, no one can doubt; but to establish beyond contradiction that the subject of the second member of the sentence is the same as that of the first, the word *καὶ* is introduced. The Unitarians themselves admit this beyond question, as their wish to read *Kúpiov* for *Χριστὸν* and their translation of the text on the admission of that reading, show: 'Neither let us tempt the Lord as some of them also *tried* him.' I. V. But as they cannot, even to their own satisfaction, establish that reading, they tell us from Newcome that 'if we read *Χριστὸν*, the sense is, 'nor let us tempt, try, prove, provoke Christ now, as some of them did God at that time,' renouncing the very principle of interpretation on which they constructed their translation, and omitting the word *καὶ* in order to cover their equivocating explanation. Such were the views of Mr. Belsham when he edited the Improved Version.† But at last, meliora doctus, he gives up this wretched evasion of the meaning of the text, and tells us plainly that our construction is correct, by saying, 'if *Χριστὸν*, Christ, which is the reading of the re-

* Mr. Belsham never states how far Griesbach's approbation of a reading favourable to his views extends. In Eph. i. 11. & iv. 20, he has practised precisely the same piece of dishonesty as in the passage before us. Griesbach in such case *prefers* the received reading.—Mr. Belsham omits the mention of this fact, and states that Griesbach gives other readings 'as of high authority.'

† We are not so fortunate as to possess more than one edition of the Improved Version, viz. the fourth, printed in 1817. We mention this lest any of the preceding editions should contain different interpretations.

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ceived text, be retained, it signifies *the anointed Prophet*, and applies both to Moses and to Christ: vide Grotius and Crellius in loco.* So forced a construction could only derive any probability, and that a very slender one, from the most ample testimony of the use of *Χριστός* as applied descriptively to Moses. What says Crellius then? He adduces *one passage* from Habbakuk, where he chuses to assume the existence of such application, and where even Rosenmüller does not think his interpretation worth either refutation or notice. But we have noticed this alteration of Mr. Belsham's opinion for another reason. Positively denying the truth of our interpretation and rejecting its principle, in 1817 he confidently proposes his own; and in 1822, still denying our interpretation, he admits the principle, and yet with equal confidence proposes a fresh interpretation totally at variance with his former one, and does not even deem that worthy of notice. The happy state of clear and unhesitating certainty in the Unitarian opinions is well illustrated by this one instance out of hundreds.

Vol. ii. p. 16. Mr. Belsham here proves that St. Paul's vision (2 Cor. xii. 4.) was not a real fact, *because there is no such place as heaven*. 'This,' says he, 'was supposed to be above the region of the clouds and stars: but the discoveries of modern philosophy, respecting the true structure of the universe, have put an end to such puerile conceits.' This information is repeated in a variety of places through the whole work.† What discoveries have been made in modern philosophy beyond the region of the stars we have not yet learned; but we rather imagine that Sir William Herschel would have heard with no little surprize that, while he was surveying the Via Lactea, he was establishing beyond contradiction, that there is no such place as heaven.

Vol. iii. p. 63. Gal. iii. 16. ('He saith not, and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ.') Mr. Belsham's charge against St. Paul for bad reasoning in this passage is, as usual, unjust. The apostle's object is to show that the Gentiles would be justified by faith in Christ, and to this end he

* We observe that Archbishop Magee (on the Atonement, vol. ii. p. 691) attributes this explanation to a certain Mr. Thomas Simpson, as quoted by Dr. Lant Carpenter. We have not seen either Mr. Simpson's or Dr. Carpenter's productions, but it is obvious, that these fellow-labourers are ignorant that the credit of this ingenious explanation is due to their own Crellius.

† For example, in the note on Eph. iv. 10. ('He ascended up far above all heavens,') Mr. Belsham says, 'an allusion no doubt to our Lord's ascension in the air, but as the fact cannot be true in a literal and local sense, *there being no such concentric spheres as the Jewish philosophy supposed*, the true meaning must be, &c.' The apostle, it appears then, did not know his own meaning. He alludes, it seems, beyond doubt, to the fact of our Lord's visible ascension, but as that fact is no fact, *there being no such place as heaven*, some other meaning must be found than that which the writer, from his ignorance, assigned to this passage.

alleges the promise of God to the seed of Abraham, and observes, that this was not a general promise to all his offspring, whether by Isaac or Ishmael, but to one distinct branch of it, and that that branch was Christ; not, as Bishop Kidder observes, meaning the person of Christ only, but his mystical body the church, that is to say, all believers in him whether Jews or Gentiles. As to the verbal inaccuracy with which Mr. Belsham charges the apostle in using *seed*, as a singular word in Hebrew, the examples which Bishop Kidder has produced are quite sufficient to justify him, and above all the very remarkable extract from Maimonides, which contains an argument precisely analogous to that of St. Paul, built entirely on the singular sense of the word *seed*.

Vol. iii. p. 162. (Eph. i. 9, 10. 'Having made known unto us the mystery of his will—That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth.') In this well known passage Mr. Belsham is, if possible, more than usually dogmatical, and, it is needless to say, more than usually wrong. He asserts, that in St. Paul's writings the word *mystery* never signifies 'some obscure doctrine still imperfectly known,' but *always* 'a truth or fact which, having been unknown in former ages, is now distinctly revealed;' and that, 'in this epistle and that to the Colossians, it *uniformly* signifies the call of the Gentiles.' We do not suspect Mr. Belsham of such a critical knowledge of the apostle's writings, as to be aware whether his assertions are correct or not; but it really is not too much to expect that when the passages are copied and placed before him, he should take the trouble to read them. Now Schleusner distinctly attributes to the word *μυστήριον* the sense which Mr. Belsham says it never bears in St. Paul's writings, and quotes numberless passages in which it has not that meaning to which Mr. Belsham would restrict it. What sense would Mr. Belsham elicit, for instance, from 1 Cor. xiii. 2. ('and though I should understand all mysteries') if mysteries meant 'doctrines now revealed to all the world;' or from 1 Cor. xiv. 2. ('he speaketh mysteries') if the same sense be given to the word? What, again, would be the meaning of the passage 2 Thess. ii. 7. ('for the mystery of iniquity doth already work,') on this supposition? But Mr. Belsham further asserts, that in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, the word is *always* used in a still more restricted sense, namely, as designating the call of the Gentiles. We should be glad to know how he explains Eph. v. 32. 'This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the church.' His own exposition is, 'You may think the doctrine is strange, but I assure you that it is true!' (Vol. iii. p. 176.) After this it is almost needless to remark, that there is no reason for attributing

ing the sense he mentions to *all* the passages where the word occurs in the Colossians. The remainder of his note is not less curious than the part which we have examined: but we have neither room nor inclination to dwell on his assurance, that the terms heaven and earth signify nothing more than Jew and Gentile!

Vol. iii. p. 423. The Socinian explanation of Col. i. 16—21, seems to unite every possible degree of perverseness and absurdity. There is a well-known argument of Bishop Pearson on the subject, of such singular acuteness and closeness as to resemble mathematical demonstration. This is not even noticed either in the Improved Version or Mr. Belsham's present work. The words of the passage are thus translated—'For in him were created *all things* in the heavens and upon the earth, the visible and the invisible.' Of course 'things in the heavens and upon the earth,' as usual, designate the Jews and Gentiles; but we may defy all our reader's ingenuity to divine how the words 'visible and invisible' are made to express this meaning. We give it in Mr. Belsham's words—The Gentiles were invisible because they 'had no external badge of communion with God!' Mr. Belsham's singular attachment to *figures* appears to lead him to a very frequent use of the figure called nonsense. But on the supposition that Jews and Gentiles are here designated, and that by *κτίω* is represented, as Mr. Belsham says, 'a glorious and happy change,' we should much wish to be informed what sense is to be affixed to the passage. The Apostle decidedly says *τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίαις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὧς*, thus expressing the universality of the *κτίσις*. Can even Mr. Belsham mean to say that *all* Jews and *all* Gentiles experience the glorious change of which he speaks? But, further, the verb used is in a *past* tense, *ἐκτίσθη*, and Mr. Belsham construes it '*were* created,' though he very quietly adopts the *present* form in his paraphrase. Again, we must ask if even he can be absurd enough to suppose, that the Apostle spoke of *all* Jews and *all* Gentiles as having been subjected to 'a glorious and happy change under the new dispensation' at the time he wrote; when most of the Jews had rejected it, and most of the Gentiles had never heard of it? In fact, Mr. Belsham contradicts himself in the grossest manner on this point; for in his first note on the subject he makes the new creation, or, as he calls it, the new modelling of mankind, depend on their *profession* of Christianity. 'All things are created in him; i. e. all are new modelled under the Christian dispensation, or by the profession of Christianity.' Does he mean that all the Jews and all the Gentiles had professed Christianity when the Epistle to the Colossians was written? Yet, unless he is prepared to maintain this assertion, or to disregard the most complete self-contradiction, all his arguments fall to the ground at once.

We must observe that Mr. Belsham in this note quotes five passages, Rom. xvi. 2. 7, 8; 2 Cor. v. 17; and Gal. vi. 15, to show that when *ἐν*, followed by *Χριστῷ*, or its synonymes, is used, a profession of Christianity, followed by such a moral change as may be called a new creation, is intended; but of these five passages, four have *no reference* to any moral change, or any change whatever, as produced by a belief in Christianity; and in the fifth, (2 Cor. v. 17.) that meaning is only introduced by the words *καὶ ἁρτις*. This introduction of passages merely for show, is dishonest, and cannot be sufficiently reprobated. Mr. Belsham observes in the Improved Version, and in the next note in this work, that no creation of natural objects by Christ can be intended here, as the Apostle does not say that 'the heavens and earth were created by him, but things in heaven and earth;' while 'the formation of the heavens and earth is uniformly ascribed to the Supreme Being.' Now, though Bishop Pearson and others have clearly shown that the words *heaven and earth*, when used as to the creation, have the same signification as 'the world and all things in it,' we willingly relinquish that argument, as Mr. Belsham seems for once to admit an intelligible principle of reasoning, namely, that if similar expressions as to the creation by God, and that by Christ, are found to occur, it will be right to ascribe actual creation to Christ. We will, therefore, just mention to him, that he has forgotten how often in the Bible the creation of 'all things in heaven and earth' is ascribed to God.—Exod. xx. 11; Acts xvii. 24. It appears, therefore, that God is said frequently to have created all things in heaven and earth, and that here the same expression is used of Christ. The premises Mr. Belsham cannot deny—will he deny the obvious conclusion? But, says Mr. Belsham, the Apostle does not mention either animate or inanimate beings, but merely states of things, thrones, &c. which are only orders or ranks of being. It must be a singular obliquity of intellect which could lead any man to argue, that Christ did *not* create all beings and things, human and divine, precisely because he is said to have created all 'orders and ranks or conditions of being.' Let us look, however, at the whole sentence in connection, and at Mr. Belsham's explanation of it. 'By him,' says the Apostle, 'were all things created in heaven* and in earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all were created by him, and for him, for he is before all things, and by him all things consist.' This means, says Mr. Belsham, 'that all things were new-modelled by the profession of Christianity, both amongst Jews and Gen-

* Elsner has shown in the most satisfactory manner, that *συνεστη* has here the meaning of *creation*. Indeed this is abundantly clear from Schleusner.

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ties, among those who had a badge of relation to God, and those who had none; that 'all apostles and evangelists receive their commissions from him; that 'he is the medium of the new dispensation of the renovation of the moral world; that 'all things were made to be governed by, and reward his obedience and sufferings, by the unspeakable delight which he feels at having been honoured as the medium of accomplishing God's purposes,' and that 'the Jewish and Gentile church are united by him!' We would ask, whether there is any verse in the New Testament of which this may not be produced as an explanation, with the same reason as of the verse before us? Let any one, after reading it, look at the plain translation of the passage in our version, presenting a clear and lucid sense, supported by the natural construction and meaning of the words, by the ancient fathers, and by every rational commentator in modern times, and he will then be able to decide whether there may not be something 'more remote from the Apostle's meaning than that interpretation,' however strongly Mr. Belsham may be inclined to deny it.

Vol. iv. p. 196. In 1 Tim. ii. 15, where the Apostle shows the superiority of man to woman, by referring to the Mosaic history of the creation of both, Mr. Belsham takes occasion to reprobate the Apostle, not only for his arguments, but for his illiberality. 'His argument is of no great weight; and the degrading subjection of the female sex, common in the East, which the Apostle seems to favour, is neither consistent with wisdom, with justice, nor with the liberal spirit of modern times.' If the pleasure of finding fault with an Apostle were not too great to be renounced, Mr. Belsham might just be reminded, that St. Paul, least of all, deserves to be blamed for any undue depression of the female sex. It is he who talks of the believing wife converting the unbelieving husband; who praises the faith of the female converts; who extols Laïs and Eunice, as having laid the foundation of the faith of Timothy; who wishes the elder widows to be employed in the service of the church! At the end of his note, Mr. Belsham resolves to break a lance with the Apostle, and exhibit, in the shape of an argument of his own, how very poor a reasoner, in comparison with the moderns, St. Paul was. Even admitting, says he, the literal interpretation of the Mosaic account of the creation, 'the Apostle's argument would be very precarious. If the priority of Adam's creation proves his superiority to Eve, the priority of the creation of the brutes would prove their superiority to Adam.' We would beg just to hint, that the Apostle has in view a circumstance which (strange to say) has escaped the superior acuteness of his antagonist. The writer of the history of the creation ('commonly called the Mosaic,' as Mr. Belsham says) mentions

tions that Eve was formed out of Adam, and was therefore the derived and inferior being; but we never heard that Adam was formed out of the brutes.

Vol. iv. p. 248. The extraordinary note here is on the old subject of the Angels. Mr. Belsham has told us just above (iii. p. 467.) that angel denotes 'any instrument of Providence,' and that the Archangel mentioned as sounding the trumpet on the day of judgment is only 'the principal officer for the occasion,' or, 'as we say, principal herald at arms, &c.' and here he delivers a violent tirade against all persons who profess to know any thing about angels, 'of whose existence even we have no certain information—who, if they exist at all, in all probability know as little of what is passing in this *diminutive* planet as we know of them.' We trust that in Mr. Belsham's next performance he will be so kind as to inform us what diameter will entitle a planet to the notice of the angels. In the mean time, as it cannot be quite unknown to Mr. Belsham that God sent a Being into this diminutive planet, whom even he allows to be exalted now beyond any created being, we shall venture to believe that it is not altogether impossible that the angels, his servants and ministers, 'may know something about and even have some concern with this *diminutive* world and its inhabitants.' The remainder of the note is even yet more strange. Mr. Belsham confesses that *every* commentator differs from him and believes the Apostle to refer to a superior class of beings; even his favourite authorities desert him, as he fairly informs us—'Erasmus, Grotius, Crellius, Schlichtingius, Whitby, Benson, Newcome, Wakefield, Rosenmuller, &c.—Dr. Priestley himself (proh! nefas) swims with the stream.' But all this does not move Mr. Belsham. Regardless of the only sensible argument in his own book, viz. that the true sense of the passage could not possibly escape every interpreter, ancient and modern, he accounts for 'the great and universal' mistake by quietly saying that the early commentators thought 'Christ a great Superangelic Being, and therefore naturally enough imagined that the Apostle referred to Angels,' while 'those critics of modern days, who entertain more correct notions of the person of Christ (modest Mr. Belsham!) easily discern' the superiority of his explanation.

Vol. iv. p. 337. 2 Tim. iii. 16. Mr. Belsham rejects the word *xai* in this passage, (all Scripture is given of God *and* is profitable, &c.) though found in every MS. in existence, except one; and that not one of the better class. Let it be remembered that Griesbach gives the readings of near 300 MSS., and little more will be wanted to fix Mr. Belsham's character as a biblical critic. But he says that if *xai* is inserted, the Apostle does not define what Scripture is inspired, and 'that it is hard to believe he could make so palpably erroneous

erroneous a declaration' as that all the books of the Old Testament were so. Will it be believed that in the very verse before, St. Paul praises Timothy for being instructed in the *ισαυ γράμματα*, and that there Mr. Belsham, instead of complaining of the indefiniteness of the phrase, gives us a long note from Dr. Priestley, explaining it of 'the Jewish Scriptures' in general? That *γράφη* in v. 16, and *γράμματα* in v. 15 do not refer to the same books, we conceive that no man in his senses could assert, for the whole of v. 16 is unconnected with any thing preceding, except the words *ισαυ γράμματα* in v. 15. It is therefore much to be feared that St. Paul was so palpably wrong as to assert that the Jewish Scriptures generally were inspired by God.* Mr. Belsham however insists that the Apostle only intended the Prophetic writings, which, 'if genuine, are unquestionably inspired.' *If genuine!* Is the next step towards Deism to be the rejection of prophecy? We wish Mr. Belsham, or some one capable of it, would speak out, for we are amazed at this insinuation, and really have no conception of the circumstances which can have raised, even in an Unitarian mind, any doubt as to the genuineness of the prophetic writings. We observe, indeed, through the whole of the work, a strong tendency to doubt the truth of many parts of the Old Testament. But to proceed.—Why does Mr. Belsham restrict the Apostle's term to the prophetic writings? Only because in verse 15 it is said that the 'Scriptures could make wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus,' or, as Mr. Belsham says, because they contained proofs of the divine mission of Christ. The five books of Moses, and the whole system of the Jewish law, with the prophecies and promises which they contain, though of equal importance in establishing the nature and character of Christ, are omitted for the best Unitarian reasons.

Mr. Belsham's explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the master-piece of all his works as a theological critic. His object is to negative his author's sense, and to prove that he does not mean what he asserts that he does. One great aim of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as it would appear from his own statements, is to institute a comparison between Christ in his character as a High Priest and those under the Levitical law. Mr. Belsham assures us (pp. 496 and 547) that Christ was no more a high priest than he was a husbandman, and that it is only in a loose and figurative sense that he can be said to be a priest at all! This point being settled, we are a little surprized to find (p. 552) that Christ had various ceremonial sins, which required expiation, in order to his becoming a real high priest. We are therefore to understand

* See also Dr. Blomfield's Dissertation, p. 125.

that

that Christ is only figuratively called a priest, but that he was actually purified from his ceremonial defilements in order to become so. Thus he was not a priest and yet he was a priest, a statement which may be very intelligible to Mr. Belsham, but we do not understand one word of it. This strange blundering and alternating between figure and fact runs through the whole of the commentary; and while one verse is explained on the hypothesis of the reality of Christ's priesthood, the next we are told is utterly nonsensical, if that priesthood is not understood in a figurative sense. He tells us (p. 556) that the majority of commentators having understood in a literal, what was intended in a symbolical sense, have run into the most unaccountable and unintelligible, *not to say absurd*, doctrines concerning the priesthood of Christ, &c.; and a little farther (p. 574), he says, that 'Christians, by interpreting literally, what the author meant figuratively, pervert his meaning, and on their mistake erect a fabric of absurd and mischievous opinions.' But in good truth the commentators have little reason to hope for mercy, when the Apostle meets with none—for the explanations which he offers of the various types of Christ in the ceremonies of the Old Testament incur Mr. Belsham's decided reprobation. The following passage is only one out of many to the same purpose.

'We have had repeated occasion to remark, in the course of this epistle, how frequently the writer rests his argument upon the ambiguity of words, and reasons from passages in the Old Testament, which, in their primary sense, bear no relation to the subject of his discourse. This mode of reasoning is evidently inconclusive, and in the present enlightened age is altogether discarded; but it was admired and approved in the age when this epistle was written, and was probably well adapted to the crude conceptions and to the inveterate prejudices of the simple and illiterate Hebrews.

'The paragraph, which we are now about to consider, is a remarkable instance of that kind of loose, allegorical, and verbal reasoning to which I alluded. The design of the writer is sufficiently obvious; so likewise is the weakness and inconclusiveness of his argument.'

Sometimes, indeed, Mr. Belsham is so kind as to apologize for the Apostle's reasoning, and tell us (p. 508) that he is the more excusable for his fancies as to the allegorical meaning of the Old Testament, as the taste for allegorizing was not his particular error, but that of the time in which he lived. Nothing can be more amusing than the quiet and easy way in which Mr. Belsham assumes that the Apostle was a mere fanciful writer; and that we are advanced to an era of light, when such folly could not be tolerated. These *assumptions*, be it remembered, are wholly arbitrary; Mr. Belsham does not believe what the literal sense of the Apostle's words would convey, *therefore* they cannot admit any such interpretation.

pretation. But it is not merely on the adaptations of the Hebrew Scripture that Mr. Belsham assures us that the Apostle's meaning is not what his words express. He is still more positive on the subject of the sacrifice of Christ. After telling us (p. 584) that 'the blood of Christ, that spotless victim, extends its purifying influence even to a voluntary act;' 'that the sanctuary in heaven (592), where our great High Priest officiates, was consecrated by the blood of a far more excellent victim, that is of Christ himself;' that (p. 597) 'he died a voluntary sacrifice for all mankind;' and 'that he is now gone into the celestial sanctuary as our High Priest to present his offered blood;' Mr. Belsham assures us (p. 545) that instead of Christ being a victim slain for the sins of the world, 'as some strangely maintain,' all these expressions only mean that 'Jesus is the surety of the Gospel covenant, first because his mission is a proof and pledge of the Divine mercy, and secondly because his death was the seal of the Evangelical promise!' We would fain ask by what medium are we to communicate with persons who maintain such propositions, because it appears perfectly evident that words must be entirely useless for that purpose, as they cannot possibly use them in the same sense that we do? Dying as a victim, with them does not mean what we understand by the expression, but designates becoming a surety and ratifying an agreement. In the same way, in p. 540, Mr. Belsham draws a long parallel between the Levitical sacrifices and that of Christ, stating that (1) 'The great sacrifice of atonement required annual repetition—(2) The Levitical priest was obliged annually to offer a sacrifice for himself—(3) The priest was mortal;' while (1) 'The one sacrifice of Christ is equal to all the sacrifices of the law, and consecrated himself and his followers once for all. (2) The High Priest is perfect. (3) He is immortal, and being at the right hand of God, He is ever present in the celestial Holy of Holies, interceding, i. e. officiating, as a priest, in the most holy place, so that the benefits of his redemption extend to every believer through every age.' Yet, says Mr. Belsham in the next sentence, 'all the while this means nothing more than that the Christian dispensation relieves those who obey it, from the yoke, ceremonies and sacrifices of the law, that it requires nothing but the practice of virtue, and is intended to last for ever.' Again, even more strongly, (p. 583) Mr. Belsham tells us 'that the blood of Christ purifies the conscience from dead works and from voluntary acts of sin, and that, being offered in the heavenly sanctuary, it released the Jew from the sin of renouncing the old covenant, obtained the pardon of the transgressor,' &c. &c., and then adds, '*All that the writer really means* is, that the Mosaic dispensation being ended by the death of Christ, all who believe are now released from

from the obligation of the ceremonial law.' Before we can argue to any purpose with a party who make such assertions, we must meet on neutral ground, exchange powers, and agree on the meaning of the terms we are to use. As things are, Mr. Belsham's mass of doctrinal notes on the Hebrews is perfectly incomprehensible to the uninitiated, as, after reading page upon page, in which we are assured, in every varied form of expression, that Christ died as a victim, and offered up his blood for mankind, we are assured (p. 611) that 'such an idea never crossed the mind of the writer,' who merely indulged his fancy by running a parallel between the Christian and Mosaic dispensations.

Vol. iv. p. 550. ch. vii. 27. Mr. Belsham of course strongly insists on the old Socinian explanation of this passage, viz. that Christ is here represented as having offered a sacrifice for his own sins, as well as those of the people. But his argument rests on his usual arbitrary assumptions, viz. that sacrifices were never intended to expiate *moral* (p. 552. note) but *ceremonial* offences, and that our Lord was ceremonially disqualified for becoming a priest, by not being of the house of Aaron, &c. and was therefore compelled to consecrate himself for the priestly office by his own blood. Now the interpretation is wrong, and the argument is still more so. It is wholly untrue, that there were no sacrifices for moral transgressions. In the first place, it is untrue that the sins described Heb. ix. 7. are, as Mr. Belsham says, merely sins of ignorance, or involuntary transgressions. His own great authority, Schleusner, expressly reprehends Biel for making ἀγνοια represent only sins of ignorance; and he and many other writers show clearly, from an adduction of passages, that ἀγνοια is used of sin in general, and that the LXX use it frequently to translate words of the most positive meaning in Hebrew. Thus Psalm xiv. 7. רשע, and Genesis xxviii. 10. חטא are translated by this word. Rosenmüller again, another favourite of Mr. Belsham, proves at length that ἀγνοια and חטא (the word it represents in Heb. ix. 7. from Levit. xvi.) extend to all sins not presumptuous, adding, that on the day of expiation, atonement was made for all sins not liable to capital punishment. The first 13 verses of Leviticus, ch. v. and the first 7 of ch. vi. expressly treat of the expiation for 'sins done wittingly,' and the latter, in particular, of the atonement for sins of lying, perjury, theft, fraud, and extortion. And yet in the face of all this, Mr. Belsham boldly asserts, that there was 'no sacrifice made for moral transgressions.' This assertion, then, being falsified, let us look at the whole passage, and not the 27th verse alone, as Mr. Belsham, for obvious reasons, chooses to do.

'Such an High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled,
separate

separate from sinners, and made higher than the Heavens, who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for this he did once when he offered up himself.'

When we remember that sacrifice was ordained for moral transgression, and that it is expressly stated, that Jesus was *undefiled*, or, as even Mr. Belsham (*carelessly*, we presume) says in p. 549, 'free from all sin, ceremonial and moral,' nothing can be more obvious than that there are here two points of contrast between the Levitical priest and Christ. The first, that Christ had no sin to be expiated, while the Levitical priest was obliged to atone for his own sin; a subject before insisted on, in ch. iv. 15. ch. v. 3. The second, that the one sacrifice of Christ was sufficient to atone for the sins of the world, while the Jewish sacrifices were daily repeated. Limborch has, indeed, stated, with great truth, that the *vis* of the opposition in verse 27, is between the *one* sacrifice of Christ and the *many* of the Levitical law.

If we look to chap. ix. 7. to which Mr. Belsham refers as a repetition of this passage, and where the day of expiation is expressly referred to, we find precisely the same opposition between the yearly sacrifices of the Jewish Priest and the one sacrifice of Christ—but no ambiguous expression as to any sacrifice for Christ's own sin. The Jewish priest is distinctly said to offer for his own sins, but Christ, in order to 'purify the consciences of his servants from dead works.' It is clear also that in this passage, the 27th. verse cannot be taken by itself, but must be construed in connection with the 26th, though Mr. Belsham chooses to avoid any such reference, as his argument would at once fall to the ground. Mr. Belsham farther assumes, that on the great annual day of expiation at least, no other than ceremonial offences were atoned for; and, with Sykes, explains this passage as referring to that day. There is an awkward phrase in the original, viz. καὶ ἡμέραν, which Mr. Belsham gets rid of by the following note, 'καὶ ἡμέραν, daily, from time to time, the word is indefinite and often used for time.' (We presume Mr. Belsham meant to say, the words are indefinite, and are often used to express larger intervals of time than a day.) 'The expression is used equivalent to καὶ ἑκάστην (chap. x. 1.) every year.' A schoolboy would blush for Mr. Belsham—If he had looked into so common a writer as Wolf, he would have seen at once, 'Phrasin nunquam alio sensu quam pro quotidie adhibetur.' Except Mr. Belsham and his friend indeed, all who explain the phrase in any other way than the common one, contend from John v. 4, that the word τεταγμένην may be understood. The fact however is, that Maimonides expressly relates that the High Priest did offer sacrifice every day, morning and evening, for his own sin, and there can

can be little doubt, that this is the sacrifice 'for the Priest,' enjoined in Lev. vi. 20.

Vol. iv. p. 583. We believe the coronis of Mr. Belsham's absurdities will be found in this note. Our readers will have observed that he has confidently contended for a figurative explanation of the whole epistle; maintaining that the great passage relative to Christ's priesthood, from chap. iv. 13. to chap. ix. 14. is merely a fanciful parallel between him and the Levitical priests; not with any intention of hinting that Christ was really a priest, but to conciliate and please the Jews of that day, who had a taste for allegory! Mr. Belsham in conclusion informs us, that all the writer means is, 'that the Mosaic dispensation being terminated by the death of Christ, believers are released from the yoke of the law, and are at liberty to worship God without restraint, agreeably to the mild and liberal spirit of the Gospel.' We are told that Christ is superior to the high priests ordained by Moses—that his priesthood is of a higher nature and not by right of descent, as he was not even of the proper tribe—that he is a minister of the true sanctuary,—that he entered into a holy place, of which the holy of holies was only a type—that the sacrifice he offered, was his own blood, which was more efficacious than that of bulls and goats—that he lives and acts as an eternal high priest at the right hand of God; and after reading this, we are told that it only means that the Jewish system was ended and a new one begun! Nothing which we could add would show the utter madness of such a plan of interpretation in a clearer light than the simple statement of it.—But we must say one word on the difference in opinion as to the *facts* between Mr. Belsham and his masters Crellius and Schlichtingius. In their commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, so far are they from thinking that Christ's heavenly priesthood is merely figurative, that they actually allow him to have been a priest on earth; for (towards the end of the third chapter) they say, that the *principal* part of his priestly office was performed in heaven—and in their recension of the Racovian Catechism, (in the Irenopolitan and Staupopolitan editions,) they openly confess that Christ acted as a priest on earth, and especially on the cross. It may be curious to notice that, in the Racovian Catechism, previously to their recension of it, this is flatly denied.* The question is the same in each edition, namely, 'Was not Christ a priest before he ascended into heaven, and especially when on the cross?'

Answer in the Racovian edition—

'He was not.'

Answer in the edition of Crellius—

'He was.'

* See the German edition, Racov. 1612.

Thus

Thus it appears that the Anti-Trinitarian party have at all times enjoyed the same happy degree of certainty and consistency, as they do under Mr. Belsham's guidance.

We have now copied as many passages as seem necessary to give our readers some notion of the utter worthlessness of Mr. Belsham's annotations and explanations, and can say with perfect sincerity, that we have not invidiously selected a few casual instances of error or temerity from a large mass of valuable matter. Indeed we are well aware, that, on this point, Mr. Belsham will entirely agree with us, as we are fully persuaded that the very qualities, which render his work of no value in our eyes, are exactly those which shed the greatest lustre on it in his. The boundless contempt and rejection of the authority of other critics, and the equally boundless acquiescence in his own; the total disregard of all common laws of criticism and explanation, when affording a meaning contrary to the dictates of (Unitarian) common sense and reason; the bold, confident and unqualified assertions, the neglect of all adduction of examples and authorities in favour of the new interpretation—these are the very qualities, we well know, which are absolutely necessary, in Mr. Belsham's eyes, to constitute a good and liberal commentator; and we shall therefore do him no injustice, even in his own judgment, when we say 'sui nemo ipse tam similis,' as are Mr. Belsham's pages, in these respects, to one another. If indeed we went on to state that they are all characterized by the same limitation of reading, and the same scarcity of critical knowledge, we should hardly expect him to contradict us, as it is of the very essence of Unitarianism to depress the necessity for the acquisition of Scriptural learning, and to constitute a Pearson, and 'a plough-boy of sound understanding,' judges of equal authority in the interpretation of Scripture.—We have already stated, that no new arguments are adduced in favour of the various hypotheses of the Unitarian party, respecting those passages of Scripture which militate most strongly against their creed—and that even the old reasonings are produced in the weakest and most inefficacious manner; we have therefore not deemed it at all necessary to enter on the consideration of them, as we conceive that they have already received the fullest and most satisfactory answer. But the tendency of all Mr. Belsham's works, and of this before us in particular, is to show how idle it would be to offer any answer to the Unitarian arguments. Every body is aware that Mr. Belsham has asserted with the most unparalleled calmness, and with a degree of confidence which almost inclines us to believe that he is ignorant enough to make the assertion with good faith, that in the controversy between Horsley and Priestley, Horsley was not only beaten, but was himself satisfied of his defeat. It might be supposed that it would

not be possible to surpass the intrepidity of this proposition; but when we find, in the present exposition of St. Paul, that he is pronounced by his expositor to be a miserable reasoner, and that he not only quotes Scripture loosely, but quite mistakes its meaning; we at once recognize the possibility, which we had before doubted, and understand the perfect fruitlessness of any argument with Mr. Belsham. When it is once established not only that no preceding critics have understood the meaning of Scripture; that no general concurrence of the voice of antiquity can fix it; that no authority, either ancient or modern, can determine it, but that even the arguments of the Apostle himself are idle, and false and fallacious; that although he sometimes reveals doctrines by inspiration, we are never to believe that he speaks by inspiration, unless he expressly asserts it, (a case of the rarest occurrence,) we may forego all hopes of convincing our antagonists. The $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\ \sigma\tau\tilde{\omega}$ is here entirely wanting. Do we appeal to criticism? The appeal is rejected.—Do we search into the opinions of antiquity? Their opinions are a laughing-stock. Do we finally call in the Apostle's arguments and views of that part of Scripture, on which we rest our cause? He is 'an inaccurate reasoner,' 'an incorrect writer,' not 'a profound metaphysician,' and 'probably knew no more of the matter than we do.' But even where the Apostle's authority is not disputed, he is denied the common use of words, and the most strange declarations are extracted from passages, which, we should apprehend, had a very plain signification, and can present no other appearance, except to the supporters of a peculiar system. When Christ, for example, is said to be higher than the angels, we are told that the obvious meaning cannot be affixed to the passage, because it would be of no use to us to know any thing about the angels (iv. 440); when it is said that God makes his messengers spirits, we are informed, by a bold *prosopopœia*, the winds are represented as God's messengers (iv. 443); when we read that Christ is worshipped by the angels, we are told that 'by a bold and sublime figure, the former prophets are summoned to do homage to him' (i. 16.); when we are warned not to excite the displeasure of the Holy Ghost, we are told that, in this passage, 'the gifts of the Holy Spirit are personified and said to be offended' (iii. 248); when we are told that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, even of those under the earth, we learn that this only means that the doctrine of Jesus reveals a future judgment (ii. 345); when we find the Apostle expressly asserting that to Christ is to be applied the language of the Old Testament, 'Thou, Lord, in the beginning ~~part~~ laid the foundation of the earth, &c.' we are told 'that the immortality of God is here declared as a pledge of the immortality of the kingdom of Christ.' In the same spirit, every possible point in

in dispute is assumed as decided in Mr. Belsham's favour, so as to admit of no further argument. If the devil is mentioned, it is clear that 'St. Paul only alludes to an existing mythology,' (vol. iii. p. 18.) and 'gives no countenance to the doctrine of the existence of an evil spirit,' although this is the very point in dispute; if he mentions heaven, it is clear he could not mean any actual place, because 'modern discoveries show that there are no concentric circles in the air.' vol. iii. p. 230. It is obvious that no reply can be offered to all this, for there is no argument to combat; but its place is supplied by the most astonishing hardihood and assurance of assertion. When no other artifice will avail, Mr. Belsham necessarily pronounces whatever militates against him to be 'a figure!' Christ's sacrifice uniformly—see Rom. iv. 24. Eph. ii. 2; the Spirit of God (Rom. ii. 26); Christ's headship of the church, Eph. i. 22; the principalities and powers in the heavenly places (iii. 2); Christ's ascension (iv. 10); the adoration of Christ by those who are in heaven and on earth and under the earth (Phil. ii. 9); Christ's being in the form of God (Phil. ii. 6); these and numberless other declarations of Scripture are all 'figures;' and therefore of course will bear any meaning which Mr. Belsham may choose to put on them. It would be a mere waste of time to contest these points; indeed there are manifest symptoms through the whole performance of that increase of prejudice and credulous incredulity, which are the natural results of the strange habits of interpretation and reasoning to which Mr. Belsham has so long been accustomed. Notwithstanding this, we have thought his book deserving of some notice, as containing a formal enunciation of the theory of justification proposed by the Unitarians, and as proceeding from the person who is considered as the coryphæus of his party: but the extracts from his notes will show that if Mr. Belsham ever possessed any stores of argument or knowledge, they have utterly disappeared; and that their place is supplied by a repetition of the miserable *crambe* of former days; by assertions which no one admits, and abuse, which no one regards. We may pity his weakness, but we shall not waste our readers' time or our own, by any examination of his future criticisms.

ART. V.—*Travels through Sweden, Norway, and Finmark to the North Cape, in the Summer of 1820.* By A. de Capell Brooke, M. A. London. 1823.

THERE are certain prominent features on the earth's surface, and certain operations going on in the great laboratory beneath it, which have at all times attracted the attention of mankind, either as objects of scientific research, or of mere curiosity.

The pursuit of the former has usually proved a source of delight to those who, like Saussure, Humboldt, and Park, have engaged in it, while the results have afforded instruction to others; but there is a class of travellers always ready to undertake the arduous task of toiling to the tops of mountains, or penetrating into the depths of caverns, for no better purpose than that of gratifying an idle humour, or of having to say, 'ed io anchè!' A traveller of this description generally meets with disappointment at his journey's end; and, though perhaps less candid to own it, will be very apt to feel, and exclaim, with Bruce, when he stood at the Fountains of the Nile,—'I find despondency gaining ground fast upon me, and blasting the crown of laurels I had too rashly woven for myself: I begin, in my sorrow, to treat the inquiry about the source of the Nile, as a violent effort of a distempered fancy.'

We can, however, readily conceive the head of the Nile and the tail of the Niger, the summits of the Himalaya, and the Andes, of Teneriffe, Hecla, Ætna, and Vesuvius, to be objects of attraction, both for science and curiosity; but we confess it is beyond our comprehension how the sight of a bleak and barren promontory rising a few hundred feet out of a tempestuous ocean, merely because it happens to be accounted the northernmost point of Europe, should possess sufficient inducements to tempt any one to undergo the fatigue and peril of reaching it; especially since it has no longer the freshness of novelty to recommend it.*

It is but justice, however, to add that the travels of Mr. de Capell Brooke to this bleak spot have been productive of a volume by no means destitute of interest or amusement, written with the feelings and in the style of a gentleman; and if it should be found to contain no new or important discoveries, nor boast much depth of research, it abounds at least in glowing, and, we have every reason to believe, faithful descriptions of the romantic scenery of Sweden and Norway, and in striking characteristic traits of their hardy peasantry. Were we inclined to 'hint a fault,' it would be that of prolixity and a somewhat too credulous leaning to stories about krakens, sea-serpents, and antediluvian whales.

Taking up our traveller at Gottenburgh, we accompany him to the bleak and barren mountains which environ this city to the distance of about thirty miles: here the pine forests, which are said to cover nearly half the surface of Sweden, commence at a village named Lilla Edet, most romantically situated near the falls of the Gotha; in the neighbourhood of which its collected

* To say nothing of the shipping which double the Cape every year, it has been visited by several travellers.

waters precipitate themselves down the cataract of Trollhätta with 'fearful roarings,' in four successive falls, the united height of which is about 110 feet. At this point, a canal, consisting of a series of locks and sluices cut out of the solid rock, has been constructed with incredible labour and ingenuity; by means of which, an uninterrupted navigation is opened between the lake Venern, about forty miles farther on, and the North Sea. This lake is about 100 (Acerbi says 500) miles in length, and nearly as many in breadth. It washes the walls of Lidköping, which Mr. Brooke describes as delightfully situated amidst pleasing scenery; but he does not tell us whether the ruins of the magnificent castle of Leekio still remain, with its well of 200 feet deep, hewn out of the solid rock—a work, Olaus Magnus assures us, not executed with iron instruments alone, 'but by flame, which was daily fed with 300 of the fattest fitches of bacon, successively, day by day; for it is found, by experience, that nothing will sooner penetrate the hard rock there, than lard and hog's grease.'

The good bishop further informs us, that on the very top of the lofty mountain Kindakulle, (which Mr. Brooke says rises from the waves of Venern, soars above every thing, and, in this degenerate age, is productive, we believe, of nothing but snow and stunted moss,) 'there are such pleasant boughs, herbs, and fruits of divers kinds (excepting the vine) that come up of themselves, not more rare than sweet, as if they were sowed or planted, that there scarce can be found a more delightful place in all the northern climates. There is a sweetness that cannot be related, and that is multiplied by the concert of divers birds, except the popinjay. That most pleasant place is known to very few, and they only old men; nor is it easily to be discovered to young people, lest, being released from more severe discipline, they should cast themselves down to all pleasures, and would hardly, or never, be reclaimed to good manners!'

The waters of the Malar, at the point of their junction with the Baltic, are said to give to the situation of Stockholm some resemblance to that of Venice: but the small rocky islands on which the former is built, the clear transparent river which runs through the heart of the city; the steep acclivity of the hills behind, on which houses seem to stand upon each other; the forests of pines which descend almost to the gates of the town, spotted with villas in every direction, must destroy at once any similarity between the two cities beyond that of being both intersected by water. Stockholm, like London, is deserted in the summer months, when the nobility and gentry take up their abode in the neighbouring villas, many of which, along the line of the Malar, are beautifully romantic.

Mr. Brooke observes that the Swedes have not only an extraordinary facility of acquiring languages, but also of speaking them; and illustrates his remark by saying that he met at Stockholm with young ladies, hardly out of their teens, who could speak five different languages with equal fluency; whilst our own countrymen, who are unquestionably the greatest travellers of any nation, can hardly make themselves understood in any foreign language. The remark is not new; nor is the fact itself (as far as it is admissible) difficult of explanation. A living language is most easily learnt in the years which follow infancy; these, in England, are generally employed in acquiring the rudiments of the dead languages, the study of which in after-years is found to occupy no inconsiderable portion of time; while the northern nations engage but little in the pursuit of classical literature. But there is another reason: the presses of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia supply so very few books in their own languages, that they are obliged to have recourse to those of England, France, and Germany; which, being of more extensive use than their own, they find their advantage in learning.

The custom of taking the *siesta* in the middle of the day is not confined to the more southern latitudes; in Stockholm, every tradesman shuts up his shop from two till four, to enjoy his repose.

'An Englishman, who, of all men, is most on his legs, unacquainted with this way of getting through business in Stockholm, sets out at these hours to go what is called a shopping. He directs his steps to the principal street which the booksellers inhabit, and knocks at the door of Mr. U., which to his great surprise he finds completely closed. After trying in vain to obtain admission, he walks over the way to another, fancying, perhaps, some death in the family might have occasioned this sudden suspension of business. He finds the second, however, the same; and should he go to a dozen, he would not be more fortunate. At that time of the day, which in London and other large cities is mostly distinguished for bustle and business, the streets of Stockholm are comparatively deserted, silent, and dismal, from the shutting up of the shops; and it is generally not till between four and five, that the shopkeeper again re-opens his sleeping shutters to admit the light, and his door to his customers.'—p. 35.

It was here that Mr. Brooke set about his preparations for a journey to the North Cape. His first object was that of hiring a servant of all-work, and he soon met with one who promised to answer his purpose in the person of a dapper little fellow of the name of Jean, who had served in the wars with Napoleon, had been taken by the Cossacks, and sent into Siberia; who could speak six languages fluently, could shave and dress hair, deck a table, cook a dinner, drive a chaise—in a word, a perfect Swedish

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La. Fleur. With this person Mr. Brooke left Stockholm on the 19th of June, and plunged at once into the deep and gloomy pine forests, from which not only the rays of the sun, but every breath of wind is excluded. Swarms of mosquitoes assail the traveller and his horses in these close and dismal shades; and the *astrus tarandi*, which is said to drive the Lapland rein-deer to the sea-coasts, (a distance of several hundred miles,) to get rid of its attacks, was here equally ferocious, and followed them with the most persevering malignity.

Extensive tracts of these forests had been consumed by fire, presenting, in the charcoal coating of the ruined trees, a most dreary and desolate appearance. These conflagrations are occasioned by various causes, and are represented as very grand and terrific. Linnaeus was caught in the midst of one, and escaped with no little peril. Mr. Brooke saw only their effects; but, with the help of the Swedish naturalist, he has given a description, which, as it may serve as a fair specimen of his style, we subjoin.

A peasant, after smoking, knocks out the ashes of his pipe; for some hours they lie smothering and concealed; by and by the rising breeze fans them into life and flame, and the work of destruction is begun. Running through the moss, as dry and inflammable as tinder, the flame meets with a pine, and quick as lightning ascends it, assisted by its resinous juices. In this manner it spreads rapidly through the whole forest, which, crackling amid flame and smoke, presents a spectacle terrific and imposing. The distant traveller, ignorant of the cause, sees with astonishment the singular red appearance of the horizon; and should he unfortunately have to pass through the burning forest, he will find it very difficult to avoid its threatening fury. Surrounded on all sides by falling trees, his path concealed by smoke and flame, he stands bewildered, uncertain whether to advance or retreat. If a breeze arise, the whole forest glows; a thousand loud explosions are heard around; and, should the gently refreshing shower descend, a loud hissing is heard, a dense smoke creeps along, and the smothering flames are for a moment repressed, only to burst out afresh with greater fury. The tenants of the forest, driven from their wild haunts hitherto undisturbed, flee before their irresistible enemy into parts before secure from their attacks; and bears and wolves, forced from their accustomed retreats toward the habitations of man, make desperate attacks upon the cattle of the peasants. Few spectacles can be conceived more fearfully sublime, than a conflagration of this kind in uninhabited parts of the north, to one who witnesses from the mountain top the progress of the flames, and the alteration so quickly made on the smiling face of nature, at the approach of the destroying element.—pp. 41—44.

The following is the description of a Swedish post-house.

At first sight it has every appearance of being uninhabited. After
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loudly vociferating for the *halkarl*, or hostler, if it be in the afternoon, the noise your arrival makes probably awakes the *gäst-givare*, or inn-keeper, who is taking his daily *sicata* after dinner; and on looking out in his night-cap, and seeing it to be merely some travellers, he quietly recomposes himself. Not finding any person coming to your assistance, you at length alight, and observing a door open you enter, and find yourself in a large room unincumbered with furniture, the ceiling and wainscoat of deal, wooden benches placed around, and the floor strewed with fir tops. This is the *salle à manger*. After waiting some time, a barefooted girl enters, with short petticoats, and her hair twisted together in the way in which the long tails of the carriage horses of our old English squires used to be plaited. This is your waiter and chambermaid. In her hand she bears what is deemed the balsam of life in the north, of which she pours you out a large bumper, in the shape of a dram, otherwise termed *saps*; and, if you do not feel inclined to drink it, stares with astonishment.—pp. 45, 46.

Nothing can be more pleasing, says Mr. Brooke, than the green forests of Sweden, where the fire has not disfigured them, and where they are not so compact as to exclude the light and air. Linnæus, who may perhaps be considered a too partial admirer of the beauties of his own country, talks of the young shoots of the fir ‘illuminating the forests.’ In the open patches are abundance of little brilliant flowers interspersed among the *vaccinium* or whortleberry, which here takes the place of our purple heaths. The rapidity of vegetation is quite wonderful. ‘One day,’ Mr. Brooke tells us, ‘may behold the country lying torpid in the grasp of winter; the next, creation awakes, every herb and plant begins to shoot, nature looks suddenly gay, and the forests resume their light green mantle.’

Our traveller seems to consider the condition of the Swedish and Norwegian peasant superior to that of the English one, with all the disadvantages of his climate, the real poverty of his country, and the wretched and scanty food on which the former is obliged to subsist. He admits that he is ‘steeped in poverty to the very lips;’ that when an early frost cuts off the whole of his crop, ‘he finds his bread in the heart of the forest; and with the bitter bark of the pine, beaten till it is reduced into a soft pulp, he continues to support existence, living, by means of this unpalatable food, where others would die.’ What superiority Mr. Brooke finds here, we do not clearly see; but we are quite sure that he has fallen into the common error, and compared the English labourer with the Swedish small proprietor,—a very different description of persons. Mr. Brooke, however, draws his inference of their superior condition from observing that they were always cheerful and apparently contented; and that their poverty was unaccompanied with misery: ‘during the time,’ he adds, ‘I remained in the
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the north I did not observe a hundredth part of the wretchedness so visible in Ireland, or those heart-rending scenes, that so continually attract the eye in England.' Not to reply that Mr. Brooke never saw, we presume, the peasantry of this country 'feeding, to support a wretched existence, on *barke-bröd*,' we shall content ourselves with observing, that a person posting (like Yorick and his pupil) *at a prodigious rate*, through a strange country, of whose language he is totally ignorant, and where he is himself an object of curiosity, always calculated to enliven those who witness it, is not altogether competent to draw a just comparison between the condition of the people of that country and his own. That the sequestered Swedish peasant is 'humble, serious, and devout,' and that no distance nor severity of weather will induce him to neglect the performance of religious duties at the parish church, we can well believe. There was a time when our own peasants felt and acted thus; but a change of circumstances, which we need not here detail, has produced a change of the national character in this respect, and exerted an unfavourable influence on their minds. The Swede, exempt from such circumstances, finds content in the midst of his native forests, and suffers not his desires to soar above his pine-log cottage; and though often pinched with poverty, against which he sees no relief, he looks forward, with humble hope, to that other and better world to the attainment of which he knows he has duties to discharge, that no doubts nor difficulties are suffered to disturb or interrupt.

Next to the pine, the birch is the most important and useful tree to the peasant. From its oily bark, which resists the wet, he makes tiles to cover his cottage; inner soles for his shoes; and with it he tans his leather, dyes his fishing-nets and sails of a deep red colour, and at the same time renders them more durable; from the wood he constructs the greater part of his furniture, and household implements, and it also serves him for fuel; and from the sap of the tree he extracts a liquor, which is known to us under the name of birch wine. In the general distribution of this useful tree, where no other will grow, nature has been very liberal, as it is found to the utmost northern verge of Europe, but diminishing in size till, in the highest latitudes, it assumes the appearance of a dwarf shrub.

The bridge of Magnebro, under which gushes down, through a channel of broken rocks, a very rapid torrent, forms the frontier between Sweden and Norway; and here at once our traveller found the humility of the Swede to be exchanged for the freedom and boldness of the Norwegian, in whom he observed a strong resemblance to the Swiss, particularly in his dress and habitation. At a small village in the valley of the Glommen, near the fortress

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of Kongevinger; the country people were celebrating the feast of St. John's eve (*Sand Hansdag*), singing, dancing, and drinking most immoderately. 'In the house where I lodged,' says our traveller, 'there were more than fifty persons of both sexes in a state of complete intoxication, yet still swallowing, from time to time, large bumpers of brandy;' this continued all night and the next day; and this in a temperature of 80° of Fahrenheit in the shade and 110 in the sun! *Yet this is your harmless fairy!* When will travellers learn to distinguish natural virtues from forced ones? The Glommen serves to convey to the Northern Ocean immense rafts of timber, to be thence shipped off to various parts of the world. This trade, once so important, has of late years been much on the decline, on account of the heavy duties levied by this country in order to encourage the importation of timber from our own colonies.

Notwithstanding this depression, however, it appears that, as far as Drontheim, the face of the country exhibited abundant signs of industry and plenty. 'In every direction,' says Mr. Brooke, 'the small farms of the peasants catch the eye, showing a degree of comfort rarely to be met with in other countries:' he even talks of the 'neat white curtains made of coarse muslin or gauze, which give to the windows of the peasant's cottages so spruce and striking an appearance.' The principal food of the Norwegian peasantry is rye-bread and sour milk; yet, in spite of what we should consider as rather meagre fare, they are said to be, in general, remarkably robust and healthy, well-looking, with a manly openness of manner and countenance, which was the more observable as our traveller proceeded northerly. They are expert and ingenious, each peasant being his own tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, joiner, and often even his own clock and watch-maker. Many of them work remarkably well in silver, brass, and other metals; and at one place, a blind man acted as a guide, and was sent out into the mountains in search of some stray horses.

At Breiden our traveller took up his lodgings with a substantial farmer, who had seventeen children, and nearly double that number of dependents, with whom he was surrounded like a patriarch of old. On looking for his man, at an early hour in the morning, Mr. Brooke entered an apartment that had been the kitchen the preceding evening, but was now converted into a capacious bed-chamber.

'On opening the door, a scene both curious and strange to my eyes presented itself. In five or six large beds, or rather wooden cribs, near twenty persons of both sexes, perfectly naked, were lying together in heaps; and the dark copper-coloured skins of some, contrasting with the whiteness of others, rendered the group still more extraordinary.

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To complete it, on the ground several large pigs were enjoying the sweets of repose, and responding with drowsy grunts to the snores of, I might almost say, their fellow swine. The singular practice, common to both sexes, of sleeping devoid of any covering, is very general in Norway. The chief reason, I apprehend, will be found in the degree of heat in which their rooms are kept, during the night as well as day, by their stoves. This, at the same time that it renders any clothing, putting decency entirely out of the question, both unnecessary and inconvenient, enables them to save their linen.—pp. 119, 120.

Our traveller had now to cross the great mountain of Dovrefield, in which he succeeded, without incurring any of those dangers from robbers, precipices, wolves and bears, of which he had heard so much. The highest point which he had to pass is estimated by Von Buch at 4,575 feet; but the mountain Sneehattan, or 'hat of snow,' so named from its shape, appears, by a barometrical measurement, to be 8,115 English feet. At a place called Jerkin, in one of the defiles, a crowd of peasants, male and female, were amusing themselves with dancing the favourite national dance called the Polsk, which they continued through the night. The thermometer, at a less elevation than this place, descended at night to four degrees below the freezing point. The distance across the Dovrefield is about sixty miles, and it took two days to clear it.

Drontheim, 'the last city towards the Pole,' (Mr. Brooke says,) 'is a magnificent town, the streets spacious and regular, and the houses, though entirely of wood, gratifying to the eye, both from their size and the neatness of their appearance.' Few palaces can vie in size with that of Drontheim; it is situated in a fine street called the *Munk-gade*, as wide as Regent-street; and terminated at one end by the venerable cathedral, and at the other by the bay of Drontheim. The neighbourhood is highly romantic and picturesque; and the falls of Leerfossen and the lakes of Jonsvandet, within a few miles of the city, are visited by all strangers as objects of interest and curiosity. The environs are thus described by Mr. Brooke:—

'The country around Drontheim presents nothing like the appearance of forest; but the thick copses and tangled thickets on the borders of these lakes, and the beautiful luxuriance of the vegetation, made amends, in some measure, for the absence of the deeper shade of the pine. In some parts an almost insuperable barrier presented itself to our steps, in the matted branches of the dwarf shrubs interwoven with various kinds of creepers. Sometimes an enormous ant-hill interposed itself, nearly the height of a man, and almost approaching in size and appearance to the *gamme*, or hut, of the coast Laplander. Nothing can be more curious than these really gigantic habitations raised by so diminutive an animal. A close inspection shows, that they are composed principally

principally of small particles of bark and decayed wood; intermixed with light soil. The approach to them, like that of a populous city, was through a spacious road, more than a foot in width, along which millions of these little negroes were hastening heavily loaded, while others were setting out on their different expeditions. From the principal street innumerable little alleys and avenues branched out, which might be called the suburbs of this republic, all equally crowded with the black swarm pressing forward with signs of the greatest haste and diligence. These ant-hills, which in the northern forests cannot fail to attract the attention of the stranger, are the work of a large species of black ant; and it is singular enough, that a discovery of modern chemistry should long have been practically employed in some parts of Norway for the purpose of making vinegar. The method they employ in Norlanden is simply this: they first collect a sufficient quantity of these little animals, by plunging a bottle partly filled with water up to the neck in one of these large ant-hills, into which they naturally creep, and are drowned. The contents are then boiled together, and the acid thus produced is made use of by the inhabitants as vinegar, being strong and good.—pp. 146, 147.

Mr. Brooke remarks that from Drontheim the horses were of a different description from those he had hitherto met with; and that instead of the weak animals of Sweden and the southern parts of Norway, they were now a 'strong, bony, short-backed race, of a dark brown, unspotted with white, with a fine crest and flowing mane:' 'this,' he adds, 'is the real Norwegian horse, remarkable for its strength, spirit, and beauty.'

The country now becomes exceedingly rude and romantic; the coast is indented with deep inlets or *fjords*, and the sea studded with innumerable islands, many of them consisting only of rugged barren rocks, apparently shivered from the continent, or at least separated from it by the washing away of the looser materials. Mr. Brooke conceives that the deep striking of the roots of the fir and mountain-ash may have contributed to the splitting of the rocks, 'occasioning those terrible convulsions in which an entire village is sometimes covered by the ruins of a mountain, thus loosened and detached,'—and that 'the smallest creeper is capable of causing these prodigious falls.' True, indeed, it is, that we sometimes see

'What dire events from trivial causes spring—'

but when we have at hand the powerful agents of rain penetrating into the fissures, and subsequent frost enlarging the dimensions of the fluid thus collected, we think that the 'creeper,' at least, may be left out of the question.

The horned cattle had now entirely disappeared, and in their stead were seen large herds of goats browsing on the mountains, or feeding on sea-weed. Their skins, Mr. Brooke informs us, are

are manufactured into those soft, pleasant and *dear* gloves, which are sold in the shops of London as 'real Norway doe'—no matter—*crede quod habes*—and it is all one to the purchaser.

Our traveller here meets with a regiment of Skaters (*Skidø-bere*) exercising, not however on their skates, as there was neither snow nor ice; but he tells us that 'their speed is astonishing; that they glide along the frozen surface of the snow like lightning, and go down the steepest precipices with inconceivable velocity.' It appears, from the description and figure given of these skates, that they are little more than the common snow-shoe, six feet five inches long; and as they are covered, according to his account, with seal-skin, 'that the men may ascend the mountains with greater ease and safety, the *hair* preventing the *skie* from sliding backward,' we do not see exactly how they contrive to use them at the same time, as skates on which they 'glide like lightning.'

The road along the coast ceases entirely at Overgaard, which consists of one solitary post-house, kept by Hans Barben, merchant, fisherman, boatman and farmer. Mr. Brooke says, indeed, that all the roads in Norway terminate at his door, and that from thence to the North Cape, a distance of 700 miles, the only means of proceeding is by boats. At this spot, therefore, our traveller would have been as well justified as the three Frenchmen were, who travelled to the lake Tornotresck, in setting up his monumental record, with a declaratory inscription of having reached the end of the world.*

Having procured a boat and six rowers, Mr. Brooke launched upon the deep, 'creeping,' as he says, 'closely along the base of giant mountains, whose lofty peaks are white with the snow of ages, and too high even for the eagle to wing his daring flight.' On the left, however, or seaward, the numerous islands and rocks afford a good protection to the little skiffs, by breaking and staying the fury of the waves of a rough and tempestuous ocean. At this season of the year, however, (the month of July,) the weather is generally fine, the sea tranquil, and night unknown; and such is the transparency of the water, that the bottom, with its minutest objects, is visible at the depth of 150 feet.

* These three Frenchmen, as a testimonial of their exploit, set up the following inscription on the summit of a high mountain:—

Gallia nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Haudimus, Europamque oculis lustravimus omnem;
Casibus et variis acti terraque marique,
Hic tandem stetimus, nobis ubi deficit orbis.

De Percourt, De Corberon, Regnard.

An. 1681. die 22 Aug.

Regnard, with the usual accuracy of a French traveller, says, that from the top of this mountain, they surveyed all Lapland, the Frozen Sea, as far as the North Cape, that is about 500 miles—and all this beyond the spot 'ubi deficit orbis.'

' Hanging

* Hanging over the gunwale of the boat, with wonder and delight I gazed on the slowly moving scene below. Where the bottom was sandy, the different kinds of asteriæ, echini, and even the smallest shells, appeared at that great depth conspicuous to the eye; and the water seemed in some measure to have the effect of a magnifier, by enlarging the objects like a telescope, and bringing them seemingly nearer. Now creeping along, we saw, far beneath, the rugged sides of a mountain rising towards our boat, the base of which, perhaps, was hidden some miles in the great deep below. Though moving on a level surface, it seemed almost as if we were ascending the height under us; and when we passed over its summit, which rose in appearance to within a few feet of our boat, and came again to the descent, which on this side was suddenly perpendicular, and overlooking a watery gulf, as we pushed gently over the last point of it, it seemed almost as if we had thrown ourselves down this precipice: the illusion, from the crystal clearness of the deep, actually producing a sudden start. Now we came again to a plain; and passed over slowly the submarine forests and meadows, which appeared in the expanse below; inhabited, doubtless, by thousands of animals, to which they afford both food and shelter, animals unknown to man: and I could sometimes observe large fishes of singular shape, gliding softly through the watery thickets, unconscious of what was moving above them. As we proceeded, the bottom became no longer visible; its fairy scenes gradually faded to the view, and were lost in the dark green depths of the ocean.—pp. 196, 197.

In proceeding from island to island, our traveller is incessant in his inquiries after krakens and sea-serpents, and especially the latter, concerning which, he says, he not only received accounts from governors and other highly respectable persons, but he brings the whole church to vouch for its existence, bishops, parish priests, deans, and sextons. Unfortunately, however, there is as little agreement in their respective descriptions of this sea-monster, as was the case when it took a plunge across the Atlantic, on a visit to brother Jonathan. Some state it modestly at 60 feet in length, some 150, and others 600 feet; but the sexton of Maasøe assured our traveller, that it reached from the island of Magerøe to the main, a full mile at least! Mr. Brooke, we perceive, takes all he hears on the subject for granted; and being satisfied of its existence, labours to prove that it is no other than the 'huge Leviathan' of scripture, and quotes the 41st chapter of Job, in support of his opinion. We do not mean to say that no such animal exists; on the contrary, we see no reason why the sea should not have its *Boa Constrictor* as well as the land; though, at the same time, we should not be surprized, if the American and Norwegian sea-serpents were nothing more than a line of grampuses or porpoises, 'heaving their broad bare backs' above the water on a calm sunny day, for it is on such only that this Norwegian monster is said to make its appearance.

A bishopric

A bishopric in Norway is no sinecure. At Kobberdal, our traveller met with the bishop of Nordlands, returning from his annual visitation of his diocese, which extends from lat. 64° to the North Cape in lat. $71^{\circ} 10'$, the last and most northerly church (*Kelvig*) being in lat. $71^{\circ} 1'$. This exemplary prelate, in the discharge of this part of his duty, is said to perform annually a journey of 750 miles, wholly in boats. Mr. Brooke bears honourable testimony to the clergy of the north, as a serious, devout, and highly meritorious class.

‘Living in the simplicity of the ancient church, and far removed from the follies of luxury and the great world, they are meek and humble; and though their pittance is small, the stranger always finds with them a home. Arduous as their duties are, whether it be to brave the storm, or to traverse the white wastes of Lapland with sledge and reindeer to a distant parish, perhaps 200 miles off, exposed to the piercing cold of the mountains, and liable to be overwhelmed constantly with the drifting snow which blows fiercely around, all this is cheerfully undergone by the northern divine, who in his manner of life may be proposed as an example to his brethren in the south.’—pp. 313, 314.

Præsten Steen, the worthy pastor of Carlsoe and of Skiervøe, two small islands, is very frequently exposed to great hardships and danger in having to cross thirty miles on the ocean from island to island; yet he never neglects his duty. ‘In the long dreary night of winter, when the cheering light of the sun is no more seen by the inhabitants of these regions, and storms swell the main; then it is that he prefers his duty to his safety, finds no excuses even from the danger, and, entering his little boat, fearlessly and cheerfully proceeds to the performance of his sacred functions.’ Happy and contented with his lot, the only regret he expressed was for the want of medical advice, and instruction for the children.

The inhabitants of these numerous and barren islands subsist of course chiefly on fish, with various kinds of which the ocean here teems: they receive, however, a few articles in exchange for it, chiefly from the Russians, who bring them from the White Sea, rye, meal, hemp, &c. The principal fishery is carried on at the Lofoden islands, where the stock and split fish are prepared for the markets of Holland, Spain and the Mediterranean, the yearly produce of which Mr. Brooke estimates at about £100,000 sterling; employing about 5000 boats and 25,000 men, and affording support to about four times that number. The females are not less active and efficient than the men in the management of boats. Two girls, one not exceeding fourteen, set out on a stormy day to an island seven miles off, to procure rowers for our traveller. They returned the following morning, ‘drenched by the waves, almost exhausted

exhausted by fatigue, and their little boat nearly filled with water, after buffeting all night against a sea, on which many a man would be afraid to venture.' By habit and hard living these poor girls lose all the fears and timidity of their sex.

Robust and hardy in their constitutions, they become as strong as the men, and partake cheerfully with them in the hardships of a fisherman's life. Exposed to the merciless blasts of winter, and the peltings of the storm, when the day can hardly be distinguished from night, and darkness overspreads the main, they venture out with their fathers, husbands, and brothers, in a small open boat, frequently fifty miles from land, fishing without intermission day and night, till they have filled their boat; when, making their way to the nearest island, and discharging the fruits of their industry, they again return to their labour, which is continued in this manner the whole of the winter.—pp. 228, 229.

The countless multitudes of sea-fowl that frequent those frowning rocks, afford the islanders abundance of eggs during the season of breeding, and their goats supply them with milk. The eider duck, the female of which plucks her own breast for the softest down three times every year, supplies them with quilts and coverlets, far superior for retaining warmth to the thickest blankets; and no Norwegian, however poor, is without one. The insulated rock named Fugeløe, which rises 2000 feet out of the water, is so much resorted to by the feathered race, particularly by the puffin, or Greenland parrot, that it has frequently the appearance of being covered with snow. It is so nearly perpendicular as to be almost inaccessible; yet the islanders contrive to get at the puffins, in a way which we must leave Mr. Brooke to describe:—

'The manner of catching them is curious, being by means of small dogs trained to the sport. The puffins sitting together in prodigious numbers, in the deep holes and clefts of the highest rocks, one of these dogs is sent in, which seizes the first by its wing. This, to prevent its being carried away, lays hold with its strong beak of the bird next to it, which in like manner seizes its neighbour; and the dog continuing to draw them out, an extraordinary string of these birds falls into the hands of the fowler. They are taken for their feathers, which are valuable. The plant angelica grows on this rock in great abundance, and is in much request among the peasants, who are very fond of it, and have no little reliance on its qualities as an antiscorbutic. On the top of the Fugeløe mountain, according to the accounts of the fowlers, who had often seen it, are the remains of a whale, lying in the same manner as on the mountain of Sandhorn.'—p. 331.

Apropos of this whale. The mountain of Sandhorn, we are told, is upwards of 3000 feet high; the south side descending nearly perpendicular to the sea, the top ending in a peak covered with

with eternal snow; yet on the very summit (whether upon the snow or beneath it, is not said) 'is the skeleton of a whale—a fact well authenticated.' No authentication, however, is given; but in lieu of it, it is asked by our traveller, 'How are we to explain so singular a phenomenon? Was it deposited there at the time of the deluge, or in subsequent ages?' As we pretend not to explain nor even to guess how or when the skeleton came there, we must be contented to give Mr. Brooke's reply to his own questions, in his own words:

'If we could suppose the former, how wonderful does it appear to us, that these bones should have lain whitening in the blast on the top of Sandhorn ever since the deluge, a period of more than 4000 years! Perhaps this very whale, when "the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of Heaven opened," roving through the flood, may have lashed with his huge tail the sides of the ark, and even beheld our great antediluvian ancestor, Noah, looking "to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground."—p. 237.

With that friendly feeling which we entertain towards our young traveller, we hope that, in his next volume, which we understand is forthcoming, he will endeavour to rein in his somewhat too lively imagination, and not take for fact what has altogether the appearance of fable; but rather, on all future occasions, follow the prudent and pithy advice of that respectable old lady, Mrs. Glasse,—'first catch your fish.' Having accomplished this indispensable object, Mr. Brooke will then be at liberty to dress up the antediluvian whale to his own taste. Not to 'catch the fish' was the more unpardonable here; as, by his own account, 'the peak might be reached from the north side.'

Our traveller had frequently heard strange stories of that singular animal the *lemming*, (the *mus Lemmus* of Linnæus, and *Lapland Marmot* of Pennant,) and had the good fortune to meet with it on the little island of Carsloe. By his description, accompanied with a plate, it appears to be about 5½ inches long; tail half an inch; ears round and small; back tawny, variegated with black; belly of a whitish yellow; which description scarcely differs from that of the Swedish naturalist. 'Every blade of grass,' says our traveller, 'was literally alive with them. When I walked to the sea-shore, they were there also, and were running about the small garden patch in front of the parsonage. The out-houses were filled with them.' The universal opinion among the common people, from their sudden appearance, is, that they fall from the clouds in heavy showers of rain! Like the flights of locusts in various parts of the world, they are said to march straight forward in inconceivable numbers, never suffering any obstacles to divert them from their course. 'On being stopped by a stick,' says Mr.

Brooke, 'they assumed a threatening attitude, uttering a squeaking kind of bark;' they even, he tells us, when at Drontheim in 1788, put themselves into a posture of defence, against a whole regiment of dragoons! In their march they destroy every green herb in the fields and gardens, laying waste the whole surface of the country over which they pass.* They are found in the mountains of Lapland, Sweden and Norway, and even as far as the Ural chain, and migrate from place to place, sometimes in myriads together, probably in quest of food, which, according to Linnaeus, consists of the *mast* of the dwarf-birch and the lichen, (*rangiferinus*.) When on their migratory expeditions, even the sea does not always stop them; they take the water fearlessly, and swim to the islands, as the ermines are said to do in search of sea-fowl's eggs. For this Mr. Brooke produces the authority of Mr. Kaudtson, a respectable merchant of Drontheim, who was an eye-witness of the fact.

'On arriving at the edge of the water, the foremost advance, and, swimming across, form a kind of floating, or, to use a military phrase, complete ponton bridge; the head of each supported by the hinder part of that before it. When a communication is thus formed between the shores, the remainder of the army pass rapidly over the backs of the supporters, and gain the opposite shore.—Strange as this may seem, the contrivances which naturalists agree are resorted to both by the marmot and gray squirrel, for the purpose of crossing rivers, appear as extraordinary, though well authenticated: and what has thus been mentioned concerning the lemming will, I doubt not, be received with attention by those, who have made natural history more particularly their study, and can the better judge of the extraordinary instinct and sagacity of the animal creation.'—p. 156.

If proof were wanting to show how many other circumstances, besides the degree of latitude, govern the climate of countries, we have an example on the islands of Sevjen and Tromsøe, which are situated nearly in lat. 70°, where our traveller found trees once more making their appearance, and observed, that 'forests of birch and aspen swept down to the water's edge;' that 'creeping branches of juniper, loaded with purple fruit, formed a tangled thicket, while underneath was spread a covering of the most beautiful verdure, equalling that which so often delights the eye in the green forests of Sweden.' This fertility has no doubt contributed to the superior population of Tromsøe, which is said to contain about 550 inhabitants.

Among the stories not the least wonderful which Mr. Brooke gleaned in the course of his navigation through the Norwegian

* Wormius has a curse against these poor lemmings, not quite so long, but full as bitter as that of Ernulfus.

Archipelago, where all is wonderful, wild, and romantic; is that of the singular affection which the species of whale, known by the name of *finer*, has for cows and horses. 'I was acquainted,' he says, 'with a merchant at Tromsøe, who, having some of the former on board the boat, was so constantly pursued by them; that he was obliged to land, and put the cows on shore. At Røst is a small inlet or narrow creek, at the extremity of which are large cow-houses; and it happens that almost every year whales are taken in it, being attracted, it is said, by the smell of the cows or dung; when, not being able to return, they fall a prey to the fishermen.' We should not be much surprized if some of our whalers took the hint here offered to them, and put up a few cows with their harpoons and log-lines.

Hammerfest is a small town situated on Qualøen, or Whale-Island, in lat. 70° 38' N. having a church, several mercantile houses built of wood, and painted with red ochre; a good deal of shipping in its port, and even a battery to defend it; and, what is more extraordinary in this dismal and desolate region, a tolerably good society. It would be better, Mr. Brooke thinks, if cards, smoking tobacco, and drinking strong punch, did not consume so large a portion of the men's time. The women, it seems, 'are of a superior kind, lively, fond of dancing, singing, and all sorts of merriment;' the advance of autumn, however, compelled him to tear himself away from these agreeable ladies.

On the 16th of August Mr. Brooke took his departure for the North Cape, in company with a young Bremen merchant; and was not long in reaching Magerøe, on the northern extremity of which this promontory is situated; and which he informs us, 'completed his fullest impressions of wildness, gloom and wretchedness.' Yet here a merchant, with a handsome young wife, had fixed his abode; and the lady, who had been accustomed to good society, was satisfied and happy on this bleak and barren rock at the extremity of Europe, 'surrounded by an ocean never at rest, agitated by the most tremendous storms, overwhelmed in winter by continual darkness, and, in fact, quite out off from the rest of the world;' but a young family demanded her care, and this alone will explain the contented situation of a good mother.

It required no great exertions to ascend the gradual slope of the island northwards to the Cape, which, at the distance of about two miles, 'rises like the back of a giant.' Arrived at the edge of the precipice, 'we contemplated,' says Mr. Brooke, 'the fearful steep between us and the ocean'—less fearful, however, we suspect, than anticipation had led him to imagine: 'let the reader,' he continues, 'fancy a cliff exceeding in height that of Dover, and with Shakspeare's elaborate description of the latter,

he may form a good idea of the North Cape.'—*Item*: if this be all to recompense a journey of two thousand miles, one half by sea, and two-thirds of that half in open boats, we shall certainly prefer a trip to Dover whenever we wish to acquire a good idea of the North Cape.*

Dreary, desolate, and barren, as this spot is, there are evident signs of its once having been the abode of a considerable population: The traces of four churchyards are still visible. At Kelling, where the only church is left standing, forty families resided little more than thirty years ago; and now there is but one. Our traveller thinks that the *black death*, want of fuel, and above all, the decayed state of the whale fishery, may have contributed to the depopulation of these northern regions. On the island are a few Laplanders, with about 200 rein-deer; these last, with the ermine, and occasionally the lemming, make up the scanty list of quadrupeds. Mr. Brooke, however, is determined to add the fox to the number, though every person he met with assured him that none were to be found on the island. We at once discern the drift of this pertinacity; it introduces a good story, with which he thinks it proper the people of Magerøe should be acquainted, and which he trusts will 'convince them that there really are not only foxes, but those of a very singular nature;'—singular indeed! and at any rate, as the story is no bad companion to that of the Norwegian poodles and the Greenland puffins, we shall here relate it.

'In the vicinity of the North Cape, where the precipices are almost entirely covered with various species of sea-fowl, the foxes proceed on their predatory expeditions in company; and previous to the commencement of their operations, they hold a kind of mock fight upon the rocks, in order to determine their relative strength. When this has been fairly ascertained, they advance to the brink of the precipice; and, taking each other by the tail, the weakest descends first, while the strongest, forming the last in the row, suspends the whole number, till the foremost has reached their prey. A signal is then given, on which the uppermost fox pulls with all his might and the rest assist him as well as they can with their feet against the rocks; in this manner they proceed from rock to rock, until they have provided themselves with a sufficient supply.'—p. 387.*

We readily believe Mr. Brooke when he says, that nothing would have repaid him so well 'as to have beheld this very extraordinary trick of foxes, suspended from the tremendous cliffs, and dangling midway between the ocean and their summits.' No-

* This story is of Iceland manufacture, and is told by Dr. Henderson:—but we have seen a version of it in an old French voyage to the East Indies, where it is told with admirable gravity and effect of a party of rats, who combined in this way to steal eggs out of the bung-hole of a barrel.

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thing that the North Cape afforded was as unequal to it—but we must stop; and have only one parting word of advice to give to our traveller—to be very careful in relating what is marvellous, on the mere authority of common rumour, and never hereafter to suffer his eyes to be subservient to his ears. Abating this leaning to the credulous, we consider his work as a valuable acquisition to the stock of Travels.

1. The volume contains a number of prints, executed in a bad style of lithography, from drawings which evidently deserved to be better represented.

ART. VI.—1. *Facts and Observations respecting Intermittent Fevers, and the Exhalations which occasion them, collected chiefly on a Professional Mission to inquire and report on the Cause of the Sickness of the Army in Walcheren, in 1809, and in Northfleet, to report on the Expediency of establishing a Dock Yard and Naval Arsenal at that Place, in 1810. In Select Dissertations on several Subjects of Medical Science.* By Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart. F.R.S. &c. &c. London. 1822. 8vo. pp. 398.

2. *De Regionibus Italiae Aëre pernicioso contaminatis Observationum quas Munia Professoris ordinarii publici in celeberrima Universitate Berolinensi subiens Commilitonibus Prodrumini instar ad Lectiones de Epidemiis et Contagiis habendas offert* Johannes Ferdinand Koreff, Dr. Med. et Chirurg. &c. &c. Berolini. 4to. pp. 37.

3. *Leçons sur les Épidémies et l'Hygiène Publique, faites à la Faculté de Médecine de Strasbourg.* Par Fr. Emm. Foderé, Professeur à cette Faculté. Tome premier. A Paris. 1822. 8vo. pp. 523.

4. *Recherches Historiques, Chimiques et Médicales sur l'Air Marécageux, Ouvrage Couronné par l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Lyon.* Par J. S. E. Julia, Professeur de Chimie Médicale, &c. &c. Paris. 1823. 8vo. pp. 155.

FEW of our readers, perhaps, are ignorant that the exhalations from marshy lands under certain circumstances give occasion to a variety of disorders, the principal of which are intermittent and remittent fevers. So extensive indeed is the influence of such exhalations, that it has been affirmed as a general truth, that the great difference of one country from another, in point of salubrity, consists in the greater or less proportion of that soil, which produces noxious effluvia. In England, the counties most subject to ague and to its grand exciting cause, the marsh mi-

same, are Essex, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire, although we are glad to see, from the last population abstract, that the disease is by no means so rife as it was formerly, owing in a great measure to the more extensive draining of the soil.

Respecting the nature of marsh effluvia we are unfortunately very much in the dark; their chemical components have never yet been discovered, nor are they likely to be so; every eudiometrical experiment hitherto instituted having furnished the same constituent principles, and the same quantity of them, as are contained in common atmospheric air. M. Julia, who has paid considerable attention to chemical analysis, has sixty times subjected to trial the air of the marshes of Cercle, near Narbonne; of the pond of Pudre, near Sigéan; of Salces and Salanque, in Roussillon; of Capestang, not far from Béziers; and of the different marshes on the coast of Cette; and has constantly obtained the like results. Various speculations have been indulged regarding their nature; by some they have been pronounced to be azote, and by others, carbonic acid gas, hydrogen, carburetted hydrogen, and sulphuretted hydrogen; but all these suppositions have been proved to be unsatisfactory, and we still remain, as we have just observed, in utter ignorance of their composition. One particular, however, seems tolerably evident, that they are somewhat heavier than pure atmospheric air, as those who live in elevated situations are less exposed to them (except where such situations are the *foci* of the miasmata) than the inhabitants of plains: this observation will only apply, when the atmosphere is undisturbed by winds; as there are numerous proofs of the noxious effects of mal'aria upon the inhabitants of mountainous districts; where they have been situated under the lee of marshy lands. In the mission of Sir Gilbert Blane to Northfleet in 1810, he observed a somewhat strange anomaly in the action of the marsh miasmata, viz. that the inhabitants of those places which were situated on a level with the marsh whence the miasmata emanated were by no means subject to intermittent fever, whilst it was extremely prevalent on the adjacent hills. The spot upon which it was proposed to form the dock-yard and arsenal is a marsh of about 700 acres. On the banks of the river, both above and below it, is a soil of a similar description, but not immediately adjoining it on either side; for higher up the river lies the village of Green Hithe, which rests on a chalky bottom, rising to within a few inches of the surface, and forming a projecting point of the chalky hills which compose the adjacent country; and lower down, on the bank of the river, there is a similar intervention of chalk, where the village

village of Northfleet stands: both these villages are nearly on a level with the marsh, yet intermittent fevers are almost unknown at either of them, whilst they are extremely prevalent on the hills in the vicinity. This fact Sir Gilbert found to be analogous to others, which he learned in the course of his inquiries at that period. Dr. Maton informed him, that, in the neighbourhood of Weymouth, although there is stagnating water near the sea, producing intermittents; these disorders are not known in the dry districts on each side, on a level with the water, but they prevail on the adjacent hills. The way in which Sir Gilbert accounts for these phenomena is perhaps as probable as any.

‘It is known to every one, ever so little acquainted with the operations of nature, and indeed the common phenomena of clouds and rain render it obvious to the most ordinary observer, that water recently exhaled from the surface of the earth, has a tendency to ascend, and being lifted over parts on the same level, impinges on the neighbouring heights. There is reason to believe, that impure and unwholesome particles in general are attracted by watery vapours, for it is remarkable, that, in case of fogs, offensive smells are perceived, which, in a dry state of the air, were fixed and quiescent. Though pure humidity, therefore, is innocuous, it may prove pernicious as a vehicle of unwholesome volatile matter. In like manner, the poisonous principle of marshes, whatever it is, being engendered by moist soils, will naturally adhere to the watery vapours, and ascend with them.’—p. 112.

From what has been observed, it may be easily understood that the inhabitants of the ground floor of any habitation may be more exposed to the noxious effects of marshy exhalations than those who occupy the upper stories. This circumstance is more especially observable at night; during the day, the emanations, through the heat of the sun, are carried up and diffused in the atmosphere, along with the watery vapours; whilst at night, a refrigeration of the air takes place, the aqueous evaporation no longer goes on, but, on the contrary, a copious precipitation occurs, and the miasmata, owing to their greater specific gravity, are detained at the surface of the ground. Dr. James Clark has given a striking instance of this, in his ‘*Medical Notes on Climate, Diseases, Hospitals, and Medical Schools in France, Italy, and Switzerland*,’ (a work which we strongly recommend to the valetudinarian, who may have been recommended to visit the South of Europe under the delusive hope that he may by that means be enabled to *escape* the winter,) which was communicated to him by Professor Brera, whilst attending the clinical wards of the hospital at Padua. The wall of that wing of the building where these wards are situated is washed by a branch of the sluggish Brenta, and it frequently happened that

the windows of them, (which were about sixteen feet above the surface of the water,) having been carelessly left open, until too late an hour, several of the patients were attacked with intermittent fevers, in some instances of the pernicious kind. This never occurred in the women's wards, which are immediately over those of the men, though there is no reason to believe that more care was taken in shutting the windows of those than of the former. It was likewise remarked at Walcheren that those who slept in the upper stories of houses were less liable to the disease, and had it in a milder form, than those who slept on the ground floors. The testimony of the natives was in favour of this observation. Dr. Ferguson, one of the principal medical officers of the army in St. Domingo in the late war, has remarked, that two-thirds more men were taken ill on the ground floors than on the upper stories.

It seems pretty clearly established that marsh miasma is only capable of acting with virulence sufficient to produce fever, within a certain distance, which distance must of necessity vary according as the exhalations are more or less virulent. In Zealand, they are more noxious than in England; the intermittents in the former country being more violent, untractable, and fatal, than those which occur in the fenny counties in the eastern parts of our own island. In that country they appear to be less virulent than in several parts of southern France and Italy, to which we shall have occasion to allude, whilst in tropical climates they would seem to extend farther and to be still more malignant than in the last-mentioned places. According to Sir Gilbert Blane, not only the crews of the ships in the road of Flushing were entirely free from the endemic of Walcheren, but also the guardships which were stationed in the narrow channel between Flushing and Beveland, the width of which is about 6,000 feet; and although some of the ships lay much nearer to one shore than to the other, there was no instance of any of the men or officers being taken ill with the same disorder as that with which the troops on shore were affected; whilst ships at the distance of 3,000 feet and even farther from swampy shores in the West Indies were affected by the noxious exhalations: the same thing is said to occur in the India ships in the channel leading to Calcutta. The increased heat of the atmosphere may account for the greater intensity and malignity of these exhalations within the tropics. On this subject, the Baron de Humboldt has observed, that the farm of Encero, situated above Vera Cruz, is a stranger to the insalubrity which reigns over the whole coast; the elevation of this farm is 3,045 feet, and it forms the highest limit of the yellow fever. M. Rigaud de l'Isle has also endeavoured, by
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some observations made in the neighbourhood of Rome, to fix the point at which the marsh effluvia are innocuous; this he considers to vary from 682 to 1006 feet above the level of the situation whence they emanate.

From the foregoing observations of Sir Gilbert Blane respecting the distance at which the miasma of Zealand was proved to be innocuous; or, at least, to fail in producing a similar fever to that which was raging on shore, as well as from those of the Baron de Humboldt and of M. Rigaud de l'Isle, our readers will imagine with what feelings of astonishment we perused the subsequent observations in a late Journal of our northern brethren. We scarcely believe it possible that the writer can have been serious when he penned the following passage:—

'It is commonly held that it (the miasma) cannot travel far from the place of its production; a fallacy often leading to very pernicious consequences. But the east wind has the power of transporting it to considerable distances; and we have little doubt ourselves, that whenever it occurs in this city,' (Edinburgh, we presume,) 'where it now is rare, the poison is transported from Holland! The east wind, which blows from Essex towards London, invariably carries it on, even for many miles, as all susceptible persons experience; and that this is not a mechanical consequence of the motion of the air, is certain, since the western winds do not transport it in the opposite direction. Nor will the east wind produce it, except in cases where it blows over countries subject to the mal'aria; a proof that the poison is present, and that the effect is not a property of the wind itself.'—No. lxxii. p. 542.

Our readers will readily see the utter futility of this opinion. In order to support the first part of the theory, (which by the bye appears to be almost unintelligible,) the miasmata must be borne aloft on the wings of Eurus, or rather of Notus, to a distance of some hundreds of miles across the ocean, must pass over several inhabited districts without molesting them; (for we have no account of the inhabitants of other places being doomed to be attacked by it at the same time with the devoted citizens of Edinburgh;) and single out the Scotch metropolis for the scene of its devastations; a supposition perfectly contradicted by the observation of Sir Gilbert Blane respecting the distance at which the Dutch mal'aria becomes innocuous, and as ridiculous as it is unphilosophical. The same observations will apply to the assertion of the critic regarding the mal'aria, which is said to be 'generated abundantly in St. James's Park.' That exhalations do take place there as well as in almost every other situation, to a greater or less degree, far be it from us to deny; but that they are there generated in abundance sufficient to exert any marked influence on the healths of those who inhabit situations in the greatest proximity to the place where they are supposed to emanate, is, to say

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say the least of it, very problematical: upon still less foundation do we consider the following *minute* description of the line of march of the mal'aria to rest.

'We have said that it (the mal'aria) is generated abundantly in St. James's Park, and thence it spreads even to Bridge-street and Whitehall. Nay, in making use of the most delicate miasmometer (if we may coin such a word) that we ever possessed, an officer who had suffered at Walcheren, we have found it reaching up St. James's Street even to Bruton Street, although the rise of ground is here considerable, and the whole space from the nearest water is crowded with houses. After this, we need scarcely remark, that, at the east end of London, it reaches all through Finsbury division and Whitechapel, and is even brought up at the back of the Strand along the course of the river. We shall hereafter see that it is in the same manner spreading, and that very rapidly, through the city of Rome.'

We should not have considered the preceding reveries worthy of notice, were it not that the minute and categorical manner in which the progress of this 'airy phantom' has been described might—

— 'draw on some better natures
To run in that vile line'—

and induce a belief that such a focus of disease is really in existence. In spite, however, of all these mischievous assertions, principally founded on the information obtained from this animated '*miasmometer*,' who seems to have taken a pleasure in administering pretty largely to the credulity of the Reviewer, we can affirm, from an intimate acquaintance with the medical topography not only of the western but of the eastern districts referred to, that in the whole line of march which has been ascribed to it, and even in situations most in proximity to the western focus of this 'fitful pest,' there is no sensible evidence of the presence of such a deleterious agent—that these very situations are as healthy as others more remote, and that some of them are even remarkable for their salubrity, and the longevity of the inhabitants; thus, in one street in the immediate neighbourhood of St. James's Park, situated to the westward of this very canal—

'from whose humid soil and wat'ry reign
Eternal vapours rise'—

and consequently exposed to the pestiferous exhalations, were any such in existence, during the domination of an eastern blast; they seem to take a delight in falsifying the visionary assertions contained in that strange article. One gentleman, who had lived for more than half a century in the street, died there lately at the advanced age of eighty-two; there are at present several septuagenarians in it, and a very old friend of our own has resided there

there for the last five and twenty years, labouring under a pulmonary complaint nearly coeval with his existence. To any one acquainted with those districts where mal'aria is most prevalent, it is needless to state that the canal in St. James's Park is not the situation which gives rise to it in any 'abundance'; the water can never be said to be stagnant; and consequently, even during the summer heats, except under circumstances of great neglect, no decomposition can, in our opinion, ever take place to a sufficient extent for the production of epidemic disease. Those situations in which mal'aria is most virulent, are not countries deeply submersed in water, but those of a swampy nature, where the vegetable matter is capable of being reached by the solar heat, and of undergoing some sort of change, which causes the disengagement of the deleterious effluvia. Dr. Ferguson indeed seems to think that there is one only condition indispensable for the production of marsh poison, viz. the *paucity* of water, where it has previously and recently *abounded*; to this he considers there is no exception in climates of high temperature, and he thence infers, that the poison is produced at a highly advanced stage of the *drying* process: with the nature of the deleterious miasma, except that he is satisfied it does not arise from aqueous or vegetable *putrefaction*, singly or combined, Dr. Ferguson, like every other sensible writer who has treated the subject, expresses his thorough unacquaintance.

The mal'aria has been supposed by many to be the product of marshy districts only. There is every reason, however, to believe that it arises in places where the soil is dry and the ground elevated, particularly in volcanic districts: this is the case in the territory called the Maremma in Italy, a district which reaches from Leghorn to Terracina; it is a tract of country near the sea, varying in breadth, according to Chateauxvieux, from thirty to forty miles, and being in length about one hundred and ninety-two geographical miles. The diseases produced by the mal'aria of this district are principally intermittent and remittent fevers, of which Professor Koreff has given some account in the second of the works before us. In consequence, however, of the richer inhabitants leaving this part of the country before the approach of the sickly season, but few opportunities have occurred for witnessing the diseases.

The miasmata do not appear to infect the inhabitants of the country in which they have their origin so readily or so virulently as strangers: thus the countrymen who come down in the harvest time into the Campagna, Modena, Ferrara, Bresse, &c. where the rice-grounds and marshy districts are principally situated, are most frequently attacked with the fever, even when the season is considered

sidered favourable by the natives. A similar observation was made at Walcheren; it was also remarked that strangers were variously affected according to the district whence they came—thus it was found that those of the British troops who were natives of mountainous countries and dry soils were more frequently affected than the natives of flat and moist districts. It was likewise well ascertained, that strangers, if they survived the first attacks, became afterwards much less liable to the endemic intermittent.

In a memoir which General Monnet (who, according to Sir Gilbert Blane, 'was an officer of good judgment and great experience,' and who commanded the French forces in Flushing during the whole of the seven years in which it was in their possession) left behind him after the capture of the island, regarding the preservation of the health of the troops, it was recommended that they should not be frequently changed; for when it was the custom to send battalions from Bergen-op-zoom, every fourth night, in succession, to work on the lines of Flushing, these men never failed, on their return, to be taken ill in great numbers. General Monnet, therefore, advised that a stationary garrison should be retained in Walcheren, in order that it might be habituated to the air; (*acclimaté*) and he adduced an instance of a French regiment, which suffered only one half the sickness and mortality, in the second year of its being there, which it experienced during the first half-year, and it scarcely suffered at all in the third.

The most prevailing disease at Rome is the intermittent produced by the mal'aria of the Campagna di Roma, as well as that which is generated in Rome itself. The period at which the miasmata become dangerous appears to depend on the warmth and moisture of the season; early in the summer, however, their effects are felt in the city of Rome, especially in the *Piazza del Popolo* and the *Strada del Babuino*, which are much frequented by strangers. On this account few travellers visit Rome before November, or stay much longer than Easter. By far the greater proportion of those who are attacked with the mal'aria fever, are said to get it by exposure during the night; those who are so careful as to return to the city, during the day, and thus avoid sleeping in the infected districts, being attacked with comparative rarity. As it is during summer and autumn that the mal'aria is most to be dreaded, strangers should be careful not to frequent the places which are known to give rise to these fevers; to the neglect of this precaution, Dr. Slaney, a friend of the Dr. Clark, to whose excellent work on the Climate, &c. of Italy, we have previously had occasion to refer, fell a victim. On his way from Rome

Rome to Florence, in the end of July, he passed one night at Boccano, a solitary post-house, situated in a low swampy valley, about twenty miles from Rome, noted for the insalubrity of its atmosphere, and which Professor de Mathæis has denominated 'luogo d'aria la piu infame nelle vicinanze di Roma'—of this Dr. Slaney was well aware, and was chiefly induced to risk sleeping in a place of such danger, from the fear of injuring an invalid, who was travelling with him. The Doctor was attacked with the disease on his arrival at Florence: the debility, early in the disorder, was extreme; no remission occurred, and his stomach was so irritable that nothing would remain upon it. Mrs. Slaney was attacked two days after her husband, and very narrowly escaped sharing his fate; a slight remission occurred in her case, which was taken advantage of, and the bark assiduously administered. Another English family slept at Boccano on the same night as Dr. Slaney; two of the servants belonging to which were attacked, one of whom died.

The livid, unhealthy aspect of the miserable inhabitants of the Campagna di Roma is a shocking proof of its unwholesomeness. Professor Koreff has depicted these unfortunate rustics in a feeling and intelligent manner: the present occupiers of this unhealthy tract have, however, been so frequently described, that we shall merely extract his account of the sickness and mortality which too generally await them:—

Hieme oves his desertis pascuntur, quas pastores de montibus Sabini et Samnii provenientes minuto stipendio, quod fructibus solvitur, custodiunt. Febres et siccitas loci pastores et greges prohibent, quominus aestate hic remaneant: tunc montes Penninos petunt. Alia pars rerum, pastoralium versatur in armentis custodiendis vaccarum agrestium, quæ sunt suboles Pannonici generis et cornibus longioribus insignes: eadem aestate remanent. Permulti pastorum qui illas custodiunt, aere nocivo pereunt, nonnulli ei assuescunt, omnes vero pallidi et ægri visu vitam brevissimam degunt.—Koreff, p. 28.

Miserable, however, as may be the state of the inhabitants of the Campagna di Roma, it does not present half so heart-rending a picture as that of the ill-fated natives of Basse Bresse, Brenne, Sologne, and Dombes. The mode of cultivating the land in these districts consists in forming it alternately into ponds, and then submitting it to tillage; it is kept in the state of ponds for eighteen months or two years, at the expiration of which, the water is made to run into a neighbouring field; the land is recultivated for one or two years, and afterwards again formed into a pond. Added to the ponds and marshes, there are also numerous woods, which surround the humid plains, and intercept the circulation of the air; the consequence of this is, that the

the whole country is rendered almost uninhabitable: the labourer enters into the wet land soon after the water is drained off, in order to put it in a state of culture, and passes whole days up to the mid-leg in humidity, imbibing the pestiferous exhalations at every pore; the consequences may be easily anticipated. 'Il est rare,' M. Foderé says, 'que de quatre travailleurs deux n'y succombent pas.' Happy, however, would it be, were the labourers the only people who feel the effects of the *aria cattiva*; the whole mass of inhabitants become stunted both in their moral and physical growth, and they can be classed only with the most uncivilized beings.

'L'homme,' says M. Foderé, 'y commence, dès sa plus tendre enfance, à éprouver les atteintes funestes de cette terre malheureuse: à peine est-il sévré que son teint devient basané, que ses yeux se couvrent d'une teinte bilieuse; il maigrit; il ne prend aucun développement: ses viscères s'engorgent, et il atteint difficilement sa septième année. Franchit-il ce terme, il ne vit pas, il végète: il reste empâté, opilé, cacochyme, boursoufflé, hydropique, sujet à des fièvres putrides malignes, à des fièvres d'automne interminables, à des hémorragies passives et à des ulcères aux jambes d'une guérison très-difficile. C'est en se débattant au milieu de toutes ces maladies, qui l'assiègent souvent toutes à la fois, et qui ne sont presque pour lui qu'une longue agonie, que l'habitant de la Brenne parvient à l'âge de vingt à trente ans; à cette époque la nature rétrograde déjà, les facultés s'affaiblissent, et communément l'âge de cinquante ans est le dernier terme. Ainsi passent rapidement plusieurs générations. Cependant la population conserve à peu près le même équilibre; on s'y marie de bonne heure, et plusieurs fois. Il n'est pas rare de trouver des hommes ou des femmes de trente à quarante ans mariés pour la troisième ou la quatrième fois: les frères Dupont dont un est veuf, ont épousé quinze femmes entre eux trois. La certitude d'y trouver des logemens vacans et des domaines à exploiter attire des familles étrangères; des journaliers, des serviteurs à gages s'y transportent; ils s'y marient, ils s'y fixent; et c'est ainsi que se résout le problème, comment une terre aussi inhospitalière n'est pas dépeuplée.'—*Traité de Médecine Légale*, tom. v. c. 1.

M. Foderé goes on to depict, with great feeling, the desire of lucre, and the objection to innovation, even when such innovation is intended for the preservation of their healths, which is implanted not only in the minds of the labourer, but in those of the wealthy proprietor.

'Les hordes sauvages eussent déjà abandonné des pays d'une insalubrité constante; l'homme civilisé, au contraire, moins jaloux de vivre en santé et de vivre long-temps que de posséder beaucoup, place son habitation indifféremment partout où il a beaucoup à espérer, soit de la fécondité du sol, soit de son industrie. Non-seulement il ne dédaigne pas de passer sa vie dans des lieux destinés par leur position et par la nature à être des marécages, mais encore il en crée de nouveaux pour
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se procurer une augmentation de fortune dont il est très-incertain de jouir, et qui engloûtera après lui plusieurs générations. Nous avons vu, de notre temps, lorsque la loi du 14 frimaire, an 2, ordonna le dessèchement des marais et la suppression des étangs, un cri général s'élever contre cette mesure; nous l'avons vu encore, à diverses reprises, partout où l'on a voulu dessécher des marécages; les propriétaires criaient, par la crainte de voir diminuer un produit qui ne coûte aucune avance; et la classe pauvre, qui est la plus exposée au mauvais air, oubliant ses maux passés et leur retour périodique, criait aussi, soit par imitation, soit par crainte de renoncer à ses habitudes. — *Ibid.*

With regard to the comparative salubrity of ancient and modern Rome, it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory data. Several of the Roman poets have alluded to the unhealthiness of the city during particular seasons, but none of them have entered into the subject fully. Whilst Rome was at her plenitude of glory, whilst she was considered 'terrarum domiua gentiumque,'

'The mistress of the world, the seat of empire,
The nurse of heroes, the delight of gods,
That humbled the proud tyrants of the earth,
And set the nations free,'

the mal'aria was but little noticed; but when, from causes almost wholly political, she declined in power, and her population became diminished, less attention was paid to the state of the land, and mal'aria became much more prevalent; want of culture produced disease, disease thinned and exiled the population, and these two causes, acting in a vicious circle, have been considered abundantly sufficient to explain the phenomena.

It has been the opinion of several writers, that whenever marshes are situated near to a great city, the intervention of woods must necessarily form a screen to impede the wafting of miasmata by the winds; perhaps this might have been the reason why the ancients consecrated the woods in the vicinity of Rome to Neptune, in order to secure them from the axe: in the distresses, however, in which the great expenditure of Pius the Sixth involved the Holy See, a large district of these woods had been sold and cut; and to this event Sir Charles Morgan thinks, 'may with some reason be attributed an increase of danger to the unprotected city.' The good effects of the intervention of woods, or rather the evils resulting from cutting them, under the circumstances above alluded to, are strongly exemplified in a *Mémoire* on the physical properties of mal'aria, by M. Rigaud de l'Isle, and inserted in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* for May, 1817. Several of his observations were collected in the environs of Rome, the Pomptine marshes, &c.; of these we shall merely adduce the two following. Near Saint Stephano, on Mount Argenteo, a convent

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is situated, which was famed for the salubrity of its air; but since the forests which surrounded it have been cleared, it has become unhealthy. At Velletri, near the Pomptine marshes, the cutting of an intermediate wood occasioned, immediately and for three successive years, fevers and other diseases, which committed great ravages; the same effect was observed, from a similar cause, near Campo Salino;—analogous examples might be adduced from Volney, Lancisi, Donas, and others. The position advanced by the writer last quoted, that Rome is less salubrious than it was prior to the pontificate of Pius VI. who ascended the papal chair in 1775, is to us by no means established. Indeed, so long ago as the eleventh century, Domiano published the following invective, in a letter to Pope Nicholas II. which is adduced by Lancisi, in his treatise *de Adventitiis Romani Coeli Qualitatibus*.

‘Roma vorax hominum domat ardua colla virorum,
Roma ferax febrium necis est uberrima frugum,
Romanæ febres stabili sunt jure fideles—
Quem semel invadunt vix a vivente recedunt.’

We might bring forward numerous instances to prove that Rome was extremely unhealthy in the early periods of her history; but as our principal object is to show that she is not progressively advancing in insalubrity, we shall not take up the reader's time by repeating what may be found in the works of almost every traveller who has visited Rome.

We have before us the Roman bills of mortality, from 1767 to 1776 inclusive, which will clearly show that the proportion of the deaths to the births is scarcely greater at the present period, than it was prior to Pius the Sixth's pontificate.

Years.	Births.	Deaths.	Population.	Ratio of burials per cent.
1767	4,310	7,528	159,760	4.71
1768	4,595	9,574	158,847	6.02
1769	4,891	6,972	158,906	4.38
1770	4,967	6,646	158,443	4.19
1771	4,216	5,850	159,675	3.66
1772	5,154	5,740	158,849	3.61
1773	5,022	6,183	158,563	3.83
1774	5,259	4,887	160,896	3.03
1775	5,457	5,035	165,046	3.05
1776	5,212	5,656	163,310	3.46
Average	4,908	6,407	160,229	3.99

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In the years 1819 and 1821 the Bills were as follows

Year.	Births.	Deaths.	Population.	Ratio of Deaths per cent.
1819	4,299	6,114	134,181	4.55
1821	4,756	5,415	146,000	3.70
Average.	4,527.	5,764	140,080	4.12

It will be here observed, that although there are some years in the first table in which the mortality was less than in either 1819 or 1821, yet there are several in which it was considerably greater, in proportion to the births and population. Each table shows, however, that without some influx from the country, Rome would in process of time be depopulated; but so long as she remains the seat of government, there is no more fear of this circumstance taking place than there was in the case of London about the commencement, and even about the middle, of the last century, when the deaths always exceeded the births. According to Professor Koreff, it was part of the Buonapartean policy to reduce the population of Rome to 30,000, and to remove the monuments of art to Paris; and he states that, in 1790, it was at 100,000, whilst in 1812 it had dwindled to 80,000: in proportion to the falling off of the population the mal'aria became more conspicuous, and invaded districts where its presence was never before observed.

Populo imminuto aeris nocivi vis et extra urbem adaucta esse videtur. Nam pastores proximi, quondam duriore, nunc vespere sibi et gregibus in recessu urbis asylum petunt, ut mortem effugiant, nocte frigida in campis haud repugnandam. Inde a Ponte Milvio ad Corsum ubicunque capellæ, equi indomiti, et armenta palantur. Pulvis sub pedibus motus, incessus et clamor scenitarum, domus dirutæ in urbis regionibus, quibus pernoctatum veniant, luce clarius vaticinantur, Romæ diem adesse, quæ stragem Paesti sit imitatura. Gradu giganteo aeris mali vis, populo minuto, magis augetur. Quovis anno illud venenum latius serpit, quovis anno aliam vim corrumpit, quovis anno incrementa capit majora. Nam hoc certissimum est, malum illud contrariâ ratione procedere, quam vim et numerum intolarum. Sunt qui dicant, hanc ipsam pestem, Pontifice reduce populoque adaucto, iterum debilitari. Mihi persuadere nequeo, hominem tam infestam naturam devincere posse. Vires nimis dispares sunt. Tuscianæ solitudines a tergo imminet, agri Romani deserta et arboribus et hominibus vacua ambiunt, coram Poinptinæ paludes stagnant, Africus verticem turbat et solum; igne vulcanio combustum, quasi exsangue acquiescit. Qui longius feret natura humana tantam ruinam? Jam aestate viæ paulatim deseruntur, loca spuria fiunt, et multitudo comminuta mediam urbem urget.

græ urbis regiones, modò rustica domicilia præbeat. Cum Romæ, vester, jam porta Populi, initium Corsi, adeoque pars, Montis Trinitatis, suspecta habebantur. *Strada del Babuino*, ubi habitabam, adhuc ante paucos annos saluberrima putata, jam tunc febribus subjecta erat, et a ditioribus mense Julio relinquebatur. Quirinalis totaque regio Vaticanæ et aliæ trans Tiberim, vicinia quoque Sancti Johannis Lateranensis jam dudum insalubres evitantur. Scenitæ cum gregibus paulatim obtinent palatia et regiones urbis, jam nimium viatoribus in memoriam vocantes Paestum, quod civibus vacat, cum modò taurus in umbris Doricæ columnæ ruminet, et capella silvestris in corollis delapsis exultet. *Korff*, p. 33.

Such is the gloomy picture given of the state of Rome prior to the return of the pope, and to its increase in population. The professor's description of the progress of the mal'aria, however, is not at all to be compared with the *exactitude* of the following line of march as described by the reviewer, whose minute tracing of the progress of the miasmata from Holland to Edinburgh we had occasion to admire in a former part of this Article.

'Appearing to enter,' he observes, 'by the Porta del Popolo, it reaches to a certain distance along the Corso, the banks of the Tiber, and the west side of the Pincio. Here it creeps along the base of this elevation by the church of the Trinità de' Monti, and thus round the foot of the Quirinal and Viminal hills to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. In its farther progress it reaches the church of San Pietro in Vincoli, diverging towards the Campo Vaccino, and proceeding onwards to the eastward of the Colosseum. On the east side of the city it is also entering by the quarter of the Porta Maggiore, and that of San Giovanni, occupying to a very severe degree the district of St. John Lateran, and holding its course over the Coelian hill towards the church of St. Gregory, where it spreads to the southward of the Palazzo, towards the ancient seat of the great Velabrum, and the river.'

If we are to believe the exaggerated reports of several authors, such is the progress the mal'aria is making, that the period is not far distant when Rome will become a desert, and its neighbourhood be shunned with horror by the traveller. It is pleasing to find, however, that the inhabitants keep up their spirits under these portentous denunciations, and even treat them with ridicule; and, according to Dr. Clark, not without some reason, for several of the Roman physicians, as well as Signor Scaramucci, secretary to the council for the general administration of hospitals, assured him that the numbers attacked with mal'aria fevers were not annually and progressively increasing. This latter gentleman had paid considerable attention to the subject, and, from making out the annual reports of the hospitals, could, of course, speak correctly respecting it. His opinions are strongly confirmed by the tables which we have previously given.

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The diminution or increase of the population of Rome has been adduced by some writers as a criterion of the greater or less prevalence of mal'aria, and we have previously observed that, in proportion as the population has been found to diminish, in such ratio has the mal'aria gone on increasing. In a late work, indeed; on '*Scarlet Fever*,' by Dr. Macmichael, who seems to have had his information from the *Edinburgh Review*, the population of Rome is stated to have been estimated at 166,000 in 1791, whilst in 1813 it had decreased to 100,000, (and we have before shown that in the previous year, according to Professor Koreff, it was as low as 80,000;) 'but whether,' Dr. Macmichael observes, 'the mal'aria is to be considered as the cause or the effect of this diminution is not at all understood, and still presents one of the most curious problems to be found in the natural history of any country.' Had Dr. Macmichael, however, taken into consideration the turbulent character of the times, and the political degradation which Rome experienced about the period when its population was so much reduced, he would have found its cause in these circumstances, without the necessity of taking the mal'aria into the question. If the population were a criterion of the greater or less salubrity of Rome, Doctor Valentin, of Nancy, might be quoted to prove that it is considerably more healthy now than in 1813, the population having increased on the 31st of December, 1819, to 134,161; whilst in 1821 it consisted of 146,660 souls, exclusive of the Jews, who were estimated in 1819 at 8,000. The increase, however, we are satisfied, has been almost entirely owing to political causes, and principally to the peace, which permitted those who had been engaged in warfare to return to their homes, as well as allowed the influx of strangers.

One great cause of the mal'aria in Rome must be looked for in the want of an efficient medical police. Almost every writer who has described the diseases of Rome has noticed this defect; indeed the stagnant waters which are allowed to accumulate in the gardens of Rome, as well as the excessive heat and putrifying animal and vegetable substances which lie in heaps in almost every street, would, in our minds, produce sufficient miasmata to give rise to epidemic disease. With respect to cleanliness, the modern Romans* do not appear to pay any more attention to that

* We are told by a modern writer that the only active diversion of the common people is one which can scarcely be 'named to ears polite:'—it is a sort of chase—a hunting of heads—not for ideas, but for things much more tangible and abundant. They are seen eagerly engaged in this pursuit on a Sunday or festa, sitting at their doors and windows, or in the open street: there are often three, one above another, the middle one at once hunting and being hunted! This loathsome practice, we are sorry to say, is not confined to the modern Romans.

requisite than their ancestors were in the habit of doing before them. The great difficulty which the government of the city had in enforcing cleanliness in the time of the Consulate, is strongly manifested by the various edicts passed for that purpose. The following are two of them:—

‘QUOMINUS ILLI CLOACAM, QUE EX EDIBUS EJUS IN
TUAS RETINET, QUA DE RE AGITUR, PURGARE REFI-
CERE LICEAT, VIM FIERI, VETO, DAMNI INFECTI, QUOD
OPERIS VITIO FACTUM SIT, CAVERI JUBEO.’

‘NE QUIS AQUAM OLETATO, DOLO MALO, UBI PUBLICE
SALIT. SI QUIS OLETARIT SEXTERTIORUM X MILLIUM
MULCTA ESTO.’

The most important part of this Article remains to be noticed; we mean that which relates to the mode of correcting the bad property of mal'aria soils, or of rendering the inhabitants less exposed to their action where the former object cannot be perfectly answered. The principal means for fulfilling the first intention consist in draining the swampy districts; or, where that is impracticable, owing to the lowness of the land, in submerging them,* or filling them up; in embanking the rivers so as to prevent their overflowing; and in paving all the towns and villages, forming common sewers, and adopting every means conducive to cleanliness, ventilation and dryness—to which, more, perhaps, than to the improved habits of life, Sir Gilbert Blane thinks the unexampled state of health in this great metropolis may be ascribed.

When draining is required in a very unhealthy country it should not be performed until the end of autumn, in winter, or the beginning of spring. The labourers should work only in the middle of the day, be well clothed and fed, and have, at least once a day, a good allowance of some generous fermented liquor. The observations of many authors have shown that the two or three years immediately following the draining of marshes are more unhealthy than the preceding: the workmen who remain in the basin are exposed to great danger, and by moving about favour the disengagement of the noxious effluvia. M. Julia mentions having seen nine persons employed in cutting down the vegetables in the great ditch of the marsh of Cercle, all of whom were at-

* Beecher has related several cases in which this plan was successfully adopted: when marshes are laid deeply under water, he considers that the great quantity of fluid opposes the decomposition of the animal and vegetable substances, and the air consequently preserves its purity.

Empedocles is said to have delivered the Salernini from the dangerous exhalations to which they were subjected, by conducting into their marshes two neighbouring rivers, which cleared them of their stagnant water, and the air was no longer tainted. The diseases to which they had been subjected from these miasmata consequently ceased also.

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tacked some days afterwards with intermittents: one of these, a female, died, and the other eight laboured under the complaint for nearly nine months.

The beneficial effects of draining are no where more triumphantly exemplified than in our own island: we are acquainted with several districts in which agues were at one time extremely prevalent, but where they are now perfectly unknown; in truth, intermittents may be said to be almost entirely banished from the bills of mortality. They were at one time extremely prevalent in London; but now an instance scarcely occurs. A strong proof of the good effects of paving and draining is given by Sir Gilbert Blane, in the case of Portsmouth, which is built upon a flat, composing part of the marshy island of Portsea. He was assured by a medical gentleman who practised there, that when he first knew the place intermittent fevers were very prevalent; but the town having been drained and paved in the year 1769, they have now become unknown. Hilsea, and other parts of the island of Portsea, retain the same aguish character; but the disease has greatly decreased there also in consequence of a drainage made in the year 1793.

Professor Foderé recommends that all cities should be dismantled of their useless ramparts, and that every attention should be paid to the thorough ventilation of inhabited districts. He is acquainted, he observes, with several towns which were formerly subject to epidemics, but have become salubrious since their walls have been removed, and they have thus been exposed to every wind. M. Humboldt also speaks of a town of South America, which has been less subject to yellow fever since one of its governors removed a rampart, and levelled a rock which sheltered it from the north wind. Where woods or jungles intercept the free circulation of the air and detain the exhalations, they become the fruitful foyers of disease, more especially in warm climates, and ought of course to be cleared away where it is practicable. These situations, in India, exert so extensive an influence over the health of the inhabitants, not only of the plains, but of the hills, and form so decided and extensive a part in the causation of the endemic fever of Bengal, that it has been usually denominated by authors, the *Jungle Fever*.

The inhabitants of infected districts may be rendered less liable to the effects of mal'aria by being clothed in wool, living well, and keeping their houses warm and dry. It is well known also, that the best means of avoiding the danger, when compelled to pass the night in mal'aria districts, are the use of fires to keep the air dry, and the getting as much above the surface of the ground as

possible—a very few feet having been considered to mark the line from safety to danger. A striking instance of this has been given in a former part of this Article, on the authority of Professor Brera, of Padua; and others are adduced by Sir Gilbert Blane in the work before us. He also observed that those belonging to the upper orders of society in Walcheren were always less affected with its endemic fevers than the poorer inhabitants, and that the British officers suffered less in that campaign than the private men.

Lind has observed that cutting wood, cultivating land, sailing in an open boat in the neighbourhood of marshy or foggy districts—passing the night in such situations without shelter, or traversing them at these times, are the most dangerous occupations in warm and unhealthy climates. This observation will apply equally well to European countries. Where any extensive undertaking is to be accomplished in unhealthy districts, it should be entrusted to those who are accustomed to the climate: the fatal effects produced on new comers under such circumstances have been stated in a former part of this Article, when treating of the mal'aria generated in the ponds of Bresse, on the rice-grounds of Lombardy, and the unhealthy swamps of Zealand.

When M. Ozanam passed through *Torre de tre ponti*, situated in the middle of the Pomptine marshes, and in a most malarious district, he was astonished to see the *maître de poste* of that place with every appearance of the enjoyment of the most perfect health. On asking him how he contrived to preserve himself so free from disease in so pestilential a situation, he answered, 'Il y a plus de quarante ans que j'habite ce lieu, et je n'y ai jamais eu la fièvre: la seule précaution que je prends, est de ne sortir de chez moi que lorsque le soleil est déjà assez élevé sur l'horizon, de rentrer à son coucher, et de faire alors allumer un peu de feu. Je me nourris bien, et je bois du vin: voilà tout mon secret.'

An opinion has been hazarded that gauze frames fitted to the windows of houses much exposed to mal'aria, will arrest its progress; and the writer of the Article to which we have more than once had occasion to refer, says, that sleeping under a mosquito net, in an infected place, will preserve a person from any noxious effects of the circumambient atmosphere; but we are not aware that either of these recommendations rests on very satisfactory grounds: this, however, seems certain, that any thing which intercepts a current of air charged with these noxious exhalations, such as a wood, a mountain, or even a wall, has served as a shelter from the mal'aria, and preserved the inhabitants under its lee from its pestiferous influence.

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With regard to Rome, we are afraid that, from the nature of its soil, all attempts for thoroughly eradicating the *aria cattiva* will prove abortive: still it is in the power of the Romans to do much towards ameliorating this 'crying evil.' One of the most active remote causes is to be found in the existence of the old *annona laws*, which, although modified by a papal decree of 1801, act yet in sufficient force to prevent the cultivation of the land in the neighbourhood, in consequence of which the greater part is left in pasture without drainage; all the pretended facilities given to commerce being still fettered, according to Mr. Rose, by the proviso, 'that grain be not extracted and transported out of the state.' Were the *annona* laws repealed altogether, and every facility thrown in the way of the agriculturists, the measure would be productive of very considerable advantage. We have before alluded to the little attention that is paid to the salubrity of the city; and observed that the streets are absolutely disgusting from the filth suffered to accumulate in them—evils which might easily be remedied by the institution of an effective medical police.

'Were there a medical police,' says Dr. Clark, 'established at Rome, (and no city has more need of one,) much might be done for the mitigation of this evil. Were all stagnant waters removed from their gardens—were these and the vineyards, &c. carefully drained to prevent the formation of more—were all decaying vegetable and animal substances removed, and their streets kept clean and dry—there would be fewer mal'aria quarters in Rome. If they are unable to drain the marshes, by a little exertion they might at least keep their invisible enemy without the gates.'

Let the government of Rome attend to this, and we are persuaded we shall hear little more of the increase of mal'aria; the portentous denunciations of those who have promulgated her downfall will sink to the ground, and, instead of being at length blotted out from her place among the nations, we shall find her rising in salubrity and political importance.

ART. VII.—1. *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution and of General Mina.* By W. D. Robinson. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *History of Guatemala, in Spanish America.* Translated from the Spanish of Don Domingo Juarros, by J. Bailly. 1 vol. 8vo.

3. *Historia de la Revolucion de Nueva España, ó verdadero Origen y Causas de ella, &c. &c.* Por Don José Guerra, Doctor de la Universidad de Mexico. 2 vols. 8vo.

4. *Origen de la Espantosa Revolucion de Nueva España comenzada en Setiembre.* Por Don Juan Lopez Cacerolada.
5. *Apuntes Historicos del Señor Villaurrutia, Vocal de las Cortes de España.*
6. *Aguila Mexicana.*

WHILST we have been furnished with the works of Pallmer on Patagonia, and Dobrizhoffer on the Abipones; of Molina and Vidaurre on Chili; of Depons, Gilij, and Poterat on New Grenada, or Terra Firma; of Condamine and Azara, of Ulloa, Unmue and Sobreviella on New Granada, now called Columbia, and Peru; we have seen nothing authentic relating to Mexico, whose wealth and population exceed the whole of those provinces together, till the appearance of the writings of Humboldt, whose researches were concluded more than twenty years ago. Mexico, indeed, as well as the kingdom of Guatimala, although not more strictly guarded against the visits of foreigners than the other countries we have mentioned, and containing more objects calculated to excite both curiosity and cupidity, has yet been penetrated by few foreigners; and of those few none have made any communications to the public since the time of Gage, Dampier and Wafer; for we can scarcely consider the *Voyage de Chappe d'Auteroche en California* as conveying any other than the astronomical information, which was the chief object of that author's journey. The German mineralogists and miners, who have at different periods been sent by the court of Madrid to Mexico, have confined their communications so strictly within the limits of their own professional pursuits, that in none of their publications which we have examined can be traced any of the lineaments by which the face of the country, the character and condition of the inhabitants, or the nature of any other than its mineral productions, are distinguished.

During the last thirteen years, whilst Mexico, like the other Spanish settlements, has been in a state of the most destructive anarchy; whilst we have been inundated with accounts of revolutions completed as soon as commenced; with projects of constitutions abolished as soon as framed; with narratives of battles gained in unknown places, over enemies and by generals almost equally unknown; and have been favoured with flourishing accounts of revenues, productions, and public spirit exhibited in the journals from Santa Fe, Lima, Buenos Ayres and San Jago, by which the cupidity of British capitalists has been excited to disperse their surplus money, and many of the adventurers, to whom a state of peace was intolerable, have been induced to join their cause, the single journal printed in Mexico was nearly
silent

silent on all the transactions so important to those who were either the authors or the victims of these agonizing convulsions. In South America, the leaders thought to obtain that sympathy and aid from foreigners, which the rulers of the press in Mexico could only expect from Spain.

Although the state of the population of Mexico was very erroneously given by all the writers on the subject before the appearance of the works of Baron Humboldt, and the progress which it had made in civilization was but little known, yet ideas of its vast importance had been raised, and efforts had been commenced, with a view to its conquest, during the frequent wars that occurred between England and Spain. The attention of Cromwell was drawn towards it, and the minds of the public in England prepared for an attempt to occupy it, by the writings of the renegade priest Thomas Gage. The valuable island of Jamaica, which was the fruit of that project, has fortunately more than made amends for the disappointment of our attempts elsewhere. The attack of Vernon on Portobello, and the series of subsequent operations against Carthagena and other portions of the Spanish territory, originated in those extravagant notions of their immense riches, then too common, and were directed by very erroneous estimates of the relative importance of the points which were attempted to be occupied. The capture of Havanna in the year 1762, (had we retained possession of that place) would have had a most powerful effect on Mexico, because from its position towards the western end of Cuba, it commands the access to Mexico between Cape Catoche and Cape Antonio, and the egress from it between the last mentioned point and Cape Florida. As the wind is constantly favourable, a few days are sufficient to waft a force from Havanna to any part of the Mexican coast; and hence, that strongly fortified position has been justly considered by the Spaniards as the key to the extensive dominions which bound the gulph of Mexico. In the wars that have occurred since the capture of Havanna, and especially in that which arose out of the French revolution, Mexico must have attracted the occasional regards of our successive administrations, and though, at one period, an attempt to occupy that country was urged upon the ministry by the Duke of Orleans, who would gladly have become its sovereign, yet no serious steps towards it were ever taken.

Whatever wishes might, at any past periods, have been entertained on the subject of occupying Mexico, they have been now long dissipated. We believe we hazard nothing in asserting that no party, that no classes of individuals, nor a single person of any tolerably accurate information in these kingdoms, casts a look towards, or indulges a wish for the possession of any portion
of

of that American continent which was formerly under the dominion of the monarchs of Spain. It is under a different aspect that we are to view that interesting country. It is not now a country which, whilst a colony with extensive pecuniary resources, belonging to an enemy, was a fair or a practicable object of warlike attempts; but a country, in fact, independent of its original possessors.

It is under this impression, then, that we have thought some short description of Mexico, with a concise but authentic narrative of the more prominent occurrences by which its present state of independence has been brought about, might not be unacceptable to our readers.

The face of this country may be best conceived by considering the lofty ranges of the Andes, which extend themselves in various branches from one end of the peninsula of South America to the other, as concentrated at the isthmus of Darien, and passing between the two oceans at a low elevation, which is gradually increased, till they enter the kingdom of Mexico, and then expanding into a large district of table-land at an elevation varying from 6,000 to 8,500 feet above the level of the adjacent seas. Though this table-land may be considered as a vast plain, yet there rise from it groups of volcanic mountains, whose summits, from 14,000 to 17,000 feet in height, are covered with everlasting snow. This plain, as it extends towards the north, gradually expands in breadth and descends from its lofty elevation, till, at about 3,000 miles from its southern boundary, it has reached a level only a few hundred feet above the sea, but intersected by some ranges of lofty mountains which may be traced to the most distant limits of North America. The elevated plain is on both sides bounded by tracts of land, varying in breadth, which interpose themselves between the mountains and the gulph of Mexico on the eastern, and the Pacific ocean on the western side of the kingdom.

As this immense plain is elevated above the clouds during the greater part of the year, the soil becomes parched and filled with numerous deep fissures, by which the moisture of the surface is exhausted, and being nearly destitute of rivers, which, issuing mostly from the foot of the mountains, are of short course, it has a bare and arid aspect, whose resemblance to the plains of the two Castiles induced the followers of Cortes to give to it the name of New Spain. Many extensive districts are utterly destitute of water, and there are, in some parts, vast plains covered with murate of soda and lime, nitrate of potash and other saline substances, which spread with a rapidity very difficult to be explained. In the abundance of salt and these effluviations the appearance

appearance of the plains of Mexico bears, in such parts, a resemblance to many places in Thibet, and to the saline steppes of central Asia. In the spots, which are somewhat below the average level, and which, as compared with the mountains that surround them, may be termed valleys, the soil is highly fruitful. These valleys, separated from one another by ranges of hills of greater or less elevation, resemble lakes dried up, and furnish the different species of grains and fruits which the subsistence of the inhabitants requires.

The climate of this lofty region is highly salubrious; the inhabitants in general attain to as great longevity as those of any part of the globe; and, according to the researches of Humboldt, the births exceed the deaths in a greater proportion than in any other country, except, if the returns can be relied upon, in the United States of America. These plains, as it would be natural to conclude, contain the far greater portion of the inhabitants of Mexico. At nearly an equal distance from the two seas stands the capital, a city of the same name as the kingdom, with 160,000 inhabitants; and scattered over this hilly region, but at vast distances from each other, are to be found the large cities of Guadalupe, Guanajuato, Valladolid, St. Luis Potosi, Puebla, Queretaro and Guaxaca, and the thickly peopled villages around them, whose agriculture yields food to their numerous inhabitants.

This table-land is on both sides separated from the sea by fertile tracts, on which the richest products of the tropics might be raised, in such abundance and with such ease, as to supply the demands of the whole civilized world: these tracts, however, are hot and moist, and uniformly unhealthy. The nature of the climate, the large portions in which the land is allotted, and the strictness of the entails by which those portions are fettered, together with the scarcity of labourers, renders them of little value to the country. Instead of being cultivated with the sugar, coffee, and cotton plants, the districts are almost exclusively destined to feed herds of black cattle, under the management of the few inhabitants who, from being natives, have less dread of the climate than their countrymen on the hills. The declivities of the mountain plain, between the hot and cold regions, from 4000 to 5000 feet above the sea, unite the properties of health and fertility. The climate is mild; frosts are slight, and the heat is never intense; but those districts are at a height at which the clouds generally rest; and hence they are enveloped in almost perpetual fogs. The city of Xalappa, in this situation, is the place to which the richer citizens of Vera Cruz resort to escape the pestiferous climate of that port, or to repair the health which has been injured by it.

Among

Among the physical circumstances of this country, is the peculiarity of its possessing no sea-ports on its eastern frontier, capable of receiving vessels of such a burden as usually navigate the ocean. The regular course of the trade-winds conveys vast quantities of water to the Gulph of Mexico. The shore is a constant dam, opposing itself to the power of this mighty current, which rushes along it with such impetuosity as to form bars of sand at the mouths of all the rivers that empty themselves into the ocean, and which the force of their streams is insufficient to remove. The city of Vera Cruz, the only place which traded with Europe, has no harbour; but the island of St. Juan de Ulloa lies about half-a-mile from it, and between them is a channel of sufficient depth of water for large ships, which are usually moored to ring bolts on the castle, judiciously constructed on that island. In this position, ships are secured from the trade winds which generally blow; but when storms from the north arise, (and when they do arise their force is tremendous,) the vessels are compelled to slip their moorings, and run to the open sea for security. Neither the river Alvarado, nor the ports of Tampico, or Soto-marina, will admit vessels drawing more than ten feet water. More to the north there are said to be some harbours of greater depth of water; but we have seen no information on the subject which is not extremely vague; and as the places where they are reported to exist are at the distance of many hundred miles from the inhabited parts of Mexico, they can be of no importance till the population has extended and increased in density in their direction.

We have been induced to state these facts respecting the want of harbours, because the Abbé de Pradt in France, and some of our prophetic politicians in England, have inspired the believers in their predictions with terror lest, in a few years, the naval force of the great Mexican republic, united with that of the other republic founded by our countrymen on the same continent, should prove of such terrific magnitude as to 'crush the worn out states of our hemisphere'!

Although Mexico is thus destitute of ports on the side towards Europe, it has two, both (though somewhat difficult of access in certain months) excellent, on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean. Acapulco, from which the commerce with Manila was carried on as long as that commerce existed, is easy to be entered, has depth of water and secure anchorage for numerous fleets of the largest ships, who may be protected from all storms by the lofty hills that surround it. The climate is found unfavourable to health: but San Blas, the other port, has similar excellencies, and is situated in a more healthy district. The government of Spain
availed

availed themselves of its advantages and of the abundance of timber near it, to build and equip the small naval force which was maintained on the northern shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The population of Mexico, though subject to checks that diminished the rapidity of its increase, had, at the period immediately preceding the revolutionary calamities of the last thirteen years, been making a considerable advance. Taking the copious data collected by Humboldt more than twenty years ago, the numbers of all the people would by this time probably have exceeded 10,000,000, had it not been for those wide wasting desolations. According to reports and estimates lately framed in that country, the numbers now appear to be between six and seven millions, exclusive of Guatemala, which contains 1,200,000.

From the various mixtures of races, caused by the intercourse of the whites, the Indians, and the negroes, there have been invented terms to indicate almost every gradation of colour; and, as the rank of the individual depended on his more near or remote affinity to the European race, a great tenacity has been maintained in ascertaining the proportion of white blood in each. Without entering into minor distinctions, we may class the whole under the denominations of European whites, creole whites, mixed castes, and Indians. The white Europeans were calculated, in 1792, to be about one in seventy of the whole number of inhabitants; since that period, the importations of them have not increased in the same ratio as the natives have multiplied; and, in 1821, they were not supposed to be one in a hundred. They filled most of the highest offices in the civil departments of government, in the law, and in the church. As few of them brought wives from Europe, but generally married among the white creoles, the number of European females was not more than one in fifty to the males. When they married only such creoles as had no mixture of Indian or negro blood, they maintained a kind of aristocracy which, if not cheerfully, was at least generally acquiesced in by the other inhabitants of the country. The creole whites are either unmixed whites or descended from European fathers, a class who, by several crosses, have at length attained the rank, if not quite the colour of their original male progenitors. This rank is haughtily maintained, even by the poorest of the class, who, in any dispute with the richest man in the kingdom, will demand, 'Am I not as white as yourself?' thereby meaning not strictly the complexion, but the rank in society attached to it. Almost all the richest individuals of the country are included in this class; but it also contains a vast number of the very poorest. The proportion of these to the whole population is estimated to be about one-sixth. The pride originating in their aristocratic complexion,

complexion makes them averse to any labour which is deemed degrading; but whatever of science or learning is cultivated in Mexico, is almost confined to them, and they constitute the most numerous members of the University and the schools of mineralogy and chemistry. The greater part of the officers of the army have been appointed from this division of the people, as well as most of the parochial clergy and lawyers; and occasionally the episcopal chairs and the benches of justice have been supplied from it.

The mixed castes are derived from the intercourse between the whites, the Indians, and the negroes, each gradation of whose varied tint has its appropriate denomination, and its proportionate rank in the scale of society. It would be needless to recount all the distinctions of Zambo, Mulatto, Quaderon, and the minor names by which each is enabled to enjoy his fancied superiority above the person of a complexion a single shade darker than his own. These castes form the great mass of domestic servants, handicraftsmen, muleteers, and carriers, manufacturers, and often soldiers, and exceed in numbers the white creoles, being nearly two-sixths of the population.

The native Indians are the most numerous of all the different classes that compose the Mexican nation; and are estimated to be nearly three-sevenths of the whole. They continue separated into distinct tribes as they were at the period in which the Spaniards first gained possession of the country. They still retain their original languages, but mixed with such Spanish words as have been introduced with the objects and feelings which they represent. We have now before us six grammars of different tongues spoken in Mexico, composed by the priests. Humboldt says, the number of them exceeds twenty; of which fourteen have tolerably complete grammars and dictionaries. It appears that the most part of these languages, so far from being dialects of the same, differ as much from each other; both in their words, and in the construction of sentences, as the Greek does from the German, or the French from the Polish. This diversity of languages has proved no obstacle to the Catholic priests, who have succeeded in converting the natives to the profession of their faith, more, as is supposed, by its frequent and striking ceremonies than by any other measures. They are, however the feeling may have been communicated, more attached to that religion, and more under the guidance of its priests, than any other portion of a population excessively superstitious and bigoted. They reside chiefly in towns and villages, exclusively appertaining to their race, where the laws and regulations of the government are enforced by their native magistrates, or *caziques*, who speak the Spanish language, and on whom, jointly with the priest,

priest, they chiefly depend. They are mostly employed in agriculture, but scarcely produce more than they consume. They are naturally indolent, are contented with the smallest quantity of aliment with which life can be supported, and, living almost exclusively on vegetable food, would attain great longevity, if their constitutions were not injured by frequent intoxication, which is promoted by the ease with which a fermented liquor, called pulque, drawn from a very common plant, can be procured. Accustomed for ages to the tyranny of their ancient rulers, and to a despotism not much mitigated under the Spaniards, they have acquired a degree of cunning, veiled under the appearance of apathy and stupidity, by which alone they have opposed their oppressors. The more violent passions are seldom imprinted on their faces, but there is something dreadful when they are seen to pass at once from a state of absolute repose to that of violent and unrestrained agitation.

The government of Spain has been constantly making regulations to improve the condition of these people, but they have as constantly been rendered nugatory by the corrupt administration of the local governors, by the contemptuous and harsh feelings of the creoles, and by the mean cupidity of their own caziques. The contempt towards the Indians, exercised by the white creoles, has begotten, on their part, the mixed feelings of hatred and dread, which, though disguised by the apathy which long oppression has taught, when they have broken loose from the accustomed restraints, have been displayed with all the symptoms of the most barbarous ferocity. We must not wholly omit to notice the African negroes in this sketch of the inhabitants of Mexico, although their numbers do not exceed, if they amount to, 10,000 persons, most of whom are in what is usually denominated a state of slavery. Their importation has been small, but they have propagated, when connected with Indian females, more than in their relative proportion to the whole population.

The population, whose numbers and classes we have thus sketched, is spread over the vast surface of 120,000 square Spanish leagues, or about 1,000,000 English square miles, or 640,000,000 English statute acres. Taking England and Wales, according to the valuable paper drawn up by Mr. Rickman, at 37,000 square miles, or about 97,000,000 acres, and the inhabitants at 14,000,000, it will appear that there is one human being to a fraction more than every three acres. In Mexico, taking the inhabitants at 6,600,000, there will be one person to somewhat more than one hundred acres. In brief, the density of population in England to that in Mexico is as 30 to 1. If that kingdom was as thickly peopled as our own part of the British islands, the inhabitants would

would amount to more than 200,000,000, and thus exceed the population of Europe in the year 1817. If the inhabitants of this kingdom were no more than 400,000, and the whole were established in detached groups on the most fertile spots on the banks of the Humber, the Severn, the Thames, and the Trent; if they were satisfied with the least quantity of food that would support life, and that food of the very meanest and most easily acquired description; it is obvious, that a very small portion of labour would be sufficient to procure subsistence. If the climate were such as to require scarcely any shelter, clothing, or fuel, the demand for labour would be still farther lessened. If, in addition, the fertility of the soil occupied were so great as to return five times as much grain for the quantity of seed sown, as is now yielded, the demand for labour would be diminished to a very minute quantity indeed.

Now such is nearly the situation of Mexico and its inhabitants. We have been assured by some who have been engaged in their cultivation, that in the vicinity of the city of Guanajuato there are large plains where, with a single ploughing, without manure, and aided only by an irrigation, which in the rainy season is easily effected, the increase of wheat is rarely less than fifty for one, and more frequently is eighty for one. In maize, the chief food of the more numerous classes, the increase varies from one hundred to three hundred for one, and in general the harvest of one year is sufficient for the consumption of two. In the sultry regions of Mexico, from the foot of the lofty table-land to the sea, the call for labour is still less. The indigenous inhabitants, who are satisfied with the different preparations of maize, can supply the demands of a family during a whole year by the labour of a single individual for a day. After the rains, a few grains are pushed into the soft ground with a stick, and in ninety days a quantity will be ready to be harvested, exceeding two or three hundred fold the quantity planted. This simple operation may be repeated two if not three times in the year, and thus secure the labourer from want of food. To those more provident, and who wish to vary their diet, the banana may be supplied, by some foresight, with little increase of labour. Humboldt asserts that a spot of 100 metres (not quite the tenth of an acre) will yield annually more than two thousand kilograms (about forty-four hundred weight) of nutritious substance. He further states, that 'a demi-hectare or legal arpent, (about an acre and a quarter,) cultivated with bananas of the large species, is capable of maintaining fifty individuals for a year; whereas the same arpent of corn in Europe would only yield, supposing it to increase eight fold, a quantity equal to the subsistence of two individuals.' The first produce

produce of this plant ripens within ten or eleven months after planting, and requires no other care than to cut the stalks on which the fruit has grown, to water them, and once or twice a year to dig slightly round the roots. To many the manioc supplies constant food; and the abundance of spontaneous fruits, such as the prickly pear, and of those which require but little labour, like the potatoe, is so great, that the means of subsistence are at all times within the reach of each individual.

The easy acquisition of mere food, and the absence of desire for what more civilized people call comforts, has retained the inhabitants in that state of degradation, in which the lowest classes of their ancestors were left when, by the victories of the Spaniards, their princes, priests, and magistrates had been exterminated. There are individual exceptions to the general condition; but as the inducements to emerge from their low condition have not been sufficient to give the first impulse extensively, the natives have commonly acquiesced with indolent apathy in the lot which has fallen to them.

As the languid industry of the inhabitants and the very limited capitals in the hands of the great body of the people have been almost exclusively confined to procuring food, little extension has been given to other branches of agriculture. Added to which, the laws enacted by the wretched policy of the peninsular government, with a view to favour the growth of wealth in the European territory, have mainly operated to check the production of many articles to which the climate and soil are highly favourable. Vines and olives might be easily cultivated; but they have been prohibited in favour of the European monopolist. The country is adapted for the growth of tobacco; but this being the subject of a fiscal monopoly, was only allowed in one contracted spot, from which alone the rest of the country could obtain a supply through the medium of the royal warehouses. Hemp and flax have succeeded upon a small scale; but these too, though not absolutely prohibited, have been discouraged in favour of the mother country; as have the cultivation of mulberry trees and the rearing of silk worms, both of which have been occasionally attempted. Cocoa, a favourite aliment with Spaniards in every part of the world, instead of being cultivated at home, is chiefly supplied from Guayaquil. Although there is a large quantity of indigo exported from Mexico, not more than one third of it is the produce of the country; the rest is brought thither from the plantations on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, in the kingdom of Guatemala, and merely passes through the port of Vera Cruz on its way to the European consumers. Before the present disturb-

ances, the culture of the sugar cane had been making a regular though not a rapid progress. The sugar prepared from it surpassed in amount most of the agricultural productions which the viceroyalty furnished to the commerce of the world; but the expense of conveying it to market has reduced the cultivation so, that now sufficient is barely yielded for the scanty demands of the impoverished inhabitants.

The most valuable of the agricultural commodities of Mexico, and one exclusively produced there, is the cochineal insect. It is raised only in the district of Misteca, in the province Oaxaca, and wholly by the labour of the Indian inhabitants. The insects draw their subsistence from a particular species of the nopal, one of the cactus tribe of plants. The business of rearing, protecting, and preparing them for exportation, requires more attention than labour, and is well suited to the indolence of the native in the intensely hot climate which produces them. The annual value of the quantity exported was about 500,000*l.* when at the highest; of late years it has diminished very considerably, from the Indians having found out more profitable or still more easy purposes to which their labour can be applied.

One of the most popular plants cultivated in Mexico is a species of the opuntia, from which is derived, by a process of nature, the beverage called *pulque* (the common drink) in its first state after fermentation; from this, by distillation, a spirit is extracted which, though prohibited by the laws of Spain to favour the brandies of Catalonia, has always been in extensive use. When the head of the plant throws forth a bunch of central leaves, they are cut off; and a hole is scooped in the stalk, which is covered with them. In this hollow the plant seems to deposit all the juice which, without such excision, would go to form the flowers. It is a real vegetable spring, running during two or three months of the year, and which may be emptied two or three times every day. Nearly two thousand of these plants can be raised on an acre of land, each of which will yield annually from thirty to forty gallons of the juice. The cultivation of this plant is a sure source of wealth to a family who can wait with patience, (which few of the Indians can,) during a period of fourteen or fifteen years, until the expiration of which, the plant rarely arrives at maturity.

We have thus slightly sketched the nature of the agricultural productions of Mexico previously to entering on the state of the mines, because we decidedly agree with M. Humboldt, that 'the principal sources of the wealth of that country are by no means the mines, but an agriculture which has been gradually improving since the latter end of the last century.' The proof of

of this is to be found in the amount of the tithes collected by the clergy at different periods. These accounts show that the increase of agricultural productions has been greater than that of the population. In the ten years from 1771 to 1780 they amounted to 13,357,157 dollars, and in the following ten years to 18,353,821, whilst the increase of population is estimated to have been only as the difference between 15 and 16.

Agriculture had made but feeble steps, however, towards that state of activity which it is capable of reaching, when the calamities of the revolutionary spirit began to desolate Mexico. Up to that period, the impediments to its improvement were of a most weighty nature. The want of roads, canals, and navigable rivers was in itself a formidable evil, and to this must be added the restrictions of an impolitic government. Maize, the most general aliment of the people, is seldom alike productive in the hot and in the temperate regions, yet the supply drawn from the districts in which it is most abundant can scarcely ever be made to supply the wants of those in which it is deficient; the distance is great, the roads are in a dreadful condition, and many parts of them over barren districts where beasts of burden can scarcely subsist without having recourse to the loads on their backs. The want of a domestic vent for the surplus produce was thus added to the other obstacles which oppose themselves to the progress of agriculture.

The kingdom of Mexico and the island of Jamaica are so similar in climate and productions, that a contrast between them may serve to show the relative condition of agriculture in each.

In Mexico the greater part of the labourers are of the coloured race, derived, without intermixture of Europeans, from the original natives of the country. They have been, from generation to generation, accustomed to cultivate the same productions which now employ them; their habits are accommodated to the employment and the climate; their wants are few, for they have been habituated to subsist on the smallest quantity and the lowest kind of aliment; their clothing is of the slightest and coarsest description; their habitations are mere cane cages, without walls, destitute of every description of furniture, and usually so small that a whole family is crowded into a single hovel, which may be more properly described as a hive than a house. They are free. They cannot be compelled to labour, nor can they be sold or exchanged, or removed to other spots, without their own consent. Whenever, by a slight exertion, they labour for a day or two, what is earned in that short space of time is generally expended in the cheap intoxicating liquor of the country, by means of which they remain in a state of inebriety for several days

till the want of pulque brings them back to sobriety. When excited to action, it is neither by the threat nor the application of the whip, but by those selfish and sensual passions which occasionally and transiently stimulate the most inactive to exertion. They may possess property; but their want of foresight generally prevents them from forming the slightest accumulation, or from obtaining the few moderate conveniences which might render their abodes and their domestic management more agreeable; their whole lives, instead of being spent in the useful and healthful alternations of labour and rest, are passed in a continued indulgence of corporeal indolence, or of mere animal gratification. The exertion that neatness requires is too great for their habits, and hence their persons, their clothing and their habitations are most disgustingly filthy; and when epidemic fevers prevail, having no medical assistance, they become by thousands the victims of disease, whose force has been augmented by the absence of cleanliness and attention.

The race of labourers in the island of Jamaica have been brought from a climate the difference of which, if to Europeans it appears trifling, is felt by the Africans. They are certainly slaves, as far as the kind of servitude which allows of the possession of property, and which secures that property to those who acquire it, can permit of their being so denominated; they are summoned to their daily labour by the sound of a horn, and during the progress of their work in the fields are kept to the execution of their tasks, and the regular motions in performing them, by the application or the threat of an implement of punishment. Under the government of a country so distant as to be little biassed by local feelings and prejudices, efforts have been hitherto constantly directed to ameliorate their condition rather than to change it. Towards these ameliorations the sympathy of the European, and the self-interest of the local government, have constantly tended. The hours of labour are fixed, and the other portions of their time may be appropriated to purposes of providing themselves with productions to carry to market, or to the amusements to which the negro race have always been attached; the security afforded to their property, when acquired, is as great as that which protects the more extended possessions of their employers: their cottages and the furniture, with the gardens that surround them, and the growing plants, are never taken from them by force, but may be sold or bequeathed to their brethren on the same estate, without any opposition on the part of their masters; to the produce of these gardens they do not look for the supply of any of their positive wants, for such supply must be provided by the master; the food furnished to them in
return

return for the fixed hours of labour is fully adequate to the demands of nature, and is of a quality far superior to that which the free labourers of Mexico have ever been able to obtain; they are decently supplied with clothing appropriate to the climate; in sickness they are provided with medical assistance, and, instead of being left in their small habitations to spread the infection with which they may be tainted, they are removed to an appropriate building, where care, cleanliness and medicine are administered with more assiduity than in any hospital within the kingdom of Mexico.

We have not drawn this comparison with any view of resuming the question, which was, in our last Number, so fully and, we trust, so impartially discussed: as we have, however, been led to the subject, we may indulge in the remark, that it should be a matter of serious consideration with those who have to legislate for the colonies, how far any alterations in our colonial system may tend to bring the negroes in the West Indies nearer to the condition of the agricultural labourers in the best countries of Europe, or to the condition in which the Indian labourers of Mexico, with all their freedom, have been hitherto found.

If we look at the productive powers of these two settlements, we shall be forcibly impressed with the contrast between them. In Mexico the labourers in agriculture cannot be less than 2,500,000, and yet in the best year, that which is looked back to with regret by the more intelligent men in the country, which is represented as the most flourishing period both of its agricultural and mining industry, that year, 1809, the last of tranquillity which Mexico has known, the whole surplus labour furnished to commerce by exportation amounted only to about 1,150,000 pounds sterling.

In Jamaica, where the labour of the fields employs about 230,000 negroes, the surplus produce of that labour in one year, valued like that in Mexico, at the place of exportation, has amounted to more than 4,000,000*l*. We do not assume that these statements are precisely accurate, but they approximate as nearly to the truth as can be obtained by official documents; and show that the productive results of the surplus labour of the slaves in Jamaica is nearly thirty-five times as much a head as that of the free labourers in Mexico.

The representation here given of the condition of agriculture in Mexico is taken at the period immediately preceding the revolutionary convulsions which broke out in that country in the year 1810. As we intend giving a sketch of these events before we close this article, we shall here merely quote the words of Señor Alaman, one of the deputies from Mexico in the late

Cortés at Madrid, and at the present period minister of finance in that territory; to show how much it has since been reduced. "The continual wars (he says) and civil dissensions have so laid waste that beautiful country, (Mexico) that nothing is to be seen but poverty and desolation, where before fertility and opulence were displayed. The total ruin of many rich families, the emigration of others, and the continued sufferings of all, have paralysed industry, which cannot be revived, from the want of those capitals which have been either destroyed or exported. It is only by the importation and prudent application of new capitals that Mexican splendour and prosperity can be revived." We by no means join, however, in the conclusion here drawn, because we firmly believe that Mexico, under a good government and in a state of tranquillity, would shortly recover not only its former condition, but even far surpass in prosperity what she has ever known. This country has exhibited the singular spectacle of a country which, during the long space of three hundred years, has never been the scene of hostility, if we except the predatory incursions of the bands distinguished by the name of Buccaneers. Their ravages, however, were very slight in Mexico, as the chief theatres of their daring exploits were in the more southern divisions of America; and the few riots (rather than civil wars) which occasionally occurred among the Indians, and which originated in scarcity of food, were all easily suppressed and with very little injury. From the period of the last tumult, which took place more than a century ago, to the year 1810, no symptom of internal hostility has been displayed, nor has the foot of a foreign enemy ever trod the soil. During the long contest between France and the allied powers for the succession to the crown of Spain, on the death of Charles the Second, the Mexicans, tranquil spectators of the struggle, resolved, whatever might be its issue, to follow the fortunes of the country from which its European settlers had emanated.

During this long period, the slow but sure gains of agriculture did not, as we have said, present inducements of sufficient force to rouse the inhabitants to great exertions. Mining, however, which more than agriculture requires the most untroubled state of affairs, presented to the energetic and adventurous a stimulus which effected some advancement in that branch of industry. It may be doubted, however, if the mines of Mexico have even tended to enrich that country. The general expenditure is stated to have been greater than the general produce. The vast remuneration sometimes obtained has, like all other wealth gained by gambling speculations, produced numerous competitors, and dissipated large portions of the capital of the country. Besides this,

this, a temptation was presented to collect a revenue by the easy method of taking a portion of an article so compendious as silver. A tax levied, by taking directly any other article produced from the earth, would be too revolting for even a despotic government to adopt; but under the fiction that all mines are royalties appertaining to the king, who only grants permission to his subjects to extract their contents with a stipulation that he should be a sharer in the results, this tax on the precious metals has been readily submitted to. The facility thus afforded to the government of Spain, of drawing money directly from her colonies, has been exercised in Mexico with little feeling towards the inhabitants. During the three centuries of their occupation, hundreds of millions of dollars, derived from labour, have been extracted, without inducing any returns to restore the capital thus removed. Had this vast sum not been taken by the Peninsular government, it would, to the same extent, have been transported to other countries, and have generally circulated through the world: but in that case other commodities would have been returned, and the millions of capital which have been lost to Mexico would, by a natural process, be replaced, and with continual increase: the inhabitants would have possessed numerous comforts of which they are now destitute, the enjoyment of which would have been a constant stimulus to fresh exertion.

The ores found in the mines of Mexico are not in general rich in metallic substances. According to Humboldt, who compares them with the produce of the mines of Saxony, it appears that the average quantity of silver in each hundred weight of Mexican ore is between three and four ounces, whereas in Saxony each hundred weight produces about ten ounces of pure silver. The mines of Mexico too are generally much deeper than those of Germany. But on the other hand the former contain veins of metalliferous substance of a thickness and length unknown in other parts of the world. When the great expense of sinking the shaft has been once incurred, the ores can be brought to the surface with much less cost in excavating and in subterranean transportation, than from the less extensive veins of other mines. Although the machinery for working the mines is very imperfect, the low prices of all the necessaries of life, the great frugality practised by the labourers, and the consequent low wages which they require, are found to be sufficient to counterbalance that deficiency. Instead of being situated, like the mines of Peru, in a region so elevated as to injure the health of the workmen, those of Mexico are in a temperate elevation, and the country around them becomes very productive as soon as the attraction of markets, which the mines create, induces cultivation. Towns and villages have sprung

sprung up rapidly, in numerous instances, whenever mines have been opened in any district. The enormous masses of property acquired by mining have, like the larger prizes in a lottery, been confined to a few individuals. M. Obregon, created Count Valenciana, with his partner, Otero, received, for many years, from the mine of that name, an annual income of £250,000 sterling. Don Pedro Tereros, Count Regla, one of the richest men in Mexico, drew from the mines of Biscaina, between the years 1762 and 1774; a net profit of more than a million sterling. Besides the two ships of war, one of one hundred and twenty guns and the other of seventy-four guns, which he presented to the King of Spain, he lent to the government of Madrid five million francs, which he has never been repaid. The works erected on his mine cost him more than four hundred thousand pounds sterling, and he purchased estates of vast extent besides, and left money to his family, in amount only equalled by the bequests of Count Valenciana. The Marquis del Apartado, at one period, within six months, extracted from his mine of Sombrerete, the enormous sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling; and though nothing approaching to that amount was afterwards drawn from it, it held its rank as a mine of the first class till the troubles commenced. In these mining operations the greatest vicissitudes of fortune have been experienced. Humboldt relates of a Frenchman, Joseph La-borde, that he came to Mexico very poor in 1743, and acquired a large fortune in a short time by the mine of La Cañada. After building a church at Tasco, which cost him eighty-four thousand pounds, he was reduced to the lowest poverty by the rapid decline of those very mines from which he had annually drawn from 130 to 190 thousand pounds weight of silver. With a sum of £20,000, raised by selling a sun of solid gold, which, in his prosperity, he had presented to the church, and which he was allowed by the archbishop to withdraw; he undertook to clear out an old mine, in which he lost the greater part of the produce of his golden sun, and abandoned the work. With the small sum remaining, he once more ventured on another undertaking, which was for a short time highly productive, and he left behind him at his death a fortune of more than one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

It is not surprizing that in a climate tending to produce indolence, and with a people of imaginations peculiarly ardent, the few instances of unmeasured success in mining should have more power to encourage, than the numerous but unnoticed instances of failure to deter from, such desperate adventures. The calamities that have recently fallen with their heaviest weight on mining could never have been contemplated by any who had embarked

barked in those concerns. The most penetrating eye could not have foreseen either the revolutionary storm, or its extent, fury and rapidity. Without, however, anticipating the narrative of the revolutionary events, we may quote the words of the minister Alamán, whom we before noticed.

“Unfortunately the revolution of the year 1810 began in the districts in which the richest mines are situated, and their proprietors were its first victims. By the massacre of some, by the ruin of others from the war and the excessive requisitions, by the scarcity of money, and the consequent want of utensils and necessaries to continue the works, they ceased as it were almost in a moment. The celebrated vein of Guanaxuato, without its ores being impoverished, only gave out, in 1818, 150,000 marcs of silver and 400 of gold, whereas its product before the year 1810 was greater than all the mines of Peru together, amounting to 600,000 marcs of silver and 2000 of gold. In the mint at Mexico, in 1821, there was coined only six million dollars, whereas, previously to 1810, from twenty-five to twenty-eight millions had been annually coined. The inundation of the mines has been the inevitable consequence of their abandonment during the war. The working of them cannot be resumed until the water has been discharged; and to effect that, the miners of Mexico, poor in the midst of riches, have neither the machines required to accomplish it, nor the capitals to procure them.”

The country is indebted for the introduction of the improved processes, by which the precious metals have been chiefly separated from the ores in which they are contained, to a corporation called *Tribunal General de la Minería*; which selected the ablest of students to visit the mining districts and impart the knowledge of new facts and scientific improvements. There were two modes of operating for this purpose; the first, for a long time, was by the common method of smelting. As firewood grew scarce in the mining districts, as the process of amalgamation became known, the ancient practices regularly declined, and the new method of separating the metals from the ores advanced; this separation is effected by the adhesive property of mercury, assisted by the aid of lime, sulphates, and other chemical ingredients, which increase the intensity of its action.

As the quantity of silver that can be procured in this way depends mainly on the supply of quicksilver; as in times of war that supply was necessarily uncertain both in quantity and quality; and as from its being a royal monopoly, the power of dispensing it rested solely with the viceroy; it became a subject of frequent intrigue in his court, and was generally distributed from favouritism or bribery. The mercury from the mines of Istria was esteemed less pure than that extracted from the mine of Almadén in Spain. By some of the viceroys this has been made a source of great wealth, as those who bribed him or his officers the highest could

could obtain the best mercury. The quantity of quicksilver delivered to the miners bore such a proportion to the quantity of silver produced by them as was conceived to be a check on frauds in paying the duties. The products of these mines had gone on constantly increasing to the year 1810. Without giving the produce of each year, the following table will shew with what degree of regularity the augmentation had proceeded. This account only shows the quantities which actually paid the duties; but it is generally believed that, besides what was legally circulated, some portions were extracted by contraband means. The amount is given in dollars.

1695 . . .	4,000,000	1788 . . .	20,000,000
1726 . . .	8,000,000	1795 . . .	24,000,000
1747 . . .	12,000,000	1802 . . .	26,000,000
1776 . . .	16,000,000	1809 . . .	28,000,000

We have no precise data for the several years of confusion that have since followed. In a report from the city of Mexico, in 1813, it is stated that the amount of silver brought to the mint in the year 1811 was but three millions and a half; and by another, that of the following year, that it amounted to two millions, which was partly from the requisitions made of all the plate of individuals and communities. From the opinion of those Mexicans, who are likely to be best informed of the state of their country, we have some reason to conclude that the average annual product of the several years from 1813 to 1820 was not more than from four to four and a half millions. In 1821, the duty on silver having been reduced from 17 to 3 per cent. in that year, partly owing to such reduction and partly to the appearance of security to property being restored, the amount of the precious metals increased to more than five millions and a half, and in the next year, 1822, after Iturbide had been proclaimed emperor, to seven millions. The future condition of this branch of industry, now that an abundant supply of quicksilver can be obtained and the duties are lowered, must be prosperous, when the government shall be so established as to afford the necessary security to persons and property.

When the transactions at Bayonne occurred, the viceroy of Mexico was Don Josef Iturrigaray, a man advanced in years, a relation of Godoy, who had nominated him to this important and lucrative employment. The administration, as in all the Spanish colonies, was executed by various boards superintending the different branches, all appointed by the government, and wholly dependent upon it. The chief of these, the Royal Audiencia, united faculties similar to those of our privy council and of a supreme court of justice. It was composed chiefly of European Spaniards, and, on the death of a viceroy, either executed his func-

tions,

tions, or appointed a successor till a new viceroy arrived. The municipal corporations, called sometimes the *cabildos* or *ayuntamientos*, had large possessions, and enjoyed considerable influence, though but little positive power. The members of these bodies were mostly natives of the country, whose European ancestors had purchased their places and been succeeded by their descendants born in America.

Though these two bodies had hitherto acted in strict subserviency to the will of the viceroy, yet their different feelings, derived chiefly from the places of their nativity, kindled those passions which were destined to become the most tremendous scourge to their country. Though both parties equally detested the idea of French rule, the *audiencia*, and other natives of Europe, were rather disposed to follow the fortunes of the peninsula, as their ancestors had done in the war of the succession; whilst the natives of America were resolved rather to risk all extremities than submit to the dynasty which Buonaparte had imposed.

In July, 1808, a small vessel from Cadiz brought to Iturrigaray the French Madrid gazettes, with the account of the transfer of the crown of Spain to Joseph Buonaparte. By the advice of the *Audencia*, those accounts were published, but accompanied by no intimations of the nullity or illegality of the cession. The inhabitants of Mexico were thrown into a ferment of indignation; crowds eagerly assembled in the squares and public walks, denouncing vengeance against France and her adherents, with all the characteristic fury of a Spanish populace. The *Cabildo* partook of the violence of the people, and, with a freedom and energy seldom practised by any public body towards a viceroy, required the assembling of a *junta* to resolve on the measures which the crisis demanded. The two classes of the white inhabitants were at issue; one demanding a national assembly, the other recommending submission to Spain.

The viceroy, a feeble and vacillating old man, hesitated which party to embrace, till, in a short time, official advices were received that the whole of Spain had risen to resist the cession of the crown, and that a body assembled at Seville had proclaimed Ferdinand VII., and assumed the sole authority of the *junta* of Spain and the Indies. On receiving this intelligence, Iturrigaray gave orders for proclaiming the young monarch; but without noticing that the *junta* of Seville professed to act in his name during his captivity.

The *Audiencia* suggested and urged the acknowledgment of submission to the *junta* of Seville, the *Cabildo* the convening a Congress; and the viceroy again hesitated, till advice arrived that a *junta* assembled at Oviedo claimed powers similar to that of Seville.

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As he had not determined to submit to either, and the Europeans feared the public feeling for independence of both might sway him, they formed a conspiracy; about two hundred and fifty of them surrounded the palace at night, seized Iturrigaray with his family, conveyed him to the inquisition; and the next morning, to quiet the indignant populace, issued a proclamation accusing him of heresy. Under the awe produced on a superstitious people by such a charge, the conspirators were enabled to convey their victim to Vera Cruz, from whence he was transported to Cadiz, and delivered up to the vengeance of the body whose authority he had hesitated to acknowledge. The charge transmitted against him was not heresy, but a design to establish himself on an independent throne. He was committed to one of the dungeons of that city without trial and without examination; at the end of three years, he was liberated by a general amnesty.

After a short reign of Garibay, a man older than Iturrigaray, nominated provisionally by the Audiencia, the Archbishop was appointed viceroy by the junta of Seville, and exerted himself to collect money for them. His hatred of France, and his great devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the tutelary saint of Mexico, made him a favourite with the creole and Indian races; and, as he exercised no great acuteness in detecting the peculations and injustice of the Audiencia, he was a general favourite. A state of agitation however prevailed through Mexico, which alarmed and excited the apprehensions of the government, who were much too feeble to oppose it by a few unpopular arrests. The impulse was communicated from the people to the native army, and the disposition to revolt was universal among all classes, except the handful of European Spaniards. The news of the retreat of the central junta from Seville, and of the occupation of Andalusia by the French, was considered by the Mexicans as decisive proofs of the treachery of that body, and of their designs to deliver over both Spain and the Indies to the dominion of the family of Buonaparte. This opinion was strengthened by the arrival of Venegas, as viceroy, under their appointment, who, instead of being directed to inquire into the deposition of Iturrigaray, brought with him decorations and promotions for those who had directed that nefarious transaction.

In a country so inflammable as Mexico at that period, the least spark will quickly kindle a flame. An insurrection had been extensively planned for the 1st November, 1810; but the arrest of one of the members of the Cabildo of the town of Dolores, caused it to explode prematurely in the middle of September. Hidalgo, a priest of that city, seems to have been a person of more activity and resources than are generally to be found among the

the creoles, and had already engaged in several public spirited undertakings. By the appearance, if not by the reality, of great devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, he was looked up to by the eighteen thousand Indians of his cure as a superior being. This man seems to have projected the revolution in the district in which he resided; and when the member of the Cabildo was arrested, addressed his parishioners from the pulpit, in language suited to their prejudices and their simple understandings:—

‘This,’ said he, ‘is the last sermon I shall ever deliver to you! I lament it, but there is no remedy! The Europeans deliver us over to the French! You see they have rewarded those who deposed our viceroy; they have displaced the good archbishop who protected us, and they have imprisoned our corregidor because he is a creole. Farewell, religion, you must become jacobins! Farewell, Ferdinand VII., you must become Napoleonists! No, father,’ shouted the Indians, ‘you must save us from these evils. The Virgin of Guadalupe for ever! Ferdinand VII. for ever! Well,’ replied he, ‘the Virgin and Ferdinand for ever! and now follow your pastor, who has always been watching for your happiness.’

The feelings of the populace, long kept in a state of agitation, were influenced by this harangue: they followed their leader to the neighbouring towns, in which 40,000 men were speedily collected. Allende, Aldama and Abasolo, three officers of native troops, joined him with the regiments to which they belonged, and their example was quickly followed by another regiment of infantry, and two squadrons of cavalry. This body, within fourteen days of its collecting, obtained possession of the city of Guanajuato, the capital of the mining district, where they found a booty of five million dollars. Here Hidalgo cast cannon from the melted bells; coined money with the head of Ferdinand on it, and armed his followers with such weapons as could be procured. At Valladolid he was received with triumph by the inhabitants and ecclesiastical bodies, and, being joined by more of the royal army, determined to march on the city of Mexico, not doubting but he should compel the Viceroy and his court of Spaniards to abandon it. On his march he was opposed by a small regular army under Truxillo, which, after a sanguinary conflict, was defeated, and its remains fell back to join Venegas in Mexico. When Hidalgo with his numerous followers invested the capital, its inhabitants were induced to oppose him, on religious grounds. About ten years before, he had been attacked by the inquisition, and had escaped by connivance from its fangs—the process against him was now revived, and sentence of excommunication pronounced. By the judgment, it appeared that he had at one time denied the existence of hell, and at another affirmed that a pope, who had been canonized, was gone to hell! that he had adhered to the heresy

heresy of Luther, by maintaining in one pulpit that the authority of the scriptures was superior to that of the pope, and in another by denying the truth of the Bible! These charges he turned into ridicule; by showing their opposition to each other; and made a confession of his faith not deficient in orthodoxy. Whatever influence the process might have on the citizens, it had none on his followers; who had more confidence in his power to absolve, than in that of the inquisition to excommunicate.

Whilst Hidalgo was advancing towards Mexico, the viceroy, besides the forces under Truxillo, had sent two detachments, one of which passed to the right, the other to the left, of the insurgent forces. The knowledge of their junction in his rear induced Hidalgo to retreat on Guanajuato to secure his resources. Calleja, the Spanish general, followed him and retook Guanajuato by storm, which was delivered up to indiscriminate vengeance. Hidalgo retired with some of his troops towards the populous city of Guadalajara, which had declared in his favour, and whither he was followed by Calleja. He determined to defend that important place, and with his forces took a strong post at the bridge of Calderon, which he strengthened with numerous artillery. This post, after a severe conflict, was carried by Calleja, whilst a small remnant of the insurgents escaped with difficulty, leaving behind their wounded, their stores, and ninety pieces of cannon. Calleja had but a handful of troops compared with those of his opponent; he was compelled to keep them united, and thus the whole country was overrun with bands of insurgents, whose massacres, plunder and devastation exceeded in enormity every thing that history has recorded.

Hidalgo took post at Zaccatecas, where he cast new cannon, coined more money, and filled up the ranks which the battle at the bridge of Calderon had thinned. From thence he removed his army to St. Luis Potosi, and deeming them secure from immediate attack, proceeded with a small body of his troops, accompanied by his staff and some artillery, to organize the provinces to the north, which were believed to be prepared for insurrection. These provinces, however, proved well affected to the viceroy, and were supported by a body of his troops. One of Hidalgo's commanders was seduced to join them, and by these the priest was intercepted, and, with Aldama and Allende, their artillery and their whole corps, made prisoners. The officers, to the number of sixty, were immediately put to death, and the privates decimated.

The command of the army left by Hidalgo was assumed by Rayon, a lawyer, who found himself at the head of 40,000 men. He appears to have been the friend of conciliation, if
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his proclamations can be admitted as evidence. He attempted to negotiate, but the reply of Calleja rendered the attempt abortive.

Whilst the insurrection, begun by Hidalgo and continued by Rayon, fluctuated between alternate successes and reverses, another of a more formidable nature broke out in that part of the kingdom which borders on the Pacific ocean. Morelos was a parish priest in one of the most populous districts in the neighbourhood of Acapulco. Whether the originator of the insurrection, or not, does not appear; but he was soon declared its chief, and in the exercise of his office during nearly five years, discovered talents which extorted the applause of those to whom he was opposed. It has indeed been supposed that the military praise was more due to Matamoros, another priest, who was second in command; be this as it may, the forces which he organized became formidable, more from their discipline than even from their numbers. After the battle of Tixtla, in which he defeated the army sent against him under General Fuentes, he overran the whole southern and western parts of the kingdom; captured the cities of Acapulco, Oaxaca, Orizava, and, in fact, every important place in the viceroyalty except the capital; the city of Vera Cruz, and the town of Puebla de los Angeles. During the course of these military transactions, the work of havoc never ceased in any part of the country. No quarter was given by either party. While the Europeans had military possession of the towns, which frequently changed masters, the open country was desolated by small bands of guerrillas, who, if they owned, obeyed no superiors, who lived on the plunder of the country, and, without the least compunction, massacred every European that fell in their way. The royal troops, on their part, wherever they passed, marked their track by thousands of Indians hung on the trees by the sides of the road, and by the smoking ruins of the plantations they had burnt. In many parts the neglect of cultivation caused a scarcity of food, and epidemic diseases in no small degree contributed, by their extent, and aided by the numerous privations, to increase the sufferings and diminish the population of the country. The viceroy, in the capital, was scarcely able to correspond with the officers commanding the different bodies of the troops in the provinces; his communication was frequently cut off from Vera Cruz, and sometimes for five or six months together; so that the arrival of stores from that place was not possible: the symptoms of insurrection within the capital became alarming, in spite of a police, which forbade more than three persons to meet together beyond the members of each family; and the Creoles and Indians, within the

the viceregal residence, discovered, by their insolent gestures, their triumph at every success of the insurgents.

In the year 1812, the Cortes of Cadiz, though pressed at home, were enabled to send considerable forces to Mexico, which were joined by others organized in the island of Cuba. Venegas was superseded in the office of viceroy by Calleja, who had been active in opposing Hidalgo and his successor Rayon. This chief of the insurgents, after besieging Toluca, in which he was unsuccessful from the want of mortars, retreated with some individuals who called themselves a National Congress, and began to ape the proceedings of the National Convention of France. They moved from one place to another, closely followed by the forces of Calleja; sometimes showing large bodies, at others not easily to be found; at one time gaining advantages, at others suffering considerable losses not only of lives, but of what was less easily replaced, of arms and ammunition. They maintained themselves, however, as a body till the year 1815; when, on the return of Ferdinand to Madrid, some fled, others formed themselves into small predatory bands, not strong enough to affect the stability of the government, but sufficiently powerful to paralyze all efforts of industry, directed to either agriculture or mining.

The newly appointed Viceroy Calleja, on receiving reinforcements, seems to have addressed his chief attention to the force under Morelos, who had been actively employed in securing and extending the advantages which he had gained. His positions were so skilfully chosen between Vera Cruz and Mexico, that the troops which first arrived from Spain were inclosed, half-famished, within the walls of the former pestiferous city till their ranks were thinned by disease and want, and till, by a convoy of 1800 mules, loaded with flour, and escorted by the army from Mexico, the residue were relieved from their embarrassing condition. These reinforcements did not, however, prevent Morelos from continuing his operations with success. The regular force under his command amounted to 18,000 men, of whom 10,000 were regimented and uniformly clothed, and armed with muskets taken at different times from the royalist army.

During the whole of the year 1813, though Calleja received continued reinforcements, they were insufficient to enable him to make head against Morelos. His attention had been in some measure drawn towards the north, whose provinces were invaded by Toledo, who had been a member of the Cortes in Cadiz; he was, however, defeated, and the remnant of his forces having fled to the United States, tranquillity in that quarter was in a short time restored. In the latter part of that year Morelos made an unsuccessful attempt on the city of Valladolid, and, having raised the
siege,

siege, retreated to Puraran, where he was attacked by a division of the army of General Llano, under the command of Iturbide, and was, for the first time, defeated, after having been engaged in forty-six battles, great and small. His second in command, Matamoros, and 900 men, were made prisoners, and himself with twenty-five of them immediately put to death by order of the superior officer.

During the year 1814, Calleja and Morelos were constantly engaged in detached operations. The former was better supplied with military stores than the latter; for though there was little difficulty in casting cannon and making gunpowder, a scarcity of muskets, lead, and many other necessities, was experienced by the insurgents. Emissaries were sent to the United States to procure these, and at the latter end of the year some stores arrived, with Toledo, before mentioned, and the French General Humbert, the person who, in the revolutionary war, had landed in Ireland. The stores were conveyed to a small fortress between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, and Morelos proceeded in advance of his main body to meet the two officers. He and his small escort were intercepted by a body of royalists, by whom they were defeated, and the commander himself made prisoner. He was carried to the inquisition to be judged; the forms of that tribunal, however, were too dilatory for the impatience of Calleja; and Morelos, after being degraded from his clerical dignity, was shot in the back, to indicate that he was punished as a traitor.

With the death of this extraordinary man all thoughts of rational plans appear to have vanished. Up to this period the name of Ferdinand had been the watch-word, and zeal for religion the pretext of the insurgents; but a democratic assembly was now convened, who seem to have spent their time in the discussion of abstract principles of government, rather than in arranging means for defending themselves; till they were forcibly dissolved, in December, 1815, by Teran, one of their own officers, who, after delivering up some of the members, withdrew himself from the contest. Calleja, strengthened by fresh troops from the Peninsula, was enabled to disperse all large bodies of the insurgents, but not to tranquillize the country. The condition of the viceroyalty is accurately described by him in a detailed dispatch of the 31st December, 1815, which he thus concludes:—'Thus we are surrounded everywhere with numerous bands of robbers, who intercept the communication, and stop the progress of agriculture, of trade, and of the mines, in which consist the wealth of the people. These bands are not sufficiently powerful to defeat the regular troops, to take towns, or to intercept convoys; yet we have not strength enough to destroy them, though they are

frequently defeated, often harassed, and always severely punished if they fall into our power.'

Calleja was succeeded by Admiral Apodaca, a man of mild character, who had been ambassador in England; and, by his change of system, several leaders of the revolt were induced to withdraw their aid, and some feeble advances were made towards a general tranquillity. In this state of affairs a small expedition, fitted out partly from England and in part from North America, appeared on the shores of Mexico, under the younger Mina.

This officer is represented by those who knew him, as a young man of great talent; as uniting energy with judgment, and as free from that ferocity of character which had distinguished many of the guerrilla chiefs in the peninsula. He landed in one of the small northern harbours of Mexico, in December, 1816, but did not move forward till March, 1817. He made some unsuccessful attempts to open a communication with the insurgent General Victoria, now one of the officers at the head of the present government. The forces which he brought with him were too few to inspire confidence in those who were, or pretended to be, disposed to support him; and his march was harassed by several bodies of troops, each far superior to his own. He fought three battles, as he advanced, with the loss of more men on the part of the enemy than his own little band could muster, and with but few casualties on his side. He penetrated, at length, more than six hundred miles into the country, and formed a junction with one of the insurgent parties. Its commander, Torres, a priest, is painted by Robinson in the blackest colours that ever disgraced even a pretended lover of liberty; his officers are represented as equally ignorant, selfish, and debauched; and thus, though disaffection prevailed among the royalist troops, none could be induced to place themselves under the command of such a leader. By the capture of property on the estate of the Marquis of Jaral, to the amount of three hundred thousand dollars, Mina was enabled to recruit his forces with two hundred men, which increased his corps to nearly double its number; with these he threw himself into a small fort, where they were instantly besieged: the place was captured, after a most gallant defence, and all the men who had landed in his train, except twelve, were destroyed; he himself, however, had previously effected his escape. His object in leaving the fort seems to have been to procure forces to raise the siege. Though unsuccessful in this, he collected a body of nine hundred native troops, ill-armed and ill-trained, and having in a short time increased them to fourteen hundred, made a gallant attempt on the large city of Guanajuato, which only failed from the want of discipline. It

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was during this attack that all the works at the extensive mine of Valenciana, near that city, were burnt by one of his divisions. The men, who were accustomed to disperse to their homes after every operation, did so on this occasion, leaving Mina and a small guard at the residence of a friend to his cause, where he was thought to be secure from surprise. He was betrayed by a priest, the house was surrounded in the night, and on his appearance to inquire into the cause of the alarm, he was seized and carried away. Thus terminated the exploits of this extraordinary youth. He was shot on the 11th of November, after a brilliant but eccentric career of nine months, and met his fate with the firmness that had marked the course of his military life. His humanity formed a most striking contrast with the brutal cruelty of his Mexican associates, and the more refined, but equally revengeful feelings exhibited by some of his royalist enemies.

The death of Mina was followed by the capture of the strongest fortified place held by the insurgents, and the few holds of less account soon after experienced the same fate. The bands, though they did not muster in much force, continued in smaller parties to ravage the country, break up the communications, and keep alert the whole of the royalist army. The great distance of the inhabited parts from each other; the numerous secure asylums which every district afforded; the habits of activity, and of enduring abstinence, acquired by the mountaineers; and the general disaffection of the inhabitants to the cause of Spain—all united in counteracting the plans of Apodaca for allaying the wild passions that agitated the rude inhabitants; and enabled their chiefs to retain their command and their opposition, till at length a new course of events raised one of them to supreme power, and the others to distinguished stations.

The revolution in Spain, which followed the revolt of the army in the Isle of Leon, was no sooner known in Mexico, than a general ferment arose, which the mild character of the viceroy, and the uncertainty of support from the party which had acquired the ascendancy in the peninsula, rendered too violent for him to allay. All ran to arms, and all was confusion. Every province, and almost every town, began to legislate for itself. The whole army became infected with the popular influenza, and authority of every kind was either renounced altogether, or slightly exerted in each city, thus become an independent state, in the hands of its cabildo, or municipal corporation. General Augustin de Iturbide, who had served, during the preceding convulsions, in the royalist army, was at the head of the forces, and seems to have possessed extensive, if not universal influence. Apodaca was shut up within the city, with only a few troops, whose fidelity

was at least doubtful, and unable to act. Iturbide therefore drew up a project for pacifying and uniting the several parties that agitated the country. This project, called 'the Plan of Iguala,' stipulated that Mexico should be constituted an independent empire under the king of Spain, or, on his declining it, under any member of his family that would reside in the country;—that the only religion tolerated should be the Roman Catholic;—that all distinctions of castes should be abolished, and all employments equally open to Europeans and Americans. A regular army was to be appointed, in which the old partizans of independence were to be included; the patriots and peasants who adhered to the plan, were to be considered as national militia; and all public functionaries, who should accede to it, were to retain their offices: those who dissented were allowed to leave the country with their families and effects, and a junta of government was to be formed, ad interim, consisting of such as were supposed to enjoy the highest reputation in the different parties, of which the viceroy, Apodaca, was to be the President.

Whatever might be the merits or the faults of this project, or however deficient the detail of its stipulations, it certainly was the means of securing a continuance of domestic peace from February to August, 1821, when General O'Donoju arrived from Spain with the condemnation of the plan by the Cortes, and the appointment of himself as viceroy, in the place of Apodaca. He came merely furnished with a commission, without troops, without stores, and without money. He was unacquainted with the state of the country; and found, to his surprise, that he could have no intercourse with Apodaca, nor with any of the provincial juntas, but through Iturbide, whose forces commanded the road between the sea coast and the capital. In this situation he had no resource but to return to Spain, (a step which he feared would compromise the safety of all the Europeans in the country,) or to enter into negotiations which might secure the continuance of tranquillity. A treaty was accordingly set on foot with Iturbide, and on its conclusion the gates of the capital, where Apodaca had already been deposed in a military revolt, were thrown open, and the two generals entered together, amidst the triumphant shouts of the inhabitants. In conformity with the treaty, a junta was convened of such as were deemed best qualified to direct the public affairs, but whose chief object was understood to be that of regulating the choice of members to compose a general congress of the representatives of all the provinces. O'Donoju died of a consumption whilst the junta was exercising its functions under an executive power of five individuals, of whom Iturbide was the president.

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The elections were so managed by a party in the junta; that almost the whole of its members were chosen to seats in the Congress. When this body of deputies met, it appeared that not one of them was acquainted with the mode of conducting business in such an assembly; day after day was spent in adjusting ceremonies, and in discussing trifles, whilst every branch of the government, ignorant of the limits of its own power, and fearful of exercising any authority until it had been sanctioned by the congress, was actually reduced to a state of torpidity. The people, as in other countries, had been taught to expect the immediate return of tranquillity and prosperity from a change; and finding that no remedy was administered to evils which certainly admitted of no speedy cure, became at first discontented, and then indignant. From August, 1821, to April, 1822, nothing, they said, had been done to promote their prosperity, nor any means adopted to discharge the long arrears of pay due to the army and the civil servants of the state. Iturbide professed himself no less dissatisfied with the dilatory proceedings than the great body of the people. In this state, in May, 1822, a general commotion took place; the streets were crowded with citizens exclaiming against the congress, and shouting, in conjunction with the troops, 'Long live the Emperor Augustin the First!' The impulse thus given was communicated to the assembly. Of the ninety-four members then in the house, seventy-seven voted for the general's elevation to the throne; fifteen declared that the provinces ought to be first consulted, and on that account only, according to their speeches, voted against it, and two withdrew without voting. How far the tumult, and the cries that accompanied it, were the effect of intrigue, or how far the decision of the congress may have been dictated by terror, we have no sufficient means of judging; but the intelligence of the event seems to have been received by the provinces with great and even unanimous approbation.

Iturbide, thus seated on a throne, which, he affirms, he neither sought, nor accepted without considerable reluctance, was necessarily in total ignorance of the limits of his authority. In June, 1822, when one hundred and nine deputies (the whole number being one hundred and sixty-four) were assembled, it was unanimously voted that the imperial dignity should be hereditary in his family; but no one thought of determining in what that dignity was to consist, nor in what manner it was to be exercised. The assembly, like all such bodies, whose authority is not defined with scrupulous accuracy, naturally grasped at every branch of that power, without which in the executive neither freedom, nor security, nor government can be maintained. They were new to legislation; and though they discussed every thing, they seem to have settled nothing. Parties were speedily formed in the

assembly. Two of them, the Bourbonists and the Republicans, united upon every occasion which could annoy the emperor. The emissaries of the latter party, with a view to propagate their dogmas, extended their intrigues in the country; and some of the officers of the army, possibly from conviction, but more probably from envy or disappointment, concurred in their projects. The proceedings could not be concealed; and where the use or abuse of public opinion has never been experienced, it naturally produced alarm in the government. Under the interpretation of an article in the Spanish constitution, which appears to be rather strained, Iturbide arrested a number of the members of the congress on a charge of treason. The others demanded their release, which the emperor refused till the tribunal by which they were to be judged could be determined upon. This led to contention,—reply and rejoinder,—till the 30th October, when he took the strong measure of dismissing, rather than of dissolving the assembly. Another was selected from among them, which, under the name of *Junta Instituyente*, was to arrange the calling of a new congress. All this took place without tumult, and is stated to have been followed by general approbation and congratulatory addresses.

Whilst this junta was deliberating, a military revolt broke out in the army at Vera Cruz, instigated by two of the chief officers on whom Iturbide depended, who had quarrelled with each other, but composed their differences to unite against their commander. This spark, at first slightly regarded, kindled into a flame, and extended itself as the two officers advanced towards the capital with their troops. The forces that remained faithful to Iturbide were sufficiently numerous to have resisted, probably to have crushed, them; but this would have been the commencement of a civil war, which it had been the object of his labours, during two years, to prevent, and which, if once begun, would have been likely to extend itself over the whole country. It was suggested to him that a disposition prevailed in favour of a republican government, and that if he chose to place himself at the head of the party which favoured it, he might retain his power and the command of the army; but his firm conviction that such a system, in the existing state of the country, would be ruinous to all its interests, and his previous declarations on the subject, prevented him from listening to any proposal of that nature.

To preserve tranquillity, he resolved to abdicate the throne; and that the country might not be left without any government, he chose to reinstate the Congress which he had dismissed, rather than wait for the assembling of that which had been called. With this body he deposited his authority, and proposed to withdraw from the country, that his presence might cause no future agitation.

Thus,

Thus, after the command of those extensive dominions during two years, in one of which the title of Emperor was conferred on him, he descended to private life, and embarked for Italy in May, 1823, with a pension for life of 25,000 dollars, a reversion to his family of 8000, and the title of Excellency, all settled, after he had given up the command, by the same body which he had dismissed.

We have not sufficient evidence to assist us in forming an accurate judgment of the character and conduct of the ex-emperor, but we are rather disposed to think favourably of both from other sources than the official documents before us. That important branch of Mexican industry, the working of the mines, had decreased so as to produce no more than four millions of dollars. According to the statement of Alaman, one of his successful opponents, and now minister, in the first year of Iturbide's command the mines yielded nearly six millions, and in the next year, when he was Emperor, seven millions. The increase may have arisen from other causes; but in our ignorance of such causes, it is *prima facie* evidence in his favour. We have read, with attention, the whole of the debates in Congress for the two months which followed the abdication. We find in them no one direct charge made against him, nor any intimation to his disgrace, except an assertion of one of the most vehement of the body, that he wished to direct the legislative as well as the executive branch of the government. That member was answered by another, who said, 'The nation is indebted to him for its independence; and if some force was used to procure for him the Imperial dignity, the nation had recognized that dignity by his coronation, and by the decree for hereditary succession; and that the congress, having been dissolved by him, could not judge impartially in their own cause.'

On the other hand, we cannot but applaud the frankness and liberality of those who, after supplanting their chief, had succeeded to his power, in abstaining from any votes which stigmatized his administration, and in making such provision for him and his family as they deemed suitable to the services which he had rendered, the rank which he had held, and to the state of their own finances.

The Congress, after the departure of Iturbide, nominated an executive power, consisting of three general officers; two of whom, Victoria and Bravo, had served during the civil war in the armies of the creoles, and the third, Negrette, had been opposed to them as a commander in the royalist troops.

Some of the provinces manifested symptoms of dissatisfaction because a new congress was not assembled, and complained of the body then sitting, for having extended their duration. After many

remonstrances, and some hostile demonstrations, the dissolution was at length effected by the votes of the members. A new Congress had been collected when the last intelligence was dispatched from Mexico, who are represented as engaged in the discussion of the system by which the country is hereafter to be governed.

We should consider the establishment of an independent and good government in that extensive and interesting country to be not only a benefit to its inhabitants, but to the whole of the civilized world. It is certainly a melancholy spectacle to behold a region so favoured by nature as Mexico, enjoying a soil and climate generally so well adapted to the productions most desirable in every part of the world, kept from rising to usefulness and enjoyment by subjection to a power who only ruled it by restrictions and monopolies. The first of these evils will be removed by securing independence; the latter, by the moderation, intelligence, and public spirit, which it is the duty and interest of those who may have the lead in the national councils to exercise. In warm climates the disposition to indolence is so powerful, that without an extensive diffusion of knowledge no great impulse will ever be directed towards improvement. Spain, miserably deficient at home in regard to every species of knowledge, could hardly be expected to use any extraordinary exertions in communicating it to her distant provinces. The improvements in every art and science, which have of late been making an astonishing progress in all other parts of the world, may find in a country like Mexico, from which they have been hitherto excluded, a field in which to display their most powerful influence. The general diffusion of elementary knowledge may create excitements to excel, and these will raise up in due time individuals of such pre-eminence in the different useful departments of society as may give a general tone and a powerful impetus to the whole community.

From the situation of Mexico, with her western shores at nearly the same distance from India as her eastern shores are from Europe, she is admirably situated for commercial intercourse with both. The productions in which each excels may be advantageously exchanged for that surplus which security and industry will enable the soil and the mines of Mexico abundantly to dispense. With the introduction of the comforts to which the nations are accustomed who have farther advanced in civilization, the general desire to obtain them will naturally grow up; thus a stimulus will be given, which, if well directed, must tend to promote the means of communication between the distant parts of this extensive country, and thus give scope to an internal commerce,

merce, the best foundation, perhaps, of national wealth and prosperity.

As no external enemy is likely to attack Mexico with success at present, the realising the prospect we have thus slightly sketched must depend wholly on its own rulers. We trust they will be found endued with the necessary qualifications for the high duties to which they are called, and that the population, the knowledge, the wealth and the happiness of their country will begin and continue to increase, till they attain the eminence which all the circumstances of their situation have placed within their reach.

ART. VIII.—*Private Correspondence of William Cowper, Esq. with several of his most intimate Friends. Now first published from the Originals, in the Possession of his Kinsman, John Johnson, LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 1824.*

THERE is something in the letters of Cowper inexpressibly delightful. They possess excellencies so opposite—a naïve simplicity, arising from perfect goodness of heart and singleness of purpose, contrasted with a deep acquaintance with the follies and vices of human nature, and a keen sense of humour and ridicule. They unite the playfulness of a child, the affectionateness of a woman, and the strong sense of a man: they give us glimpses of pleasures so innocent and pure as almost to realise the Eden of our great poet, contrasted with horrors so deep, as even to exceed his power of imagery to express.

‘Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never come,
That comes to all.’

With this variety of matter and manner, there is a sincerity and a reality in every thing that he says, which banishes from his reader’s mind all suspicion of flourish or paradox. His pathos is no bright cold gleam of the imagination, but bursts warm from a heart in which every right and true feeling had its home. His opinions have the authority of evidently proceeding from deep and settled principle, even where deficient in sound judgment. In a word, he either ‘writes because he has something to say, not because he would say something,’ or he fairly tells you that he is going to trifle, and then his badinage is the most light and graceful in the world. For these reasons, we think him by far the most delightful letter-writer in our language.

The Epistles of Pope and his friends contain, it must be allowed, much that is useful et ad judicandum et ad vivendum: but the matter is often dragged in with some violence, and the manner

manner is far too rhetorical and declamatory. Swift is perfectly free from these faults, and his letters are models of a clear business-like style. But what has that to do with the heart? and what is letter-writing without heart!

Gray, however, gives us a good imitation of nature, and wit and humour. But it is too sustained, too minute, too much like mosaic-working—an objection which has been urged, perhaps unfairly, against his poetry; but which is certainly a fault in letter-writing. Still he is a great favourite of ours; and we subscribe to the opinion which Cowper has expressed of his merits in the volumes which we are about to notice.

The style of Cowper is as peculiar as his matter. Periods determined only by the sense, with no affected brevity or terseness, like the choppings of a logician; still less

———‘with many a winding bout
Of linked *dullness* long drawn out,’

in mockery of the ore rotundo fullness of Cicero: and his words are, according to his own description, ‘exquisitely sought;’ not from a train of far drawn analogy, nor from the stores of learned coinage, but from ‘the well of English undefiled,’ with all its spirit and raciness of native idiom.

The very first page of the volumes before us offers a specimen of that happy mixture of archness and simplicity, which is, perhaps, the most striking characteristic of Cowper’s letters.

‘DEAR JOE,

Huntingdon, July 3, 1765.

‘Whatever you may think of the matter, it is no such easy thing to keep house for two people. A man cannot always live like the lions in the Tower; and a joint of meat, in so small a family, is an endless incumbrance. In short, I never knew how to pity poor housekeepers before; but now I cease to wonder at that politic cast which their occupation usually gives to their countenance, for it is really a matter full of perplexity.—vol. i. p. 1.

And there is much ease and gracefulness of trifling, blended with the qualities we have noticed, in the following letter to a fair unknown:—

‘DEAR MADAM,

Feb. 19, 1781.

‘When a man, especially a man that lives altogether in the country, undertakes to write to a lady he never saw, he is the awkwardest creature in the world. He begins his letter under the same sensations he would have, if he was to accost her in person, only with this difference,—that he may take as much time as he pleases for consideration, and need not write a single word that he has not well weighed and pondered beforehand, much less a sentence that he does not think supereminently clever. In every other respect, whether he be engaged in an interview or in a letter, his behaviour is, for the most part, equally constrained
and

and unnatural. He resolves, as they say, to set the best leg foremost, which often proves to be what Hudibras calls—

Not that of bone,

But much its better—th' wooden one.

His extraordinary effort only serves, as in the case of that hero, to throw him on the other side of his horse; and he owes his want of success, if not to absolute stupidity, to his most earnest endeavour to secure it.

'Now I do assure you, Madam, that all these sprightly effusions of mine stand entirely clear of the charge of premeditation, and that I never entered upon a business of this kind with more simplicity in my life. I determined, before I began, to lay aside all attempts of the kind I have just mentioned; and being perfectly free from the fetters that self-conceit, commonly called bashfulness, fastens upon the mind, am, as you see, surprisingly brilliant.'—vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

There is a cant Spanish expression (what a history is contained in the fact of a language possessing it!)—'to sing in an agony,' applied to confession on the rack, which is not inapplicable to the union of humour and despair which sometimes occurs in Cowper's letters. It was this complicated feeling which produced his poem of John Gilpin during a fit of deep depression. In a letter to Mr. Newton, we have a specimen of this unnatural alliance, and in another a striking account of it:—

'I do not at all doubt the truth of what you say, when you complain of that crowd of trifling thoughts that pesters you without ceasing; but then you always have a serious thought standing at the door of your imagination, like a justice of peace with the riot-act in his hand, ready to read it, and disperse the mob. Here lies the difference between you and me. My thoughts are clad in a sober livery, for the most part as grave as that of a bishop's servants. They turn too upon spiritual subjects, but the tallest fellow, and the loudest amongst them all, is he who is continually crying with a loud voice, *Actum est de te, peristi*. You wish for more attention, I for less. Dissipation itself would be welcome to me, so it were not a vicious one.'—vol. i. pp. 128, 129.

'Indeed I wonder that a sportive thought should ever knock at the door of my intellects, and still more that it should gain admittance. It is as if harlequin should intrude himself into the gloomy chamber where a corpse is deposited in state. His antic gesticulations would be unsensational at any rate, but more especially so if they should distort the features of the mournful attendants into laughter. But the mind, long wearied with the sameness of a dull, dreary prospect, will gladly fix its eyes on any thing that may make a little variety in its contemplations, though it were but a kitten playing with her tail.'—vol. i. pp. 60, 61.

We can give only one more specimen of his humour.

'We hope that Patty has been falsely accused. But, however that may be, we see great cause to admire either the cogency of her arguments, or her husband's openness to conviction, who, by a single box on the ear, was so effectually assured of the innocence of his wife, as to become

become more attached to her than ever. For the sake of good husbands, it is to be hoped that she will keep her nostrum a secret, or communicate it only to ladies in her own predicament, who have need of the most forcible proofs of their integrity.'—p. 359.

Having given our readers such a taste of the literary merits of these volumes, as may enable them to judge whether they will take the honourable station which their predecessors have long held in one of the most frequented shelves of our libraries, we must turn our attention to a subject of deeper but melancholy interest.

The volumes which Dr. Johnson (a cousin, and faithful friend of Cowper in his last sorrows) has published, contain much information hitherto withheld from the public, respecting the fearful sufferings of his relation, and their connection with his religious opinions. Painful as the details are, we cannot regret that any thing has been published which throws light on the long standing doubt whether those sufferings were increased or alleviated by those opinions. Dr. Johnson thinks the information now given decisive, and that Cowper's unhappiness must undoubtedly be referred solely to his alienation of mind. We agree with him that the evidence is decisive—the only question is, which way?

No one can have read the letters and memoirs of Cowper without being convinced that his imagination was too excitable and powerful to be in subjection to him who should have been its master. He would willingly have resigned that incessantly creative energy of genius, which he tells us (vol. i. p. 179.) caused *jeux d'esprit* 'to spring up like mushrooms in his imagination,' if he could at the same time have got rid of all the effects of its activity.

'There is a certain perverseness, of which, I believe, all men have a share, but of which no man has a larger share than I—I mean that temper, or humour, or whatever it is to be called, that indisposes us to a situation, though not unpleasant in itself, merely because we cannot get out of it. I could not endure the room in which I now write, were I conscious that the door were locked. In less than five minutes I should feel myself a prisoner, though I can spend hours in it, under an assurance that I may leave it when I please, without experiencing any tedium at all. It was for this reason, I suppose, that the yacht was always disagreeable to me. Could I have stepped out of it into a corn-field or a garden, I should have liked it well enough; but being surrounded with water, I was as much confined in it as if I had been surrounded by fire.'—vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.

Such were his petty annoyances from a restless imagination, even when his health was comparatively good. Its uncontrollable force during periods of despondency may make a plain man
thankful

thankful; that his judgment has not been perverted, or his self-command destroyed by the dear bought distinctions of genius. We will not harrow up the feelings of our readers by quoting passages of anxious, brooding, unsatisfied care, or of the vehement ravings of frenzy, which have given so deep an interest to the brief memoir of his feelings, preceding the total alienation of his mind. That such a rapid succession of thoughts, hurrying and burning through the brain, should, as he somewhere expresses it, have been sufficient to wear out a frame of iron, we can well believe. Our readers are aware that his intellects totally sunk under this pressure, and that he was placed under the care of Dr. Cotton in 1768, and remained there for eighteen months.

His partial recovery was followed by that conversion, using the term in the technical sense attached to it by a party, which coloured his opinions and feelings during the remainder of his life. Mr. Greatheed, who is his religious, as Mr. Hayley is his literary biographer, gives us the following account of his state of mind. 'At length his despair was effectually removed by reading in the Sacred Scriptures that God hath set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. While meditating on this passage, he obtained a clear view of the gospel, which was attended with unspeakable joy. His subsequent days were chiefly occupied with praise and prayer, and his heart overflowed with love to his crucified Redeemer. The transports of his joy, which at first interrupted his necessary sleep, having subsided, were followed by a sweet serenity of spirit, which he was enabled to retain, notwithstanding reviving struggles of natural and habitual corruption.' Our readers will recognize the style of the party which believes these meltings of the heart, and exaltations of the imagination to be the direct results of divine inspiration. That they are the mere natural consequences of high wrought feelings, we have no more doubt, than that the impressions which they produce are sometimes permanent. Whether his ecstasies were natural, or supernatural, Cowper had not strength of mind to support them. Though we are sufficiently acquainted with the hagiographics of spiritual experiences, to know that the paroxysms of conversion are more severe and exhausting than the subsequent communion established with the Deity, still we are convinced, that those nine years, of what his biographer elsewhere calls the most transcendent comfort, laid the foundation, by the exhaustion they produced, of that subsequent despondency from which he never recovered.

If the strength which was wasted in these outpourings of the
spirit

spirit had been carefully husbanded, and employed in repairing the weak parts of his character, he might, we think, have been spared much misery. Had he been warned that the flood of light which burst upon his mind was the false fire of insanity, not 'light from Heaven,' he might perhaps have escaped altogether that 'midnight of despair' into which he was afterwards plunged; at least it would have appeared to him less dense and black, if he had not dazzled himself before with its excess of glare.

The progress of his malady was natural. So long as the state of his bodily health produced light and happy sensations, his conversion was followed by experiences full of comfort. But strength of mind was consumed, never to be regained, in a vain attempt to keep up this spiritual revelry. The stimulus which at first was found sufficient to produce the desired effect, required to be augmented as the novelty wore off, and the imagination got jaded. Then a strife and agony of spirit became more and more necessary to produce the feelings of inspiration. Even these resources at last failed. If the illustration be allowable, the brilliant lights, the ravishing music, and the exquisite perfume could stimulate no longer. This excessive and prolonged excitement was followed by disease of body, and exhaustion of mind; the spirits of the poor visionary sank, and his religious comforts ceased altogether. Then became apparent another, alas! an enduring evil consequence of his previous ecstasies. His mind, long habituated to consider them as pledges of God's especial favour, and of his own election and call to salvation, when they were withdrawn, or, to speak more correctly, when a state of strong excitement was succeeded by exhaustion, considered itself rejected of God, fallen from grace, and given up to a reprobate spirit. From this time to the day of his death, the deep gloom of settled despair hung over him, and he was haunted with pining regrets after spiritual blessings which he believed himself to have enjoyed, accompanied with convictions that they were never to be restored, and with a soul-withering horror of eternal damnation.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

'The new year is already old in my account. I am not, indeed, sufficiently second-sighted to be able to boast by anticipation an acquaintance with the events of it yet unborn, but rest convinced that, be they what they may, not one of them comes a messenger of good to me. If even death itself should be of the number, he is no friend of mine. It is an alleviation of the woes even of an unenlightened man, that he can wish for death, and indulge a hope, at least, that in death he shall find deliverance. But, loaded as my life is with despair, I have no such comfort as would result from a supposed probability of better things to come, were it once ended. For, more unhappy than the traveller with whom I set out, pass through what difficulties I may, through whatever dangers

dangers and afflictions, I am not a whit the nearer home, unless a *dungeon* may be called so. This is no very agreeable theme; but in so great a dearth of subjects to write upon, and especially impressed as I am at this moment with a sense of my own condition, I could choose no other. The weather is an exact emblem of my mind in its present state. A thick fog envelopes every thing, and at the same time it freezes intensely. You will tell me that this cold gloom will be succeeded by a cheerful spring, and endeavour to encourage me to hope for a spiritual change resembling it;—but it will be lost labour. Nature revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. The hedge that has been apparently dead, is not so, it will burst into leaf and blossom at the appointed time; but no such time is appointed for the stake that stands in it. It is as dead as it seems, and will prove itself no dissembler. The latter end of next month will complete a period of eleven years in which I have spoken no other language. It is a long time for a man, whose eyes were once opened, to spend in darkness; long enough to make despair an inveterate habit, and such it is in me. My friends, I know, expect that I shall see yet again. They think it necessary to the existence of divine truth, that he who once had possession of it should never finally lose it. I admit the solidity of this reasoning in every case but my own. And why not in my own? For causes which to them it appears madness to allege, but which rest upon my mind with a weight of immoveable conviction. If I am recoverable, why am I thus? why crippled and made useless in the church, just at that time of life, when, my judgment and experience being matured, I might be most useful? Why cashiered and turned out of service, till, according to the course of nature, there is not life enough left in me to make amends for the years I have lost; till there is no reasonable hope left that the fruit can ever pay the expense of the fallow? I forestal the answer;—God's ways are mysterious, and he giveth no account of his matters;—an answer that would serve my purpose as well as theirs that use it. There is a mystery in my destruction, and in time it shall be explained.'—vol. i. pp. 307—310.

'Though others have suffered desertion, yet few, I believe, for so long a time, and perhaps none a desertion accompanied with such experiences. But they have this belonging to them; that as they are not fit for recital, being made up merely of infernal ingredients, so neither are they susceptible of it; for I know no language in which they could be expressed.* They are as truly things which it is not possible for man to utter, as those were which Paul heard and saw in the third heaven.—vol. ii. pp. 66, 67.

How far it might even yet have been possible to disabuse his judgment, by weakening his trust in the divine nature of his for-

* If our readers wish for a specimen of religious phantasmagoria, (which Cowper with good taste omits,) they may consult Southey's '*Life of Wesley*,' *passim*. But nothing to be found there equals the horrors of John Bunyan's '*Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners*,' in which he gives an account of his own fearful experiences. If they are scholars they will compare this picture of madness with that of the *Orestes* of Euripides.

mer assurances, must remain doubtful. The attempt was never made—his spiritual directors, on the contrary, supporting his belief in them, and encouraging his hopes of their return.

Whatever Cowper's religious opinions had been, he would not have escaped depression and despondency of mind. But while we are fully ready to admit this, we as firmly believe, that more scriptural and rational views would have given him motives, and therefore means of strengthening the powers of the mind by which the imagination is controuled—that they would have proved a support to him in the hour of trial, by supplying him with written promises on which his eye might rest, and which, according to a more sane faith, he would not have considered dependent for their efficacy on the vividness or dullness of his feelings;—above all, he would have escaped those unfounded hopes and fears which so bitterly aggravated his physical sufferings. Supposing he had gained only this last advantage, we have no doubt that the state of his mind would have been rendered infinitely less miserable than it was, surrounded by the horrors of superstition. It is no slight alleviation of despondency to have got rid of every thing but the physical evil—to be convinced that our suffering is altogether a bodily ailment, for which patience and composure of mind are amongst the best remedies, instead of irritating the disease by considering it a proof of moral reprobation. We speak from experience and observation, to the fact of such a conviction being possible, and being a great alleviation under deep depression of mind. In Cowper's case, the heavy anxiety of nervous disease was deepened into a religious horror by his peculiar opinions, and we consider ourselves warranted in asserting that much of his gloom may be attributed to those opinions.

What are called serious, or evangelical views, were as unfavourable to the happiness of Cowper in some of their favourite precepts of duty, as in the hopes and fears which peculiarly belong to them. We have had occasion already to observe, that, with all his restless vehemence of imagination, his affections were singularly tender, and his temper mild and sociable. By this happy compensation, as Paley would have called it, the endearments of domestic life were to his troubled spirit what the harpings of David were to the darker hour of Saul. A delicacy of taste, blended with this gentleness of disposition, which, united to less manliness of character, might have degenerated into fastidiousness, caused him to find an influence at once soothing and animating in the society of women of polished manners and cultivated minds. Indeed the perfect gracefulness, the inimitable tournure of expression with which he speaks of and to his female friends, whilst it shows a harmony of mind, convinces us that he felt

felt this influence. We are, therefore, not surprised at the manner in which he mentions the addition of so pleasing a woman as Lady Hesketh to a circle which seldom consisted of more lively persons than himself and Mrs. Unwin.

'I feel myself accordingly well content to say, without any enlargement on the subject, that an inquirer after happiness might travel far, and not find a happier trio, than meet every day, either in our parlour, or the parlour at the Vicarage. I will not say that mine is not occasionally somewhat dashed with the sable hue of those notions, concerning myself and my situation, that have occupied, or rather possessed me so long: but on the other hand, I can also affirm, that my Cousin's affectionate behaviour to us both, the sweetness of her temper, and the sprightliness of her conversation, relieve me in no small degree from the presence of them.'—vol. ii. p. 73.

It might have been expected from a friend, aware as Mr. Newton was of the importance and difficulty of at once soothing and animating Cowper, that he should rejoice at a circumstance so likely to promote these objects. In what light he saw the matter may be inferred from Cowper's letter to him:

'Your letter to Mrs. Unwin, concerning our conduct and the offence taken at it in our neighbourhood, gave us both a great deal of concern; and she is still deeply affected by it. Of this you may assure yourself, that if our friends in London have been grieved, they have been misinformed; which is the more probable, because the bearers of intelligence hence to London are not always very scrupulous concerning the truth of their reports; and that if any of our serious neighbours have been astonished, they have been so without the smallest real occasion. Poor people are never well employed even when they judge one another; but when they undertake to scan the motives and estimate the behaviour of those whom Providence has exalted a little above them, they are utterly out of their province and their depth. They often see us get into Lady Hesketh's carriage, and rather uncharitably suppose that it always carries us into a scene of dissipation, which, in fact, it never does. We visit, indeed, at Mr. Throckmorton's, and at Gayhurst; rarely, however, at Gayhurst, on account of the greater distance: more frequently, though not very frequently, at Weston, both because it is nearer, and because our business in the house that is making ready for us often calls us that way. The rest of our journeys are to Beaumont turnpike and back again; or, perhaps, to the cabinet-maker's at Newport. As Othello says,

The very head and front of my offending
Hath this extent, no more.

What good we can get or can do in these visits, is another question; which they, I am sure, are not at all qualified to solve. Of this we are both sure, that under the guidance of Providence we have formed these connexions; that we should have hurt the Christian cause, rather than have served it by a peevish abstinence from them; and that St. Paul himself, conducted to them as we have been, would have found it expedient

possible to have done as we have done. It is always impossible to conjecture, to much purpose, from the beginnings of a providence, in what it will terminate. If we have neither received nor communicated any spiritual good at present, while conversant with our new acquaintance, at least no harm has befallen on either side; and it were too hazardous an assertion even for our censorious neighbours to make, that, because the cause of the Gospel does not appear to have been served at present, therefore it never can be in any future intercourse that we may have with them. In the mean time I speak a strict truth, and as in the sight of God, when I say that we are neither of us at all more addicted to gadding than heretofore. We both naturally love seclusion from company, and never go into it without putting a force upon our disposition; at the same time I will confess, and you will easily conceive, that the melancholy incident to such close confinement as we have so long endured, finds itself a little relieved by such amusements as a society so innocent affords. You may look round the Christian world, and find few, I believe, of our station, who have so little intercourse as we with the world that is not Christian.

‘We place all the uneasiness that you have felt for us upon this subject, to the account of that cordial friendship of which you have long given us proof. But you may be assured that, notwithstanding all rumours to the contrary, we are exactly what we were when you saw us last:—I, miserable on account of God’s departure from me, which I believe to be final; and she, seeking his return to me in the path of duty, and by continual prayer. Yours, &c. W. C.’—vol. ii. pp. 81—84.

What must Mr. Newton have written to Cowper which could draw from him a letter of such irritated and mortified feeling! This minister of the Gospel of peace, whose duty it was to bind up, not to break the bruised reed; this friend, who knew how few comforts, and how many miseries surrounded Cowper—this man had been torturing his sensitive mind with all the malicious and low gossip of the censorious frequenters of the Olney love-feasts, and doubtless took occasion from them to warn the pure minded Cowper against all such *liaisons dangereuses*. We trust that we are in little danger of being thought to vindicate Platonic attachments, when we express our fullest indignation at such funatic cruelty. Cowper had before relinquished the friendship of an amiable woman, whose society had often cheered him in despondency, to appease the jealousy of Mrs. Unwin. Here was a sufficient cause for a painful sacrifice. But what can be said for the mixed motive of respect to such opinions as those of the religious coterie at Olney, and the mistaken hope of appeasing the Almighty by the sacrifice of human sympathies? It is the car of superstition, not of religion, which crushes under its wheels the kindly feelings of our nature.

Ὡς ἂν διδραχὴ τὴν Διὸς τυρανίδα
Στήρην, Φαιακῶν δὲ παῖσθαι τρέπον.

Prom. Vinc. l. 11.

In

In the same spirit also must Mr. Newton have expressed his disapprobation of the lighter amusement which arises from an occasional intercourse with people of the world, and from which Cowper had derived many innocently happy hours, such as he describes in his correspondence with Mr. Hill, and, though more reservedly, when writing to Mr. Newton.

'As to you, I have never seen so much of you since I saw you in London, where you and I have so often made ourselves merry with each other's humour, yet never gave each other a moment's pain by doing so.'—vol. i. p. 174.

'At present, however, I have no connections, at which either you, I trust, or any who love me and wish me well, have occasion to conceive alarm. Much kindness indeed I have experienced at the hands of several, some of them near relations, others not related to me at all; but I do not know that there is among them a single person from whom I am likely to catch contamination.'—vol. ii. p. 69.

In the same spirit Mr. Newton suggested doubts and objections, particularly dangerous to a man of the sensitive conscience and uncontrolled imagination of Cowper, of the innocence of his literary employments, (the only judicious, and consequently the only effective means, which Cowper ever took of contending with his malady,) and would have had him substitute religious ones for them.

'Ask possibilities and they shall be performed, but ask not hymns from a man suffering by despair as I do. I could not sing the Lord's song were it to save my life, banished as I am, not to a strange land, but to a remoteness from his presence, in comparison with which the distance from east to west is no distance, is vicinity and cohesion. I dare not, either in prose or verse, allow myself to express a frame of mind which I am conscious does not belong to me; least of all can I venture to use the language of absolute resignation, lest, only counterfeiting, I should for that very reason be taken strictly at my word, and lose all my remaining comfort.'—vol. ii. p. 133.

There was one comfort which Cowper's religious friends securely anticipated to him and themselves—that he would at least exhibit, not merely like Addison, how a christian, but how a serious christian, could die. It was contrary to all precedent that a converted man should despair to the last. A something was to be wrought, as Cowper expresses it, within the curtains of the dying man, that neither the doctor nor nurse were to understand. This was almost necessary, we believe, to establish the reality of his former call. That the fears of death are commonly dispelled at the near approach of it, except in cases of a heavily-laden conscience, (and not excepting *all*, even of such cases,) and succeeded by a perfect serenity of mind, we are well aware. That such

and even in the case with Cowper, adds another and most striking proof that, in him, physical despondency was the least part of his sufferings. "Death," says Mr. Gresham, "which he had for so long a period hourly expected, seemed hourly to be apprehended by him, which it really approached. His young friend and relative, commented that he would shortly exchange a world of infirmity and sorrow for a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, and repeatedly endeavoured to cheer him with the prospect, and to assure him of the happiness that awaited him. Still he refused to be comforted: 'Oh spare me! spare me! you know, you know it to be false,' was his only reply; with the same invincible despair to which he had so long been a prey."

Had the calm which spoke peace to the death-bed of Addison and Johnson been possible to the agonized mind of Cowper, we should have had a few minutes of tranquillity, perhaps of religious aspiration, brought forward triumphantly as a proof of the blessed consequences of those opinions which we have shown to have embittered his life. Even this weak support would have been valuable to a weak cause, but it was denied.

Some of our readers may condemn us for having dwelt on so painful a subject; the discussion of which can produce, it may be said, no practical result. But though Cowper is not living to benefit by our statement, and probably would pay little attention to it if he were, there are and always will be numbers exposed by like feelings and imaginations, and the false views of others, to similar errors and sufferings. To such persons we would address a few words of advice in addition to the warnings which we have set before them in Cowper's example.

In the first place, let us beg them to observe, carefully, whether the state of their feelings is not materially affected by their bodily health, and whether they do not find the former depressed in proportion as the latter is disordered. If they acknowledge this to be the case, we warn them against the weakness of supposing the health of their souls dependant on the state of their bodies; which they in fact do, by connecting the state of their salvation with the state of their spirits. They are guilty of the absurdity of making the favour of Heaven depend on a diseased liver, a weak stomach, or a checked perspiration. Let them go to Abernethy, and not to the tabernacle.

But if, in despite of our admonition, they will go to this latter place, let them at least carry with them a knowledge of their own weakness and danger. Let them be aware that they have a large proportion of a faculty called imagination, which has caused more absurdity and misery in the world than they are aware

awake them. Let them read Mrs. Southey's *Life of Wesley* attentively, and say how many of the wonders there recorded brought themselves inspired when they were only beside themselves; all this should be inclined to doubt the influence of the poems against which we are warning them, let them try the experiment of reading Mrs. Blackcliff's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, alone, at one's elbow in the morning, and by a rushlight, just to convince themselves that their imagination *can* be worked upon by unreal terrors; it might not be amiss to read Dugald Stewart's chapter on that faculty. But on this we do not insist.

We would now offer them a few words of advice respecting religious reading; and in doing so we drop all levity of manner. It is of great importance to them to observe in reading the scriptures, the striking difference between the dispensations of God in the times of our Saviour and his apostles, and in our own. When miracles were wrought on the bodies and minds of Christians, in order to establish the truth of the Gospel. That object being effected, miracles became rare, or ceased altogether. We must therefore be careful of applying expressions connected with a state of miraculous dispensation to the course of God's regular providence, whether physical or moral.—Another caution we would have them bear in mind when reading those parts of the scriptures which relate to human corruption. Let them observe that St. Paul's argument in his Epistle to the Romans is, that no man can claim forgiveness or reward on his own merits, because every man is a sinner in the sight of God. This argument would have been as perfect had it been addressed to the Jews in the time of David, or to the Romans in that of Scipio, as it was then. It is not necessary to the argument that the picture of Jewish and Roman depravity in the time of Tiberius (which is an historical fact) as we may see in Josephus and Tacitus should resemble human nature at all times. A man is not in greater or less need of a Saviour because he is more or less sinful, (for: whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, is guilty of all) nor is it necessary, and it is very far from being expedient if it is not necessary, to represent human nature as a mass of pollution, in order to make redemption the only means of salvation.—Again, sincere and deep gratitude is to be felt for this redemption by the free mercy of God; and the best proof of our feeling this gratitude will be a constant and earnest endeavour to conform our thoughts, words and actions to the will of Him who is the object of it. These are the indispensable effects, and the sacrifice of Christ is the only means, of salvation; and in forming our estimate of these, we must not only beware of that partial view which takes in devotion and overlooks the active duties of christianity;

credulity; but also of the common error respecting devotion, which makes it consist, not in a piety equally removed from indifference and enthusiasm, but in a passionate orgasm of the pathy; and of the not less common error respecting christian duty, which makes it consist, not in self-government, but in the mortifications of an ascetic discipline; not in that course of action which a merciful God has caused to be the most effectual proof of faith, whilst he has appointed it the indispensable condition of receiving eternal blessings, but in a course of suffering which would purchase eternal happiness by temporal misery.

We are well aware that in what we have said respecting the danger to which sincere and well-intentioned, but narrow-minded men may expose their friends, by forcing upon them their own views or feelings, as essential to 'vital religion,' little regard will be given to our warnings, if they are supposed to proceed from a persuasion that their own notions are extravagant and erroneous. No man is willing to believe this of himself: but, in fact, it is not necessary that he should, in order to perceive the unfairness of the Procrustean practice of stretching or curtailing every one to his own standard. Truth is, indeed, one; but the impressions and sentiments resulting from its reception must ever be various in various minds, and some such varieties are neither avoidable nor blameable.

One word more to the friends of those whom we have been advising—let them beware of using the slightest persecution. Independently of every other objection, it will defeat its object. Gibbon has well remarked, that persons of imagination are always positive; and we need not add, that to oppose a positive man is, generally, to confirm him in his opinion. But there is a reason for this positiveness in imaginative persons which Gibbon has not explained, and which, if we are successful in rendering it clear, will prove the propriety of our second caution. The premises from which the imaginative person reasons, perhaps correctly, will not be granted by the unimaginative person, and cannot be disproved by any argument that he can use. For example—a person declares that he has seen a ghost, and infers the probability of various ghost stories from the fact. Your never having seen a ghost in no way disproves his fact; nor do all the arguments which you can bring against the probability of such a fact, disprove it to him who knows it, so far as his impressions can be trusted, to be a fact. It is, therefore, not by reasoning from your premises that you will effect any thing in disproving his. The only thing to be done is, to put him in a way of being convinced that similar impressions have been fallacious, beginning with the most palpably absurd, and ascending by degrees till you arrive

arrive at the level of his own folly. Every person acquainted with the pride of human nature will believe, that this course of inductions will be attended to with less prejudice when set forth by a reasoning book than a dictating friend, and will therefore see the necessity of our second advice.

no less great excitability, and power of imagination be observed in childhood, much may be done by a sound discipline to restrain it. Let the child be protected from the sheeted spectres of sermons, and the boy from the Schidonia, and rattling curtains and palls, of romance writers. Let his first ideas of the Almighty be those of a God of mercy, who gives him every blessing—who offers himself to childhood under the most benign of characters, as taking little children in his arms, and putting his hands upon them and blessing them. Let him be taught to 'see God in storms and hear him in the wind,' notes the 'poor Indian,' but by having his mind tutored to trace the regular course of God's providence in the most striking phenomena of natural science: and we see no objection, and little difficulty, in explaining to him so much of metaphysics as may enable him to unravel the associations of darkness and the churchyard; to be on his guard against imagination, (that enemy in the citadel,) and not to abandon himself to the impulses of the outer without suspecting the contagion of sympathy. Will our northern friends allow us to recommend, in addition to the inductions with which we have supplied him, that his mind be trained in the school of an acute and severe logic, (that logic which they affect to despise as they do its inventor,) lest a fallacy in argument may bind him to some fanatical conclusion which he had not been betrayed into by association, imagination, or sympathy?

We have been led into a longer article than we intended. But we cannot think that either our own or our reader's time has been wasted, if it prevent a single individual from being seduced by the weakness of his nature into the absurdities and miseries of superstition, that most striking of all the instances that—*corruptio optima fit pessima*.

ART. IX.—*The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. 12mo. 3 vols. 1824.

THE *Adventures of Hajji Baba*, like the *Memoirs of Anastasius*, are intended to present us with a series of faithful and easy sketches of oriental scenery, manners, and life, under the agreeable veil of a fictitious narrative; to beguile us into familiarity with the peculiar and expressive features of society in countries dearest to the imagination; and, rejecting all pretence of formal instruction, to communicate the authentic but scattered

results

details of detailed observation and experience, through the medium of a connected and amusing story. The two novels are not only perfect accordance. In the theatre of action, in the development of national characteristics, in tone of mind and colouring of sentiment, in all the essentials of originality, they are totally distinct, and the common fashion, into which both writers have wrought the materials of knowledge and fancy, is altogether independent of the intrinsic worth of their stores, and the quality of their workmanship. Considered only as a tale abounding in detached situations of deep and fearful excitement, delineating the storms of passion and crime with appalling fidelity, and displaying an intimate acquaintance with the darkest workings of the human heart, *Anastasius* is unquestionably the production of greatest vigour and power; nor is there any thing in the simple and quiet tenor of the narrative before us, which can challenge competition with those outbursts of splendid imagery and beautiful language, those vivid and poetical descriptions of nature, and that shrewd and sarcastic illustration of character, which are frequently the peculiar charm of Mr. Hope's composition. As a novel, therefore, *Anastasius*, with all its inequalities, its occasional defects of imperfect connexion and improbability, of dullness and prolixity, must bear away the palm:—but here its superiority terminates. As a map of manners, as the effort of a foreigner to impregnate his style of thought and opinion, his imagination and even his diction, with the singularities of oriental habits and mind and expression—in a word, to clothe his ideas and language in the complete costume of the east—the *Memoirs of the Greek* must yield in the perfection of dramatic truth and propriety to the adventures of the pure Asiatic before us.

We have subjected these little volumes, as far as regards the measure of their agreement with eastern manners and characteristics, to the test of a severe examination, which would have been unfair, if it had not been in some degree invited by the introduction prefixed by the author to his work. After perusing his narrative, we turned over the pages of several of the tales in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*; which, of all the books that have ever been published on the subject, give, as he remarks, the truest picture of the orientals, because the collection is the work of one of their own community; and it is really curious to observe how exactly he has identified the current of the hero's fortunes, the character of his adventures and associates; the customs, feelings, and opinions of his country, with the examples of every day eastern life, which may be gathered from these singular chronicles of Asiatic manners. Nor has the hand of time obliterated a single

the perfection of this resemblance between the past and the present. But Asia is the only part of the universe where the scene of society continues, changes, and imperishably amidst the revolutions of ages and the iron of empires. In the one respect, our author's sketches differ essentially from the picture-books of the *Thousand and One Nights*. The information on oriental customs which may be gleaned from these beautiful tales of fiction, must be caught entirely from passing allusions and references to the ordinary habits of the great Asiatic family; but such allusions, in tales originally composed for the vulgar amusement of eastern listeners, necessarily presuppose a familiar acquaintance with all those peculiarities of society among themselves, which, to an European reader, are the principal objects of research. It follows, then, that, although these narratives, of wild imagination and wondrous interest, by being stripped of their endless repetitions and clothed in an European garb, have been brought as nearly as practicable to the level of our address and comprehension, there are yet many things in them which it is impossible for any one thoroughly to understand who has not lived some time in the east, and enjoyed frequent opportunities of mingling with its inhabitants. The improbabilities and extravagance of the incidents in the *Arabian Nights* have, further, a tendency to destroy that air of reality and truth which it is so desirable to preserve in the illustration of life, where the design is at once to please the imagination, and inform the understanding. It would of course never enter into the deliberate intention of a genuine Asiatic novelist to enlighten the stranger in the fringes of common manners among his countrymen; and, on the other hand, the didactic reports of a traveller must be too general in their nature, too cold and feeble in their effect, to leave very satisfactory impressions on the mind.

The author of the *Adventures of Hajji Baba* has certainly done much to remove the deficiencies of these opposite sources of knowledge. He has shrouded the habiliments of the traveller under an impenetrable oriental disguise, and has very happily contrived to connect such a description as a Persian might naturally give of his adventures, with explanations of customs which seem to drop from him by accident, and as it were unconsciously, in the course of his story. The keeping of the assumed character appears to us perfect: the tone of the narrative is exclusively oriental, and the turn of expression in the numerous dialogues so appropriate that it is rarely possible to detect a thorough homely Anglicism in their form. In other respects, the composition is always unaffected, and, we must add, sometimes unpardonably careless and incorrect. The work, on the whole, however, is one which,

which, without being in any way remarkable for great force of invention, or extraordinary insight into human nature, could have been composed only after long residence in Persia, and shrewd observation of the natives. The high diplomatic situations in which the author was placed, gave him opportunities that Europeans have seldom enjoyed of communication with all ranks of the liveliest and most intelligent people of the east; and perhaps there are not, besides himself, more than two individuals in this country who could have amused us with similar illustrations of Persian life. Of the truth of his portraits, and the genuineness of the colouring, we have before us a valuable testimony, in the declaration of one of these accurate judges, that the book is 'as true a picture of Persians, of their manners, their conversation, and their character, as could possibly be painted; and that he felt confident he could sit down and, as it was read to him, put the colloquies verbatim into the present idiomatic language of Persia.'

We shall not conduct our readers minutely through all the adventures of the Persian; but, contenting ourselves with tracing a rapid outline of the story, shall afterwards extract and group a few of its most striking delineations of national manners, customs and character.—Hajji Baba is the son of a barber at Ispahan; and is indebted for the first of these names (the pilgrim) to the accident of his birth having taken place while his parents were performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of Hosein. This designation, which was given to please his mother, who spoilt him, procured for him during life a great deal of unmerited respect; 'because, in fact, that honoured title is seldom conferred on any but those who have made the great pilgrimage to the tomb of the blessed Prophet at Mecca.' He is taught to read the Koran, and to write a legible hand by a *mollah*, or priest, whom his father was wont to shave 'for the love of Allah;' and, at the age of sixteen, quits the paternal roof to see the world in the suite of Osman Aga, a Bagdad merchant, who was journeying with a caravan to purchase lambkins at Meshed in Khorassan. After reaching in safety Tehran, the modern capital of Persia, the caravan is attacked on the road between that place and Meshed by a horde of Turcoman robbers, and Hajji and his master are led captives into the desert.

In this situation the son of the barber tastes the lot of slavery in all its bitterness, until his dexterity in his paternal vocation gains for him some degree of favour from the Tartar chief; who, having been accustomed to have his hair clipped with the same instrument which sheared his sheep, and who knew of no greater luxury than that of being mutilated by some country barber, felt himself in paradise under his hands. Though still narrowly watched, our hero resolves to use the liberty, which the confidence

desire appeared in his might afford, to run away on the very first favourable opportunity; and, in the mean time, he exercises his ingenuity in rescuing from the hands of the Turcomans, the turban into which his old master, Osman, had sewn his money, and displays his dishonesty in appropriating to himself the ducats which its lining contained. We notice this trait in elucidation, once for all, of his character; for our friend Hajji is not the most scrupulous of mortals, and appears, though he does not say so, to give a wondrous latitude to the declaration of the Prophet of Islam, that 'the hand shall not be cut off for stealing dates, palm fruits, or victuals,' simply substituting, in his application of the lenient precept, the means of purchasing these creature comforts for the things themselves. The character of the adventurer is, indeed, altogether exceedingly well devised for the purpose of the volumes. Notwithstanding the confession of the author, that he has 'worked upon the plan of that excellent picture of European life, *Gil Blas*,' we do not think that his pencil exhibits any great portion of the vigour and tact which struck off an accomplished French rogue in a Spanish doublet. But he has adroitly ascribed to his vagabond hero a mixture, which is often found in the same mind, of cunning and simplicity, fraud and good nature, temerity and cowardice; a carelessness of right and wrong, without cold blooded systematic depravity; an absence of all rectitude of principle, without positive malignity of heart. Hajji is the scoundrel of real life, not the remorseless and unnatural villain of romance. The creature of circumstances, the shifting hues of his character harmonize admirably with the various colouring of his fortunes, and increase the freshness and vivacity of the scenes in which he is depicted.

Before Hajji Baba can escape from the Turcomans, he is compelled to accompany them in a secret and predatory expedition against his native city, and to act as their guide to the plunder of the caravanserai of Ispahan. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion, is the court poet, who had stopt at the caravanserai on his journey to the capital; and the adventurer forms an acquaintance with him, which he afterwards finds productive of advantage. Worn out with expectation, Hajji, to effect his liberation from the Turcomans, suffers himself, as a last resource, to be taken prisoner by the escort of one of the sons of the Shah, who is crossing the desert to his government of Meshed. He is plundered of his old master's ducats, beaten where he looked for protection, and obliged, on his arrival at Meshed, to turn *saka*, or water-carrier. A sprain which he receives in his back compels him to forsake this labour; and his next transformation is into an itinerant vender of smoke. But his frauds in adulterating his tobacco are detected

detected by the ~~master~~ of Meshed—the officer whose duty it is in Persia to perambulate the streets, and examine weights, measures, and the quality of provisions,—and poor Hajji incurs the bastinado. This taste of correction sickens him of smoke-selling, and of Meshed; and his next profession is that of a wandering dervish, into the mysteries of which he had been initiated by some of his associates of the order. After a series of adventures savouring more or less of knavery, Hajji reaches Tehran, where he quits the garb of a dervish, and is recommended by his old friend the court poet, on his return from captivity, to Mirza Ahmak, the Shah's Hakim Bashi, or chief physician, who takes him into his service.

His adventures in this situation constitute, we think, the most interesting part of the tale. The intrigues of Mirza Ahmak to destroy the influence which the physician of a 'Frank ambassador' was acquiring over the Shah; the description of the Hakim Bashi's family; the politics of his household; the ceremonial of a visit with which the monarch honours and half ruins his doctor; and the story of an amour between Hajji and the fair Zeenab, one of the slaves of his master's harem, are all points of curiosity, humour, or graver interest. The result of this last affair forms the only tragical incident in the tale; and the catastrophe is certainly wrought with considerable power. During the visit of the Shah to the harem of the doctor—for it seems that the eastern sanctity of such a retreat is, in Persia, no protection against the royal intrusion—Zeenab has the misfortune to attract the notice of the monarch, and is presented to him by the physician as an acceptable offering. The previous frailty of the unhappy girl with Hajji betrays itself by its consequences after she has entered the royal palace; she is put to death by the command of the enraged Shah; and her lover, who has meanwhile obtained a place in the mounted guard of 'the chief executioner,' is a witness of her fate. But we must give this passage as it stands:

'While in the middle of our conversation, one of the Shah's eunuchs came up to me, and said that his chief had been ordered to see that the sub-lieutenant to the chief executioner, with five men, were in waiting at the foot of the high tower at the entrance of the harem, at the hour of midnight; and that they were to bring a *taboot*, or hand-bier, with them, to bear away a corpse for interment.

'All I could say in answer was "*be cheshm*" (by my eyes); and lucky was it for me that he quitted me immediately, that Mirza Ahmak had also left me, and that it was dusk, or else the fear and anguish which overwhelmed me upon hearing this message must have betrayed me." A cold sweat broke out all over my body, my eyes swam, my knees knocked under me, and I should perhaps have fallen into a swoon, if the counter

fear

seat of being put in the whole state, in the very centre of the palace, had not moved me.

"What," said I to myself, "is it not enough that I have been the cause of her death, must I be her executioner too? must I be the grave-digger to my own child? must I be the ill-fated he who is to stretch her cold limbs in the grave, and send my own life's blood back again to its mother earth? Why am I called upon to do this, oh cruel, most cruel destiny? Cannot I fly from the horrid scene? Cannot I rather run a dagger into my heart? But no, 'tis plain my fate is ordained; sealed, fixed! and in vain I struggle,—I must fulfil the task appointed for me! O world, world! what art thou, and how much more wouldst thou be known, if each man was to lift up the veil that hideth his own actions, and show himself as he really is!"

With these feelings, oppressed as if the mountain of Demawend and all its sulphurs were on my heart, I went about my work doggedly, collecting the several men who were to be my colleagues in this bloody tragedy; who, heedless and unconcerned at an event of no unfrequent occurrence, were indifferent whether they were to be the bearers of a murdered corpse, or themselves the instruments of murder.

The night was dark and lowering, and well suited to the horrid scene about to be acted. The sun, unusual in these climates, had set, surrounded by clouds of the colour of blood; and, as the night advanced, they rolled on in unceasing thunders over the summits of the adjacent range of Alborz. At sudden intervals the moon was seen through the dense vapour, which covered her again as suddenly, and restored the night to its darkness and solemnity. I was seated lonely in the guard-room of the palace, when I heard the cries of the sentinels on the watch-towers, announcing midnight, and the voices of the muezzins from the mosques, the wild notes of whose chant floating on the wind, ran through my veins with the chilling creep of death, and announced to me that the hour of murder was at hand! They were the harbingers of death to the helpless woman. I started up,—I could not bear to bear them more;—I rushed on in desperate haste, and as I came to the appointed spot, I found my five companions already arrived, sitting unconcerned on and about the coffin that was to carry my Zeenab to her eternal mansion. The only word which I had power to say to them was "Shoud?" Is it done? to which they answered, "*Ne shoud*," it is not done. To which ensued an awful silence. I had hoped that all was over, and I should have been spared every other horror, excepting that of conducting the melancholy procession to the place of burial; but no, the deed was still to be done, and I could not retreat.

On the confines of the apartments allotted to the women in the Shah's palace stands a high octagonal tower, some thirty feet in height, seen conspicuous from all parts of the city, at the summit of which is a chamber, in which he frequently reposes and takes the air. It is surrounded by unappropriated ground, and the principal gate of the harem is close to its base. On the top of all is a terrace (a spot, ah! never by me to be forgotten!) and it was to this that our whole attention was now rivetted. I had scarcely arrived, when, looking up, we saw three figures,

figures, two men and a female, whose forms were lighted up by an occasional gleam of moonshine, that shone in a wild and uncertain manner upon them. They seemed to drag their victim between them with much violence, whilst she was seen in attitudes of supplication, on her knees, with her hands extended, and in all the agony of the deepest desperation. When they were at the brink of the tower her shrieks were audible, but so wild, so varied by the blasts of wind that blew round the building, that they appeared to me like the sounds of laughing madness.

"We all kept a dead and breathless silence: even my five ruffians seemed moved—I was transfixed like a lump of lifeless clay, and if I am asked what my sensations were at the time, I should be at a loss to describe them,—I was totally inanimate, and still I knew what was going on. At length, one loud, shrill, and searching scream of the bitterest woe was heard, which was suddenly lost in an interval of the most frightful silence. A heavy fall, which immediately succeeded, told us that all was over. I was then roused, and with my head confused, half crazed and half conscious, I immediately rushed to the spot, where my Zeenab lay struggling, a mangled and mutilated corpse. She still breathed, but the convulsions of death were upon her, and her lips moved as if she would speak, although the blood was fast flowing from her mouth. I could not catch a word, although she uttered sounds that seemed like words. I thought she said, "My child! my child!", but perhaps it was an illusion of my brain. I hung over her in the deepest despair, and having lost all sense of prudence and of self preservation, I acted so much up to my own feelings, that if the men around me had the smallest suspicion of my real situation, nothing could have saved me from destruction. I even carried my phrensy so far as to steep my handkerchief in her blood, saying to myself, "this, at least, shall never part from me!" I came to myself, however, upon hearing the shrill and demon-like voice of one of her murderers from the tower's height, crying out—"Is she dead?" "Ay, as a stone," answered one of my ruffians. "Carry her away, then," said the voice. "To hell yourself," in a suppressed tone, said another ruffian; upon which my men lifted the dead body into the taboot, placed it upon their shoulder, and walked off with it to the burial-ground without the city, where they found a grave ready dug to receive it. I walked mechanically after them, absorbed in most melancholy thoughts, and when we had arrived at the burial-place, I sat myself down on a gravestone, scarcely conscious of what was going on. I watched the operations of the Nasackchiehs with a sort of unmeaning stare; saw them place the dead body in the earth; then shovel the mould over it; then place two stones, one at the feet and the other at the head. When they had finished, they came up to me and said "that all was done:" to which I answered, "go home, I will follow." They left me seated on the grave, and returned to the town.

"The night continued dark, and distant thunders still echoed through the mountains. No other sound was heard, save now and then the infant-

infant-like cries of the jekell, that now in packs, and then by twos or three at the time, kept prowling round the mansions of the dead.

The longer I remained near the grave, the less I felt inclined to return to my home, and to my horrid employment of executioner. I loathed my existence, and longed to be so secluded from the world, and from all dealing with those of high authority in it, that the only scheme which I could relish was that of becoming a real Dervish, and passing the rest of my days in penitence and privations. Besides, the fear of having disclosed, both by my words and actions, how much I was involved in the fate of the deceased, came across my mind, and added to my repugnance of returning.—vol. ii. pp. 295, 303.

Under the influence of these feelings he flies from Tehran, finds himself suspected and pursued as the paramour of the poor victim, and takes refuge in the sanctuary of Kom—the tomb of Fatiméh—a spot of peculiar veneration to the Persians, who, we need not remind the reader, differ from the standard of Mahomedan orthodoxy in the almost divine honours which they pay to the daughter of the Prophet and her husband Ali. Remaining in the security of this retreat until he contrives to obtain the pardon of the Shah, Hajji recovers his spirits, and gets into high odour with the priesthood of the place by his hypocrisy. He then quits the sanctuary and determines to revisit his native city. On his arrival at Ispahan he finds his father on his deathbed, and his mother preparing to defraud him of his inheritance which the savings of the barber had swollen to a considerable amount. The scene which follows, of the old man's death and funeral, the accomplishment of the days of mourning for him, and the employment of a diviner to discover where his money was concealed, bears the indubitable stamp and peculiar colouring of Asiatic manners.

Hajji, with the portion of his father's earnings which he succeeds in rescuing from the grasp of his surviving parent, quits Ispahan, and we must hasten over the sequel of his adventures. We find him successively scribe to a celebrated man of the law; ignominiously expelled from Tehran with his master for raising a fanatical sedition against the Christians; compelled, that he may not be accused of murder, to personate the chief priest of Persia whom he discovers dead in the public bath; and shining in turn as thief, vagabond, and travelling merchant. In this last capacity he visits Constantinople, passes himself on the young widow of a Turkish emir for a man of vast wealth, and becomes her husband. He is completely successful in his work of imposture, until vanity leads him to display his new grandeur among his countrymen at their bazaar, when he is betrayed by their envy, detected, and disgraced. In his first moment of confusion his wife's relatives frighten him into signing a deed of divorce. Upon reflection, however, he re-
pents

power of having been intimidated into the renunciation of his bride, and resolves to seek redress for the conduct of her relatives, through the interference of the ambassador of his sovereign who had recently arrived on a mission to the Sublime Porte. He demands an audience of the envoy, relates the story of his fortune-hunting and its punishment, and charms his volatile countryman with the ingenuity of his deception upon the Turks. The ambassador declines interference, but takes him into his service; carries him back to Persia; and, from that moment, the prosperity of the adventurer is uninterrupted. He rises rapidly into favour at the court of Persia, becomes useful to the grand vizier in various intrigues, and appears to have taken his leave of misfortune, when the tale abruptly terminates with his arrival at his native city of Ispahan, no longer Hajji the son of the barber, but Mirza Hajji Baba, the deputy of the king of kings.

This is but a faint outline of the tale, but it may serve to explain our remark that its vicissitudes, without possessing any very enchain- ing interest, are sufficiently calculated for those illustrations of Persian life with which the volumes are filled. A fund of curious information on the domestic manners of the country might be gathered from almost every chapter, but we have only space to notice a few sketches at random. The amour of Hajji and Zeenab introduces the bachelor, and with him his readers, into the mysteries of his master's harem.

“ Having never seen more of the interior of an *anderûn* than what I recollected as a boy in my own family, I became surprised, and my curiosity was greatly excited in proportion as the fair Zeenab proceeded in her narrative of the history of her life in the doctor's house. “ We are five in the harem, besides our mistress,” said she: “ there is Shireen, the Georgian slave; then Nûr Jehan, the Ethiopian slave girl; Fatmeh, the cook; and old Leilah, the duenna. My situation is that of hand-maid to the *khanum*, so my mistress is called: I attend her pipe, I hand her her coffee, bring in the meals, go with her to the bath, dress and undress her, make her clothes, spread, sift, and pound tobacco, and stand before her. Shireen, the Georgian, is the *sandukdar*, or house-keeper; she has the care of the clothes of both my master and mistress, and indeed of the clothes of all the house; she superintends the expenses, lays in the corn for the house, as well as all the other provisions; she takes charge of all the porcelain, the silver, and other ware; and, in short, has the care of whatever is either precious or of consequence in the family. Nûr Jehan, the black slave, acts as *ferash*, or carpet-spreader: she does all the dirty work, spreads the carpets, sweeps the rooms, sprinkles the water over the courtyard, helps the cook, carries parcels and messages, and, in short, is at the call of every one. As for old Leilah, she is a sort of duenna over the young slaves; she is employed in the out-of-door service, carries on any little affair that the

khanum

khanum may have with other harems, and is also supposed to be a spy upon the actions of the doctor. Such as we are, our days are passed in peevish disputes; whilst, at the same time, some two of us are usually leagued in strict friendship, to the exclusion of the others. At this present moment I am at open war with the Georgian, who, some time ago, found that her good luck in life had forsaken her, and she in consequence continued to procure a talisman from a dervish. She had no sooner obtained it, than on the very next day the khanum presented her with a new jacket; this so excited my jealousy, that I also made interest with the dervish to supply me with a talisman that should secure me a good husband. On that very same evening I saw you on the terrace. Conceive my happiness! But this has established a rivalry between myself and Shireen, which has ended in hatred, and we are now mortal enemies: perhaps we may as suddenly be friends again. I am now on the most intimate terms with Nûr Jehân, and at my persuasion she reports to the khanum every story unfavourable to my rival. Some rare sweetmeats, with *baklava* (sweet cake) made in the royal seraglio, were sent a few days ago from one of the Shah's ladies, as a present to our mistress; the rats ate a great part of them, and we gave out that the Georgian was the culprit, for which she received several blows on the feet, which Nûr Jehân administered. I broke my mistress's favourite drinking-cup, Shireen incurred the blame, and was obliged to supply another; I know that she is plotting against me, for she is eternally closed with Leilah, who is at present the confidante of our mistress. I take care not to eat or drink any thing which has passed through her hands to me, for fear of poison, and she returns me the same compliment. It is not, that our hatred amounts to poison yet, but such precautions are constantly in use in all harems. We have as yet only once come to blows: she excited me to violent anger by spitting, and saying, "*lahnet be Shireen*," curse be on the devil! which you know to the Yezedies is a gross insult; when I fell upon her, calling her by every wicked name that I had learnt in Persian, and fastening upon her hair, of which I pulled out whole tresses by the roots. We were parted by Leilah, who came in for her share of abuse, and we continued railing at each other until our passions were quite dried up with rage and exhaustion. Our violence has much abated since this conflict; but her enmity is undiminished, for she continues to show her spite against me in every manner she can devise.—vol. i. pp. 255—259.

The absence of the khanum with her women at a funeral, leaving Zeenab in charge of her apartments, affords Hajji an occasion of penetrating into the inmost recesses of the harem: the scene is curiously and minutely painted.

"I first went into the apartment of the khanum herself. It opened upon the garden by an immense *sâfi* window, composed of stained glass; and in the corner was the accustomed seat of the lady, marked by a thick felt carpet, folded double, and a large down cushion, covered with cloth of gold, with two tassels at the extremities, and veiled by a thin outer covering of muslin. Near this seat was a looking-glass, prettily painted,

painted, and a box containing all sorts of curiosities; the *surmé* (collyrium) for the eyes, with its small instrument for applying it; some Chinese rouge; a pair of armlets, containing talismans; a *toi zoulfek*, or an ornament to hitch in the hair, and hang on the forehead; a knife, scissors, and other things. A guitar and a tambourine lay close at hand. Her bed, rolled up in a distant corner, was enclosed in a large wrapper of blue and white cloth. Several pictures, without frames, were hung against the walls, and the shelf which occupied the top of the room was covered with different sorts of glasses, basins, &c. In a corner were seen several bottles of Shiraz wine, one of which, just stopped with a flower, appeared to have been used by the good lady that very morning; most likely in order to keep up her spirits during the melancholy ceremony she was about to attend.

"So," said I to myself, "the prophet is not much heeded in this house. I shall know another time how to appreciate a sanctified and mortified look. Our doctor, who calls himself a staunch mussulman, I see makes up for his large potations of cold water and sherbet abroad, by his good stock of wine at home."

"By the time I had satisfied my curiosity here, and had inspected the other rooms, which belonged to the servants, Zeenab had prepared our breakfast, which she placed before us in the *khasum's* room. We sat down next to each other, and reposed upon the very cushion of which I have just given the description. Nothing could be more delicious than the meal which she had prepared; there was a dish of rice, white as snow, and near it a plate of roast meat, cut into small bits, wrapped up in a large flap of bread; then a beautiful Japahan melon, in long slices; some pears and apricots; an omelette warmed from a preceding meal; cheese, onions, and leeks; a basin of sour curds, and two different sorts of sherbet; added to this, we had some delicious sweetmeats, and a basin full of new honey."

"How, in the name of your mother," exclaimed I, as I pulled up my whiskers, and surveyed the good things before me, "how have you managed to collect all this so soon? This is a breakfast fit for the Shah."—vol. i. pp. 266—269.

Dervishes are prominent actors in the varied series of Hajji's adventures, as they doubtless always are in the lower ranks of Persian society. A more abandoned brood of impostors was never hatched by any false religion, if we may judge from the testimony of the well informed writer before us; but, with all our conviction of his fidelity, his report would be almost incredible, if their barefaced fraud and successful practices upon the ignorance of the people were not exposed by every eastern traveller. We shall give one of his portraits.

Dervish Sefer (for that was his name) was a man of a peculiar aspect. He had a large aquiline nose, piercing black eyes, a thick beard, and a great quantity of jet black hair flowing over his shoulders. His conical cap was embroidered all over with sentences from the Koran, and holy invocations; the skin of a red deer was fastened loosely upon his

his back, with the hairy side outwards; he bore in hand a long steel staff, which he generally carried on his shoulder, and in the other a calabash, suspended by three chains, which he extended whenever he deigned to ask the charity of passengers. In his girdle he wore large agate clasps, from which hung a quantity of heavy wooden beads; and as he swung himself along through the streets and bazars, there was something of wildness and solicitude in all his words and actions, that he did not fail to inspire a certain awe in all beholders. This, I afterwards learnt, was put on to suit the character which he had adopted; for when he smoked my pipes, if no one chanced to be present, he was the most natural and unreserved of beings. Our acquaintance soon improved into intimacy, and at length he introduced me into a small circle of dervishes, men of his own turn and profession, with whom he lived almost exclusively, and I was invited to frequent their meetings. It is true that this did not suit my views in the smoking line, for they together consumed more of my good tobacco than did the rest of my other customers put together; but their society was so agreeable, that I could not resist the temptation.

‘Dervish Sefer, one evening when we had smoked more than usual, said to me, “Hajji Baba, you are too much of a man to be a seller of smoke off your life;—why do you not turn dervish, like us? We hold men’s beards as cheap as dirt; and although our existence is precarious, yet it is one of great variety, as well as of great idleness. We look upon mankind as fair game—we live upon their weakness and credulity; and, from what I have seen of you, I think you would do honour to our profession, and in time become as celebrated as even the famous sheikh Saadi himself.” This speech was applauded by the other two, who pressed my entering upon their profession. I was nothing loth, but I pleaded my ignorance of the necessary qualifications. “How is it possible,” said I, “that a being so ignorant and unexperienced as I am, can at once attain to all the learning requisite for a dervish? I know how to read and write, ’tis true; I have gone through the koran, and have my Hafiz and Saadi nearly by heart; besides which, I have read a great part of the Shah Nameh of Ferdusi, but beyond that I am totally ignorant.” “Ah, my friend,” said Dervish Sefer, “little do you know of dervishes, and still less of human kind. It is not great learning that is required to make a dervish; assurance is the first ingredient. With one-fiftieth part of the accomplishments that you have mentioned, and with only a common share of effrontery, I promise you, that you may command not only the purses, but even the lives of your hearers. By impudence I have been a prophet, by impudence I have wrought miracles; by impudence I have restored the dying to health—by impudence, in short, I lead a life of great ease, and am feared and respected by those who, like you, do not know what dervishes are. If I chose to give myself the trouble, and incur the risks which Mahomed himself did, I might even now become as great a prophet as he. It would be as easy for me to cut the moon in two with my fingers, as it was for him, provided I once made my hearers have confidence in me; and impudence

dence will do that, and more, if exerted in a proper manner."—vol. i. pp. 102—105.

Upon the state of religious opinion in Persia, the whole tendency of the work is to strengthen the impression which we had previously received from other sources, of the general indifference of the people, or at least of the most intelligent portion of them, to the creed of Mahommed. The vulgar hatred of the Persians towards the Turks and other Sunnites or orthodox Mussulmans, which in the time of Chardin was a national characteristic, remains indeed in full force to this day; and the feeling probably will long survive, after the fanaticism which gave it birth has expired. But neither the great men of the court, nor the better informed Persians in general, regard the tenets of the established faith with much deference; and though in public they carefully observe the external forms of their ritual law, they appear to have little respect for its substance. They are in the habit of discussing the injunctions and dogmas of the koran with a freedom that sometimes borders upon impiety, and Sir John Malcolm and other travellers have often felt surprise at a license of conversation so uncommon in other Mahomedan countries. The tolerant disposition of the higher ranks of the Persian faith is a subject of constant irritation with the priesthood. They rail at all communication with heretics and infidels, and endeavour, by a display of bigotry and intolerance, to obtain an importance with the lower orders of the people, which is denied to them by the more enlightened classes. The mollahs or regular Mahomedan clergy do not appear in more favourable colours in the description of Hajji, than their despised and wandering brethren or rivals the dervishes. This is particularly observable in the account (vol. ii. pp. 378—385) of an audience with which the adventurer, under one of his various transformations, is honoured by the chief priest at the sanctuary of Kom, a man of extraordinary reputation for wisdom and piety. It is curious, both because it is evidently intended to illustrate a general spirit of fanaticism in the priestly order of Persia, and as it shews the author's command of the tone and phraseology of oriental discourse; but we have no room for it.

The unreserved manner in which the articles of the Mussulman creed are openly attacked in Persian society, has sometimes inspired Christians of sanguine temperament, with the belief and hope that the cause of truth would find ready converts in this part of the eastern world. In noticing this opinion on a former occasion,* we ventured to express our doubts of its correctness,

* Quarterly Review, Vol. XXV. p. 449.

and to deduce the complacency with which the inquisitive Persian is ever willing to listen to the exposition of Christianity, more from indifference towards his national faith, than from any deep concern about his spiritual condition. Levity of soul and of principle is his prominent characteristic. Eager to gratify his passion for novelty with whatever is strange and animating to his curiosity; loving the excitement of new ideas; profuse of compliment and unmeaning profession; gay, witty, voluble, and insincere, he is completely the oriental Frenchman. If we have experienced disappointment in any part of our author's delineation of the national character, it is that he has scarcely invested it with the volatility of spirit and acuteness of intellect which all modern travellers have agreed in ascribing to it. The humour of Hajji Baba is sly, insinuating, sedate; the key of his own cheerfulness is seldom raised to an unison with the true Persian vivacity. Once only has he inspired a Persian with that fervour of spirit and keen relish for the ridiculous which contrast him with the grave and phlegmatic Turk. This person is Mirza Firouz, the ambassador of the Shah at the Ottoman court, to whom Hajji carries his complaint of the conduct of his Turkish wife's relatives; and the portrait of the man is altogether so finished a likeness of the travelled and mercantile Persian, that we are persuaded the author chose a particular individual to sit for it.

'The ambassador, by name Mirza Firouz, was by birth a Shirazi, of respectable though not of high parentage, excepting in the instance of his mother, who was sister to a former grand vizier of great power, who, in fact, had been the means of placing the Shah upon his throne. The mirza married his cousin, a daughter of the said vizier; and this led to his being employed in the government, though he had previously undergone many vicissitudes, which had caused him to travel into various countries. This circumstance, however, was one of the reasons of his being selected by the Shah to transact his business at foreign courts. "He is a man of a quick and penetrating mind," said my informant. "irascible, but easy to soothe, of a tender and forgiving nature, although in his first anger led to commit acts of violence. He is gifted with the most overwhelming powers of speech, which always are sure to get him out of the scrapes into which his indiscreet use of them very frequently leads him. To his servants and followers he is kind and the contrary by turns. Sometimes he permits them to do and say every thing which they choose, at other, he keeps at a most chilling distance. But, on the whole, he is easy of access, of agreeable commerce, of most fascinating manners, and of a joyous and sociable nature."

'Such was the man into whose presence I was conducted. He was seated in a corner, after the manner of Persia; therefore I could not ascertain what his height might be, but his bust was extremely fine. His head was symmetrically placed on his shoulders, which were blended in an easy curve with his neck; whilst his tight dress helped to give

great breadth to his breast. His face was one of the handsomest I had ever seen amongst my countrymen, his nose aquiline, his eyes large and sparkling, his teeth and mouth exquisite, and his beard the envy of all beholders. In short, as a specimen of the country he represented, none could have been better selected.

When we had interchanged our greetings as true believers, he said to me, "Are you an Irani?"

"Yes," said I, "so please you."

"Then why in looks an Osmanli?" said he. "Praise be to Allah, that we have a king and a country of whom no one need be ashamed."

"Yes," answered I, "your ordonnances are truth and I have become less than a dog, since I have put on the airs of a Turk. My days have been passed in bitterness, and my liver has melted into water, since I have entangled myself by a connexion with this hated people; and my only refuge is in God and you."

"How is this?" said he: "speak. Has a child of Ispahan (for such you are by your accent) been taken in by a Turk? This is wonderful indeed! We travel all this way to make them feed upon our abomination, not to learn to eat theirs."

I then related the whole of my adventures, from the beginning to the end. As I proceeded he seemed wonderfully interested. When I got to my marriage he became much amused, and roared with laughter at the settlements I had made on my wife. The account I gave of the entertainment, the respect with which I was treated, my magnificence and grandeur, afforded him great delight; and the more I descanted upon the deception which I had practised upon the cows of Turks, as he called them, the more interest he took in my narrative, which he constantly interrupted by his exclamations, "Ay, well done, oh Ispahani!—Oh! thou bankrupt!—By Allah! you did well!—If I had been there, I could not have done better."

But when I informed him of the manner in which I had been served by my envious countrymen, of the finishing scene in my own house, of the screams of my women, of the speeches of my wife's relations; and when I represented the very words, look, and attitude with which I made my exit, far from having produced the sympathy I expected, his mirth was excited to such a degree, that I thought the veins in his forehead would burst; and he actually rolled himself on his sofa in the convulsions of laughter.

"But, may it please you to consider," said I, "oh my Aga! the situation in which I am now placed. Instead of the bed of roses upon which I slept, I have not even a pillow whereon to lay my head. As for the horses and velvet which I used to bestride, happy should I now be could I claim even an ass for my own. And when I call to mind the luxuries in which I revelled, my rich dresses, my splendid horses, my train of servants, my marble baths, my pipes, my coffee-cups; in short, what shall I say, my every thing a man could wish for, and now find myself a beggar; conceive the bitter recollections which prey upon me, and which excite any thing but laughter in my breast, whatever they may do in yours."

"But

"But those Turks, those heavy buffaloes of Turks," roared he, still screaming with laughter; "praise be to Allah! I can see them now with their long beards, their great caps, and their empty heads, believing all that the sharp-witted madman of Persia chose to tell them, and they would have gone on believing, had they not been undeceived by a similar species of madman."

"But what have I to do in the business?" said he to me. "I am neither your father nor your uncle, to interfere and make it up with your wife's relations; nor am I a cadi, or a musti, who can judge the case between you."

"No," answered I; "but you are my refuge here, and the representative of God's viceregent upon earth; and you can see justice done me, and not let a poor unfriended stranger be oppressed."

"But would you get back possession of your wife," said he, "and stand a chance of being murdered? Of what good would all your riches be, if the day after re-possessioning them you were found dead in your bed? No, no; lend me your ear, and hearken to good council. Throw off your Turkish clothes, and be a Persian again; and when in your proper character, I will keep you in mind, and see what may be done for you. Your story has interested me, your wit and manner are agreeable; and believe me that many better things are to be done in the world than to smoke a long pipe all day, with no other object in life than to sleep upon a bed of roses, and to ride a fat horse. In the meanwhile, take up your quarters here; look upon yourself as one of my suite for the present, and whenever I wish to be merry you shall come and relate your story over again."—vol. iii. pp. 299—306.

Mirza Firouz, however, is not the only sketch from Persian high life in these volumes. The monarch, the grand vizier, the chief executioner, the royal physician, and the court poet, are all before us in their appropriate costume of character. Indeed, the transactions at the Persian court, which Hajji is made to relate, and particularly the whole account of the English embassy, are among the most entertaining passages in the book, and could have been composed only from the observation of one who enjoyed frequent access to the palace of the Shah. There are two descriptions especially (vol. ii. pp. 67, 75), in the ceremonial of the monarch's visit to the doctor, so amusing that we really regret we cannot give them a place; the share of the court poet in the joyous occasion; and the dinner of the Shah, whose bill of fare will make an alderman's mouth water, and oblige the *Almanach des Gourmands* to hide its diminished head.

But we must take our leave of the Shah, of his poet, and of Hajji Baba himself. Our opinion of the latter may be sufficiently collected from what we have said; and we may sum it up by declaring that, whether as barber, water-carrier, smoke-seller or dervish; the servant of the court physician, the lieutenant of the chief-executioner, or the disciple of the mollahs;

the secretary of the ambassador, the agent of the vizier, or the deputy of the Shah himself, he is the most agreeable companion through Persian manners and life with whom it has hitherto been our good fortune to journey.

ART. X.—*The Naval Dry Rot, &c. &c. &c.* (The title would fill a page.) By John Burridge. 12mo. pp. 136. 1924.

WE really were vain enough to flatter ourselves that we had succeeded in putting down the clamour raised by a set of interested projectors, on account of that Lernean pest to which has been given, it is not easy to tell why, the name of Dry-rot; but it would seem, from the constant succession of practitioners and projectors in this *line*, that we had only 'scotch'd the snake, not killed it,' and that for every head cut off, a pair at least spring forth,

'Vulneribus sæcunda suis erat illa: nec ullum
De centum numero caput est impune recisum,
Quin gemino cervix hærede valeatior esset.'

We shall be able to show, however, that the powers of this many-headed monster afford no cause for alarm; and that not even the accession of force which the fraternity has received to their corps, in no less a personage than the Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen, will be able to renovate them. This gentleman, who fearlessly grasps at every thing within his reach, about two years ago took by the hand a dry-rot doctor of the name of Good, (a ship-builder, we believe, of Bridport,) who had endeavoured to prevail on the Commissioners of the Navy to give him the sum of £5000 for an infallible *nostrum* which he affirmed he had discovered for the cure of the dry-rot. The Commissioners, it appears, were too much in the habit of receiving similar overtures to be lightly cajoled by the assurances of Mr. Good, and rejected his modest proposal; upon which, he immediately changed his ground, and accused them of having brought upon the British Navy little less than total ruin, by the practice of injecting coal-tar into the interstices of ships' bottoms; adding—that he would not only pledge himself to prove, to the conviction of every impartial man, that not a single ship of war, so treated with this inflammable substance, could sustain an engagement in a hot climate without inevitable destruction *by explosion*!—but, that this mineral tar was so decidedly hostile to the metallic fastenings, as totally to corrode and destroy both the iron and copper; and, worst of all, was highly injurious to the health of the crew.

It might have been sufficient to answer these assertions, by observing

serving that *vegetable* tar is well known to be infinitely more inflammable than *mineral* tar; that for centuries all the parts of plank and timbers of ships, whose surfaces are brought into contact, have been payed over with the former; that the Albion of 74 guns was saturated with a mixture of this tar and oil, (thus rendered still more inflammable,) prior to the battle of Algiers, in which she was prominently engaged and shot through and through, without 'blowing up,' or evincing the smallest tendency to inflammation of any kind;—that in ships of war, whether injected with vegetable or mineral tar, stoves have been placed in various parts, and the temperature raised to 90°, and even 100°, without producing, or even creating the slightest alarm of ignition;—that it is well ascertained by experiment that coal-tar possesses the quality of preserving, instead of corroding, copper and iron; and that the metallic pumps by which it has for years past been injected, and the buckets which held it, were never found to have suffered the slightest degree of corrosion;—that so far from its being considered injurious, it is used to cover iron cables and other iron work as an excellent anti-corrosive—that no complaint (with one single exception*) had been made of its causing sickness in the officers and ships' companies;—that the Owen Glendower, after being coated and injected with unprepared and unmixed coal-tar, was immediately after sent to a warm climate, and that her commander, the Honourable Captain Spencer, observed 'it never caused a head-ache to that ship's company.' So much indeed was the contrary the case with respect to her, that the Comptroller of the Navy stated in the House of Commons, 'that although she was perhaps more completely saturated with coal-tar than any other vessel in the service, yet out of a complement of 264 men, living in a hot climate, in a constant atmosphere of tar, only two men had died in the course of two years and a half.' To all which might be added that the men in the dock-yards, specially employed in the management and injection of coal-tar, were known to have suffered nothing whatever in their health.

Whether Mr. Joseph Hume and his friend Constantine Jennings, the patrons of this Mr. Good, were aware of these facts, we do not pretend to know; but Mr. Hume, relying, as it would seem, on the accuracy of this person's assertions, ventured to affirm that 'from the component parts of tar, it *must* be injurious to the iron and copper fastenings, as well as to the health of the men; and that it rendered the side of a ship so inflammable that on the snapping of a pistol it would catch like wild-fire.' That such language might not go forth to the world unrefuted, the Navy Board invited Messrs. Hume and Jennings, together with their

* The Pyramus—see p. 231.

protégé,

protégé, the projector, to make what experiments they might, in their united wisdom, judge proper, on board his Majesty's ship *Russell*, then on the stocks, in presence of several officers and scientific men. The result of this exhibition, to use the comptroller's words, 'was a complete conviction in the minds of all present, that a more gross and scandalous imposition was never attempted to be put upon the public.' Mr. Hume, indeed, admitted this in his place in the House of Commons, and declared, 'that every person present at the experiment, even the son of the projector, left the dock-yard perfectly satisfied that they had been imposed upon. Having asserted,' adds Mr. Hume, 'that there was great danger of ignition in an atmosphere saturated with coal-tar, he was allowed to fire a pistol, where the interstices of the ship's timbers were completely saturated with tar, and to introduce a lighted candle into a barrel so saturated'—'in fact,' he continued, 'the whole of his experiments completely failed.' And Mr. Constantine Jennings, not satisfied with admitting that he felt ashamed in being the dupe of this projector, honestly sent his recantation to one of the public journals.*

If one did not know, from daily experience, how very common it is for those who are not extraordinarily gifted with that sound discretion which Solomon has recommended, but let their opinion loose on all subjects, (whether understood or not,) and forget to-day what they said yesterday, we should certainly feel some surprise that Mr. Hume, having so recently been misled by one dry-rot doctor, should, with unabated credulity, throw himself into the arms of another; of one too, whose vulgarity and stupidity glare conspicuously in every line of the most worthless compilation that ever came before us; and which, as the Comptroller of the Navy (a shrewder critic than ourselves) observed, 'contains as many false assertions and bold misrepresentations, as there are pages.' Mr. Hume, however, thinks, (says, at least) that it is of 'considerable importance,' and that the state of the navy, which its author asserts to be irretrievably ruined by dry-rot and coal-tar, is a fit subject for Parliamentary Inquiry. If, as we presume, he has read this precious composition, we can only say that

* The 'Technical Repository,' for April, 1822: in which he says, 'The whole of the spectators were invited on board the *Russell*, on the stocks, a new ship that had been injected with the coal-tar; and Mr. Good was provided with the means of setting fire to the ship, both by gunpowder and flame. It need hardly be added, that his attempts to do so were entirely vain and fruitless; in fact he could not set the ship on fire by any fair or ordinary means.' He adds, what is greatly to his credit, 'Having had a violent prejudice against the plans adopted by the Navy Board, from the invidious reports of persons who, either ignorantly or wilfully, misrepresented the process and results, I am only now doing an act of justice in giving publicity to this statement of facts, whereby I relieve my own mind, and pay a just tribute to the merit I was before, from a false and mistaken zeal, too ready to have opposed.'

he is himself in a condition to know, that the writer has asserted, over and over, what is not true, both with regard to the dry-rot and to coal-tar. Indeed we are somewhat tempted to inquire, why Mr. Hume, if he be as anxious as he appears to be, respecting the condition of the fleet, does not proceed at once to the Navy office, or to the dock-yard at Portsmouth, or Chatham, and examine the real state of the ships, and the means adopted for their preservation, instead of lending a willing ear to such blundering but selfish blockheads as Burridge and Good? If the multifarious public concerns which press upon him will not admit of this sacrifice of time; and if he has already forgotten the result of those experiments which he witnessed, and his own recorded opinions of them; why does he not uncork the bottle of coal-tar, with which he was then furnished by Sir Robert Seppings, and examine the pieces of copper and iron immersed in it? he will now, after two years, we will venture to say, find both as bright and clear at least as (what ought to satisfy him) one of his own speeches—the only evil which we can divine from this easy and effectual experiment is, that the knowledge of the truth might supersede a speech, or, at least, spoil it.

To return to Mr. J. Burridge: he is not, as the reader has seen, a person who will set the Thames on fire; in truth, he is the poorest of all poor creatures who ever attempted to commit his ideas to the press; and, to speak seriously, we are not without our suspicions as to the sanity of his mind; for he talks of being driven by his conscience to make important discoveries, the concealment of which ‘would make it’ (his conscience) ‘resemble Jack the Painter.’ He then wanders into an incoherent rhapsody about Athens, and Carthage, and Babylon, and Jerusalem, and Troy—the fall of which puts him in mind of Moscow, and of the calamities of Napoleon, which he proves to have been brought upon him by his having turned papist, and ‘concluded a friendly concordat with the Pope:’ finally, he pronounces this country also to be in a tremendous plight, but does not entirely despair but that, by the blessing of God, the Bible Society, oak faggots, and pyroligneous acid, our ships of war may yet be saved from the fatal destiny, to which Sir Robert Seppings, surveyor of the navy, has doomed them by the use of coal-tar, and Mr. John Knowles, the surveyor’s secretary, by writing a book against winter-felled timber. But his awful bodings can only be expressed with due effect by himself.

‘The ways of Providence are dark and intricate!! The hand of fate hangs over our heads most irresistibly, and the Dry Rot appears the invisible finger of Providence to destroy our navy (like the walls of Jericho), who may again have written those awful words, “Mene, mene, tke! upharain.” But let us remember it is also written “Charity covereth

covereth a multitude of sins;" and "*British and Foreign Bible Societies*," which resemble and realize the parable "*It is like a grain of mustard seed, &c.*," may have turned God's wrath and vengeance from the present generation, who has declared he will visit the sins of fathers upon the third and fourth generations, whose word faileth not."—pp. 60, 61.

These and similar reflections, exasperated, perhaps, by his indignation against Mr. J. Knowles for stating some experiments, which do not exactly accord with the object he has in view, and which we shall presently arrive at, appear to oppress him with their intensity: simple prose becomes unequal to the expression of his feelings; he rouses himself at length to the highest pitch of poetical phrensy, and after a magnificent display of what he calls 'historical events,' the deplorable fate of the 'winter-fell'd' oak draws from him the following exquisite and most touching lament.

'When Charles escap'd from murderers in May,
The oak gave shelter on that happy day;
*The forest's King** stood example to the nation,
Who now commemorate the royal Restoration;
When ploughs and spades, idle by *Nature's laws*,
Poor peasants hewed our oaks, before the thaws;
To launch old England's wooden walls of thunder,
Alas! now cut in *SUMMER*, for a wonder.
Neptune, in secret, pines o'er the fatal blunder,
To view his Palaces *dry rotting* all asunder.'—p. 137.

After these specimens, we might spare ourselves the trouble of saying, that Mr. John Burridge is utterly ignorant of the subjects on which he writes; yet he proudly supposes, that he is throwing light on 'the disease in timber, called dry rot,' when he tells us, for instance, (p. 11.) that 'sap is the seed of dry rot;' and (in p. 86) that 'sap is tannin;' and in a third place, that tannin is the best preservative of timber (p. 44); consequently, according to his own premises, *the seed of dry rot is the best preservative of oak timber!* a conclusion which, it would seem, had faintly floated across his addled brain; for, on discovering in Sir Humphry Davy's Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry, that oak in summer contains more tannin than in winter, and that tannin is a strong preservative, he is somewhat puzzled what to make of it, pronounces it 'paradoxical,' but consoles himself, if it should be so, that he (said John) is 'no professor, philosopher, or chemist,' but a mere 'natural philosopher'—such a one, we presume, as 'Touchstone found in the forest of Arden.'

But it is not his slip-slop ignorance we so much find fault with, as his total disregard of truth. Like his predecessor Good,

* 'The oak is styled "the King of the Forest."—Burridge.

he

he soundly asserts that coal tar has destroyed half the crews of several ships, which he names,—one of those he has the assurance to mention being the healthiest ship on the station where she was employed, and none of them having ever been touched by coal tar! His deduction from this tissue of falsehood is admirable—all ‘these deadly effects are ascribable to the deleterious effects of this mineral extract.’ In the same random way he asserts that the *Howe* and several other ships are eaten up with dry-rot, though it has been well ascertained that they have not an unsound plank or timber in them; nay, he has even the portentous folly to assert, that the whole navy would have been infected and destroyed by coal tar, had it not been opportunely ‘discovered by Mr. Hume that this *nostrum* was dangerous on board the *Russell* of 74 guns!’ The only ‘discovery’ made by Mr. Hume on that occasion was, that he had been duped and imposed upon by M^r. Good, who was to show him how this 74-gun ship was to be blown up ‘by the snapping of a pistol!’ and we shall be much mistaken if he does not also discover that he is in a fair way of being treated in the same manner by Mr. Burridge; at least it shall not be our fault if he does not.

The only ship, in which there existed any grounds even of suspicion as to the unhealthiness of coal tar, was the *Pyramus*, in the West Indies, (which, by the way, is not mentioned by Burridge;) and this suspicion arose merely in consequence of an offensive smell issuing from the bilge-water, in which the tar was found floating mixed with chips and shavings of wood; and although the ship had been for some time in the most unhealthy harbour in the West India islands, and had a young, unformed, and unassimilated crew, the surgeon of the ship and the surgeons of the forces unaccountably conceived that the sickness which prevailed in her (and which was the common fever of the climate) must be owing to the coal tar.

A suspicion of this kind, improbable as it appeared, was considered of too much importance to be overlooked; and accordingly, as soon as it was known in England, the subject was referred to the medical officers of the navy, who were ordered to examine and report on the properties of coal tar, and its effects on the human constitution. At the same time a Committee of the Royal Society were also requested to consider the effects produced by the application of coal tar on His Majesty’s ships of war.

With regard to the first point, Dr. Burnett observes, after an able and minute detail of all the circumstances of the case, ‘I am decidedly of opinion that the fever which prevailed in the *Pyramus* was neither occasioned by the injection of that ship with coal

coal tar, nor the effect of contagion.' And Dr. Weir says, 'that the mixture of coal tar with the bilge-water in the hold ought not to be regarded as a primary cause of fever, it being, in his opinion, wholly inadequate to the object of accounting either for its origin or its continuance; but that it ought rather to be ascribed to the length of time the *Pyramus* remained in English Harbour, one of the most unhealthy places in the West Indies.'

With regard to its destructive properties on wood and metals, the Committee of the Royal Society reported, 'that from the experiments made on this occasion, the committee are of opinion that coal tar contains no substance capable of acting upon metals except water and ammonia; but these are in so minute a proportion, and in such a state of mixture with the naphtha and the tarry that it is scarcely possible to conceive that it can exert any action either upon iron or copper. The Committee consider this opinion corroborated by the examination of bars of copper and iron, which have been exposed during four years to the constant action of the tar.'

'The Committee have also examined several specimens of timber which had long been in contact with coal-tar, and which, so far from having sustained any injury, seem, on the contrary, to have been preserved.'

'The Committee also found that coal tar does not, under any circumstances, emit a vapour capable of being inflamed at temperatures below 200° Fahrenheit, which is about 100° above the highest temperature to which a ship is ever exposed in a hot climate.'

'The Committee have also examined the results of certain experiments instituted at their request, in which coal-tar, mixed with sea-water and various kinds of saw-dust and shavings, had been exposed in situations, and submitted to circumstances favourable to putrefaction, and in which no offensive effluvia were produced by the presence of the tar.'

After this we may safely leave Messrs. Hume, Good, and Burridge to the enjoyment of their own speculations on coal-tar and the dry rot; neither of which is in fact the real object of the latter's pamphlet. In his Petition, which he gives at length, p. viii. and which Mr. Hume presented to the House of Commons, July 16; he states—what is not the fact—'that the practice of using timber hewn in *winter* was continued in His Majesty's dockyards till the revolution in France in 1792, and that His Majesty's Navy Boards always allowed the contractors 7½ per cent. as equivalent to the bark.' This is the mare's nest which said petitioner has discovered; and because he has somewhere stumbled upon an act of James I. (long since repealed,) which

which persuade oak trees to be felled in winter for the purposes of ships and mills, he supposes that it was *imperative* to build ships and mills with winter-felled timber only. As Mr. Hume deems this piece of misinformation to be of 'considerable importance,' we will just tell him how the *facts* stand. In the year 1726, a clause was inserted in the contracts for timber (probably in consequence of being *bored* by some dry-rot doctor of that day) allowing 5 per cent. in addition for winter-felled timber; this in 1731 was extended to 6 per cent.; in 1770 it was reduced to 5; and, in 1773, raised to £7½ per cent. This clause was inserted *only* in contracts where the contractor was of opinion he should be enabled to supply any modicum of timber so felled; and we may judge of the result when we state, (and we do it on authority we can securely rely upon,) that at no time did the winter-felled timber amount to *one five-hundredth* part of the timber delivered. This useless clause was therefore altogether discontinued, *not* (as Mr. BurrIDGE says) in 1792 but, in 1803—'because so very little had been procured, and that little used promiscuously with other timber:'—no advantage having ever been experienced from this over other timber felled at the usual time.*

We blame no man for making a mistake, provided his intentions be honest; but we always suspect those who are ready on all occasions to proclaim their own patriotism; and we must say that Mr. John BurrIDGE, all simpleton as he would appear, presents himself to us in this respect under very suspicious circumstances. He lets it out, in the course of his rambling book, that, among other projects, he has one for tanning leather, by which, with the help of concoctions and decoctions, he proposes to perform in a week what usually requires a month:—the durability of such shoe-leather will, no doubt, be in the same proportion!—and he maketh oath before the Lord Mayor 'that good leather may be manufactured cheaper without oak bark, and, consequently, that there no longer exists a necessity to fell oak timber in summer (for the sake of the bark) to its great injury.'

The interpretation of all this is so palpable, that he who runs may read. If this would-be tanner's druggist could persuade the world that the 'good old practice' (which never existed) of prohibiting oak trees from being felled in the spring for the sake of the 'bark-harvest,' should be revived, and by so doing save the navy from destruction, at the expense of the bark, which is lost on

* It has been assumed, but without the slightest proof, that the Sovereign of the Seas, the Royal William, and some other long-lived ships, were built of winter-felled timber; which, as far as the two first are concerned, is not true; the Montagu is the only ship so built, and though she had little service at sea, she required large repairs within ten years.

winter-

winter-felled timber, the public would then have recourse to his miraculous concoction of 'loppings and toppings and flitterane and pyroligneous acid:' especially when they are further informed—that leather thus manufactured has no other fault than 'that it wears too long for tanners, carriers, and boot-makers!'

But enough, and more than enough of this trash; we would only advise Mr. Burridge, if troubled again with the itch of appearing in print, to procure a little information before he sits down to write; and, above all, to adhere to truth: he may then discover, (among many other things) that Sir Robert Seppings did not, as he now says, receive £5,000 for preserving the navy by the use of coal tar, nor for curing the dry rot; but that what he did receive (we know not what it was) was for numerous and most important improvements in the construction of ships of war, of such acknowledged importance, as to have been adopted wholly, or in part, by all the maritime nations of Europe.

We shall add a few observations on the subject of dry rot, and have done. The importance of preserving an efficient navy led some years ago to the consideration of the subject, when in the midst of a war which called for a more than usual supply of ships of the line.* At that time a very considerable proportion of the navy was falling in pieces from having been rapidly run up with green timber, more especially those forty line-of-battle ships built in merchants' yards, to which the officers of the navy gave the appropriate name of the *Forty Thieves*. The rest, from their constant wear and tear at sea, were not in much better condition. On the nature, progress, and probable means of cure of that destructive disease, (the dry rot,) we endeavoured to throw some light, and to show the inefficacy or inexpediency of the various nostrums offered as remedies or preventives by their respective projectors. Since that period a multitude of new specifics have been offered, and various treatises written on the subject. A small pamphlet by Mr. Wade, published in the year 1815, takes a sound view of the diseases of timber, and abounds with good practical sense; but its author unfortunately died while conducting some experiments on naval timber in the dock-yard. In 1817, Mr. Chapman, the civil engineer, published a treatise containing a great variety of experiments on seasoning timber, and the cure and prevention of dry-rot; and Mr. Bowden of the Navy Office followed him, in whose work will be found some useful observations on the management of timber. His notions however on the production of *fungi* appear to be grounded on a mistaken theory of spontaneous generation, to which we at one time rather

* Quarterly Review, Vols. viii.—x.—xii.

inclined, but have since satisfied ourselves that it is untenable with respect even to the meanest, minutest, and least perfect of plants or animals. In 1818, Mr. M^cWilliams, an architect, published a large quarto, containing a great mass of matter relative to the preservation and destruction of timber, with many practical observations applicable to its durability, whether in ships or buildings; and was followed by Mr. Ralph Dodd, civil engineer, who writes upon every thing, and well upon nothing, with his specific for the cure and prevention of the dry-rot, which, however, like Mr. Good's nostrum, is not to be *specified* without a suitable reward. Mr. Ogg, a salt refiner of Plymouth, finds nothing like *salt* for the cure of the disease, and recommends ships to be placed in wet-docks filled with salt-brine, which is natural enough, and in the way of trade:—there is 'nothing like leather,' said the tanner; nor like pyroligneous acid for making it, says Mr. John Burridge.

These and other treatises on the dry-rot have doubtless been productive of much good, by setting men about inquiring into the subject; they have also assisted in stimulating those more immediately charged with the care of the royal navy; and we verily believe, that the disease is at present so far got under as scarcely to be known in his Majesty's ships: if by chance it should shew itself in the slightest degree, (such is the horror its name excites in the dockyards,) the diseased part is instantly eradicated by the removal of the whole plank; nay, so sensitive are our ship-builders become on this subject, that many a healthy part has been taken away, merely because some speck of fungus happened to find a nidus in a decayed part of an otherwise sound piece of timber, out of which it was sprouting. This indeed we have ourselves had an opportunity of witnessing, and are therefore fully persuaded of the correctness of the assertion of the Comptroller of the navy, made in the House of Commons, that at no former period had England a more efficient navy than at the present moment; and that now, for the first time in 150 years, the dry-rot was effectually disappearing from his Majesty's ships of war: yet Messrs. Hume and Burridge call it a 'new disease;' they should have said an old disease with a new name, for it is at least as old as the Romans.*

Whatever may be the immediate cause of the dry-rot, the prin-

* Columella, Cato, Vitruvius, were all well acquainted with the necessity of getting rid of the juices of timber, to prevent its premature decay; and Pliny recommends that the sappy part of a tree should be cut all round, to let the juices run out before it is felled. They all had their notions of the advantage of cutting timber at certain ages of the moon, a piece of mummery which is still preserved in the royal ordonnances of France to the Conservators of the Forests, who are directed to fell oaks only 'in the wane of the moon,' and 'when the wind is at north.'

ciple of vegetation brought into activity has at least a considerable share in it. The natural juices of the oak, call them *sap*, or distinguish them by their constituent parts, gallic acid, mucilage, tannin, and whatever else may enter there, are in a different state and in different proportions at different seasons of the year, being more abundant and in a state of greater fluidity in the spring and summer than in winter; hence the idea of the sap rising in the spring, being stationary in the summer, and falling in the winter; but the question is, falling whither, and rising from whence? The sounder opinion is, that the genial warmth of the spring dissolves and puts in motion the juices of the tree, already residing in the trunk and branches, (as is evident from the pushing of leaves, in the spring, out of the trunk of a tree which had been felled the preceding winter,) that it sends them to the extremities to form new leaves, flowers and fruits; and that having performed these offices, the residue becomes dense and gross, is formed into a layer of new wood or alburnum, which in its turn, together with its elder brethren or former layers, elaborate, during the apparent quiescent state of the tree, a new supply of sap or juices for the succeeding year; while the vessels of the older layers near the centre are closing and collapsing, till the wood there becomes one solid mass, and is known as the heart of the tree.

It is either in the sap-vessels of the alburnum, or in the surface of the tree immediately beneath the bark, that the appearance of dry-rot first discovers itself in reticulated filaments; sometimes between the concentric layers of the alburnum, at other times spreading over the surface. If suffered to proceed, the interstices of these filaments are soon filled up, and a complete leather-like fungus (*xylostroma giganteum*) is formed, being that particular genus of this parasitic family which chiefly infests the oak, though another genus (*boletus*) is not uncommon in ships; that which mostly infests the lower parts of houses, is the *boletus lacrymans*, which is peculiar to fir. The production of the gigantic fungus can only take place after the tree has been cut down; for although fungi of different kinds are frequently found growing in decayed parts of trees, yet a sound part is never affected with the least symptom of dry-rot, so long as the vital principle of the juices keeps them in a state of activity. It would seem, indeed, that the process of fermentation is almost necessary for the growth of many of the fungi. The 'mushroom spawn,' for instance, is well known to gardeners to be easily generated from the seeds eaten by a horse, and the future plant as easily developed by some process of fermentation, which it undergoes in the dung. Thus, also, wood in a state of decomposition, is found to be favourable for the re-

production

production of fungus from seeds; but while the former is furnishing food for the support of the latter, this parasite is, in its turn, exhausting what remains of the gaseous and soluble products of the base upon which it was fastened.

But though the appearance of fungus is generally an accompaniment of dry-rot, its presence is not essentially necessary to constitute that disease. The wood will rot without the plant; but the seeds of these parasites are so minute and multitudinous, and are supposed to be so widely floating about invisibly in the air, as to lodge upon every tree and plant above the surface of the soil. Fortunately, however, they seem to require the aid of putrefactive fermentation to enable them to germinate; were it otherwise, and but a ten-millionth part of them grew, our earth would be a world of mushrooms; instead of which, they either perish or lie dormant, apparently for centuries, without vegetating: this, however, is nothing more than happens to crops of white clover, which spring up on the application of lime to dry heaths and barren soils, or of raspberry bushes which start up where fir woods have been burnt down, though not a vestige of either had appeared there before. We should say, generally, that where fungi make their appearance on the surface of timber, the dry-rot is commencing externally, and would in time destroy the mass on which the parasite has fixed its roots; but it may also consume internally without any indication of fungi, where the putrefactive process of the juices has taken place, in consequence of a heated, stagnant and moist atmosphere. We find this perpetually occurring in the underground floors and apartments of houses, especially where fires are kept, and which thus become so many artificial hot-houses.

On the same principle may be explained the different durability of merchant ships, according to the nature of the trade in which they have been employed. Thus a new ship built of green timber, and sent to Petersburg for a cargo of hemp, will become completely rotten in a couple of voyages; while the same ship, if employed in carrying coal or lime, would probably last half a century.

Without entering then into any further discussion, as to the precise nature and origin of the dry-rot, which, as we have said, Mr. Hume calls a 'new disease,' but which we rather imagine is about as old as the creation, the remedy appears to be obvious enough, and is one that has been very successfully practised, since the conclusion of the war, in all his Majesty's dockyards. It is simply that of getting rid of the native juices of the timber, by whatever mode appears the most effective—whether by impregnation with

foreign substances, natural or artificial desiccation, or immersion in sand, mud, or water.

Common sea-salt, a solution of corrosive sublimate, of sulphate of iron or copperas of alum, or, in short, saline substances of any kind, seem to be efficacious in preventing the putrefactive process in the juices of timber. The different resins and oils appear to answer the same purpose. Ships employed in the whale fishery are not liable to rot, where the oil has penetrated the planks. The Dutch, from observing that their herring busses were not subject to rot, adopted the practice of salting the timber and planks of their larger vessels, as did the Americans from a similar observation with regard to the vessels employed in carrying out salt for their fisheries. We have, on a former occasion, alluded to this practice, and stated the objections to it on account of the moisture which the salt attracts from the atmosphere, and which would keep the interior of the ship's sides dripping wet.

But as all impregnations of timber are either expensive or inconveniently performed, the most effective, simple, and at the same time perhaps the least injurious to the timber is, desiccation, either by a gentle heat or in the natural way; the latter is unquestionably preferable; and if left exposed to a free circulation of air, in a dry atmosphere, and preserved from moisture, the largest piece of oak, in the course of three years, will have sufficiently parted with its juices, to secure it from decomposition and consequently from the dry-rot.

Immersion in sand, mud or water, will preserve timber for centuries; exclusion from air and moisture appears to have the same effect. Instances are found of the former in the piles of London Bridge, which have existed 600 years; in those of the Old Savoy, about the same length of time; in the wood of peat mosses, &c; and of the latter, in the wooden figures found in the catacombs of Egypt, the mummy cases, and we may add, in the beautiful chestnut roof of Westminster Hall.

The means of prevention, therefore, are sufficiently obvious; there can be no cure, if the disease has proceeded so far as to decompose the wood and destroy the fibres. The measures adopted in the dockyards are long seasoning under sheds, the separation of the logs from each other by wedges, so as to admit a thorough circulation of air; or, immersion in salt-water, which has been found to answer the purpose beyond all expectation. We have on a former occasion mentioned the experiment of sinking the *Eden*, a ship that was absolutely covered with fungus, the certain indication of the commencement of dry-rot. When raised, every appearance of the disease had vanished; she was sent to India, remained in that climate three or four years, then returned,

returned, and, on examination, was found to be perfectly sound, free from every symptom of dry-rot, and is now, we believe, in the West Indies,

With these precautions with regard to seasoning or steeping the timber, and the building of ships under cover, so as to be completely protected from sun and rain, and keeping their frames open for several years while on the stocks; by the unremitting care which is subsequently taken, when in ordinary, to keep them dry, and clean, and thoroughly ventilated, and to have them examined from time to time by the officers of the dock-yard, we may venture to repeat the Comptroller's assertion, that at no period of our history had England a navy, either for numbers or efficiency, at all equal to that which we now possess, and that for the first time these 150 years, we have completely got the better of the Dry-Rot.*

* NOTE.—The frequent occurrence of the name of Mr. Joseph Hume in the course of this Article, leads us to mention that our publisher has forwarded to us a somewhat uncourteous letter from that gentleman, complaining of the inaccuracy of certain allegations made in an Article on the Ionian Islands, (Q. R. No. LVII.) The points by which he feels himself aggrieved are these:—

1. That he never *saw* the memorial of a few factious Corfiotes sent to the Russian minister, as he is pleased to say we have asserted.
2. That the information which we supposed him to have received from Lord Archibald Hamilton was in fact communicated to him by Lord Carhampton.
3. That he never saw the two long paragraphs in the Morning Chronicle which preceded his speech, before he read them in that paper; and
4. That it was the Paulina brig, and not the Unité frigate, which landed him on the Ionian Islands, and that it is not true that he remained only one day there; that he was there some weeks, &c.

We certainly regret that any inaccuracies or misrepresentations, however trifling, should have escaped us; but however inaccurate some of our statements may have been, as far as they concern Mr. Hume personally, they leave the business at issue between us, just where it was. But to his points of grievance.

And, 1st. as to the memorial of the Corfiotes, we never charged him with seeing it; a circumstance of little importance—but we did charge him, and are ready to maintain the charge, with ‘adopting all its calumnies.’

2dly, As to the person from whom he received the information. It is a matter of perfect indifference by whom it was *intermediately* conveyed to him—the fact remains that it was conveyed, and that he used it as we have described. The warmth with which this simple misnomer is pointed out puts us in mind of the indignant retort of Curl, upon the charge of being tossed in a blanket at Eton.—‘Here, (quoth he,) Scriblerus, thou *leezesst*, for I was not tossed in a *blanket*, but in a *rug*!’ Our object, as might easily be discovered, was not so much to point out the sources of his information as the *manner* of requiting the kindness of a friend, according to the improved mode of modern whiggism.

3dly. As Mr. Hume gravely asserts that he never saw the scurrilous paragraphs in the Morning Chronicle, which preceded his long studied philippic against Sir Thomas Maitland, we are bound to believe him; and to consider them as one of those happy anticipations with which the speeches of this gentleman have

occasionally been conveyed to the public, and which, indeed, have frequently tempted us to suspect that some member of his permanent Board of Inquiry, in affectionate impatience of his patron's fame, had secretly forwarded a portion of the *materiel* to the favourite journal. Be this as it may, the same 'bold misrepresentations' run through the speech and the paragraphs, which indeed are merely the former in miniature—

————— 'As I live,
Your own eyes, Signor! and the nether lip,
As like you as you'd spit it.'

4thly. Upon this point we cry 'peccavimus.'—Being misinformed as to the name of the ship, in which Mr. Hume took his passage, the mistake as to the time of his residence followed of course—but what then? Whether he remained on one or two of the inferior islands *one day* or *one month* is a circumstance that does not in the least affect our charge of misrepresenting the measures of the government and the condition and feeling of the people. On our supposition, Mr. Hume might have been acquitted of collecting his vituperations on the spot, and charitably supposed to have been misled; by his own statement, he deprives us of granting him such an acquittal, and also of finding an apology for his ignorance of the political history of the islands, the moral character of the people, and the beneficial effects which they experienced and acknowledged by the change of their government.

Having accused us in no measured terms of being guilty of the 'gross falsehoods' above enumerated, Mr. Hume is graciously pleased to say he will omit 'many minor allegations.'—Our reply is, that he has not ventured to advance a step *beyond* the minor ones we have just noticed; and that he has not one word of defence to set up against those charges of abuse which year after year he has been accumulating against the British government in the Ionian Islands, and its late executive Sir Thomas Maitland.—But the object of his invective is now no more; and the general feeling of regret which the Ionian people have loudly and openly expressed for his loss evinces the estimation in which he was held, and ought to convince Mr. Hume and his advisers that they knew very well how to distinguish a *real* from a *pretended* friend.

One word more. If, from what has past, Mr. Hume shall be induced to turn an eye upon himself, and judge of the feelings of others from the spleen which he has evinced at an unimportant error in his own case, we shall feel somewhat consoled for his high displeasure. He, of all men, should be the last to complain of inadvertencies. If the report of his speeches may be trusted, he is involved in a perpetual cloud of error; he lives and breathes, in short, in an atmosphere of mistakes. Has he ever seriously reflected on the number of heart-aches which his fierce credulity has occasioned?—on the many unoffending names which his ill-informed zeal has delivered up to the rude mockery of the daily papers? We trust that he will be able to answer in the affirmative—for we bear Mr. Hume no ill will: on the contrary,—we have been pained as often as we have seen him (on his statements being questioned) startled and looking eagerly abroad for facts in support of what he had hastily advanced, till his perplexity has unavoidably reminded the House of the Cavalier in Hall, who lost his wig in a sudden gust of wind:—

'Quick he alights, and quickly hath he sped
To overtake his over-running head.'

In conclusion, we can only repeat our regret that we should have fallen even into the trifling error to which we adverted. It made nothing for our argument, and was entirely unintentional. To so much of apology we consider Mr. Hume entitled. The main points of our Article, however, stand secure from all contradiction: they never have been, they never will be disproved.

ART.

ART. XI.—*Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1821-22-23, in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla, under the Orders of Captain W. E. Parry, R. N. F.R.S.* Illustrated by numerous Plates. 4to. pp. 570. 1824.

FEW events have occurred of a public nature, at least since the conclusion of the war, to call forth a more lively and continued interest, more especially among the literary and scientific world, than the late Expedition under Captain Parry; heightened, as it naturally was, by the delay of all intelligence of him and his enterprising associates: we may, therefore, fairly conclude that, in proportion to the intensity of that interest, will have been the disappointment that the Expedition should, at length, have made its appearance from the north, instead of the south, as was anxiously expected. To affect, on our part, any exemption from this general feeling, would be absurd in the extreme, after having frequently expressed our opinion of the existence of a navigable passage from the northern Atlantic to the Pacific—an opinion not hastily adopted, but deliberately and honestly formed, after a careful examination of the journals of former voyagers, and a due consideration of those facts which bore upon the question; and this opinion, we may now add, is very considerably strengthened by the perusal of the present narrative; whereby we are enabled to see clearly, not only the route by which a north-west passage *cannot*, but also to fix on that by which it *can*, and in all human probability *will*, ultimately be effected. Our disappointment, therefore, is confined solely to the delay of accomplishing what we have very little doubt will, ere long, be done.

The name of a North-west Passage is 'familiar as household words,' but we apprehend that vague and erroneous notions are very generally entertained as to the precise nature of it. Thus we find it very frequently asserted, that the failure of the late expedition was owing to its not being able to reach so far to the northward as the former one, whereas it was hoped that it would not have had occasion to proceed so high by many degrees as it was compelled to do. It may not be amiss, therefore, to take a hasty glance of what former navigators have done; what progress has been made by the late expeditions; and what still remains to be done for the accomplishment of this desirable object; with this view before them our readers will perceive by what slow degrees, and at how great an expense of money, time and labour, the geographical knowledge of the polar regions has been, and is to be, obtained; which is indeed, and must be, more or less the case with regard to all geographical information that is not merely speculative.

It is well known that Columbus, judging from the globular figure of the earth, entertained a strong hope of being able to reach the Indies by sailing to the westward; never suspecting that his progress would be arrested by any such impediment as the intervening continent of America. He therefore named the Caribbee islands, the Indies, as if they were a part of those he went in search of. Succeeding navigators, who embarked on the same enterprize, proceeded along the coast of America, some to the south and others to the north, in the hope that, by passing through some strait, or by rounding its extreme points, they might succeed in reaching the great Indian ocean. To the southward, Magelhaens accomplished his object by passing through the strait which deservedly bears his name. But in vain did the two Cabotas, first employed by Spain, and then by England—the three Cortereals by Portugal—and Aubert and Cartier by the French—endeavour to discover any opening in the northern coast that held out the least hope of a passage in that quarter. There still prevailed, however, among the cosmographers and merchants of London, a very strong idea that America was to be passed somewhere on the north-west; and with the view of discovering such a passage, and under the immediate countenance of Queen Elizabeth, Martin Frobisher was despatched no less than three several times in search of it. Though in these expeditions he had made but little progress, yet as he had not been stopped by any natural barrier, the feeling of the nation was decidedly in favour of sending out that excellent navigator, John Davis, upon the same enterprize, who, also in three voyages, extended very considerably our knowledge of the Arctic regions, by pushing his discoveries much farther to the northward in these parts than any preceding navigator, and advancing up the strait that bears his name. After him, Hall made no less than four voyages on the part of the King of Denmark, but without adding much to preceding discoveries. Henry Hudson, by keeping more to the westward, first penetrated through the strait that bears his name, near which he was inhumanly murdered. Sir Thomas Button, whose instructions were signed by James I. followed next, passed through Hudson's Strait, and reached the main land of America, in lat. $60^{\circ} 40'$ to which, on finding no passage, he gave the name of *Hopes checked*. This was in 1612, just thirty-six years after the first voyage of Frobisher; so very slowly did discoveries proceed. Bylot and Baffin made several additions to Arctic geography, chiefly among the islands, but never reached so far west as to the coast of America. They, however, in their last voyage, circumnavigated that deep bay named after Baffin, but left all the great openings in the surrounding land unexamined, just as a later navigator did, who was sent out on an expedition of discovery.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the failure of all the attempts hitherto made, several learned and well-informed men, such as Sir John Brooke, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir John Wolstenholme, and the mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs, were still of opinion that a passage did somewhere exist round the American continent; and at the urgent solicitation of Captain Lake Fox, who quaintly calls himself the North-west Fox, they prevailed on King Charles I. to appropriate one of his pinnaces for the purpose of northern discovery. Fox tells us that, on taking leave, he received from the King 'a mappe of all his predecessors' discoveries, His Majesty's instructions, with a letter to the Emperour of Japan;' and he departed in high spirits, and with sanguine expectations of success. He was, undoubtedly, one of the shrewdest of northern discoverers, and the first who pursued the right track for reaching the north-east point of America, which was, in fact, the very point aimed at by every expedition that had preceded him.

Having cleared Hudson's Strait, he stood boldly up that wide channel between the coast of America and Cumberland Island, (more probably a cluster of islands,) to a point in lat. $66^{\circ} 50'$ which he named *Fox's Farthest*; but when the 25th of September arrived, he began to think he had made 'but a scurvie voyage of it,' and that the best thing he could do was to bear up for home, where he arrived on the 31st of October, 'not having lost one man nor boy, nor any manner of tackling, having bene forth neere six moneths, all glory be to God.' Honour also might have been to Fox, had he gone up the western instead of the eastern side of the channel, or crossed it from his 'farthest;' as in that case he would, in all probability, have discovered, what Captain Parry has now done, the north-east point of America.

After Fox, no further attempts were made on the western coast of America, until the unfortunate voyage of Knight, Barlow, Vaughan and Scroggs, in 1719, on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, and from their settlements; the only result of which was the discovery and examination of Chesterfield Inlet. Middleton, in 1742, entered Wager river, and after that proceeded up the Welcome as far as Repulse Bay, in lat. $66^{\circ} 30'$; which is the highest point on the coast of America that had been reached by any of the expeditions for the discovery of a north-west passage, since the days of Frobisher, more than 166 years before. Captains Moor and Smith were sent out in 1746, chiefly, it would seem, to refute Middleton's account of Repulse Bay and his *frozen strait*; but they got no farther than Wager River: and this was the last attempt for the discovery of a north-west passage from the side of the Atlantic.

We have, in former Numbers of our Journal, stated the grounds upon which Captain Ross was sent in search of a passage up Baffin's

Baffin's Bay. If that officer did nothing more, he, at least, by the easy circumnavigation of that bay, confirmed the veracity of Baffin as to certain great openings in the land; and this was enough to provoke a further inquiry, which, under the guidance of Captain Parry, led to very important geographical results; though not favourable to the sought-for passage in that particular direction in which he had gone. From some peculiar position of the numerous islands through which he worked his way to the westward, about the lat. $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, together with the set of the tide, or a current, it was evident that the ice was so jammed against the land of Melville Island, as to afford no opening to his proceeding farther westward upon that parallel. It was considered, therefore, for reasons we have already stated, (Q. R. No. LVI.) that if he could succeed in getting upon the northern coast of America, where he would be sure of a continuity of land, and in a parallel of latitude seven or eight degrees lower than that of Melville Island, the success of a passage would be less doubtful; at the same time nothing was known as to the parallel in which the north-east point of America might be found, the highest ascertained point being that of Captain Middleton, as above mentioned.

From Repulse Bay, therefore, or any other part which he felt confident to be a part of the continent, Captain Parry was directed by his instructions to commence his examination of the continent of America; and, proceeding from thence northerly, to keep along the coast, minutely exploring every inlet or opening that occurred, in order to ascertain the north-east point of that continent, round which it was hoped he would be able to proceed till he should reach the northern coast of the same continent, along which Captain Franklin had found an open sea; and thus make good his passage round Icy Cape, and through Behring's Strait, into the Pacific. That he has not been able to do so will be shown, and satisfactorily accounted for, by the volume now before us.

The *Hecla* bomb had answered so well in every respect on the former voyage, that the *Fury*, a similar ship, was prepared as her consort for the intended one. Their internal fittings were somewhat different from those on the former voyage; the seamen's berths were removed from the sides, which are the coldest parts, and hammocks were slung in the central part of the deck. Sylvester's simple apparatus for distributing heated air was also fitted in each ship; and it may here be mentioned, once for all, that it succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation; a mean temperature being kept up throughout the winter of 60° of Fahrenheit, while that of the air without was at 30° below zero (a difference of 90° !) and this too with the very trifling consumption of one single bushel of coals in twenty-four hours. The terrors

terrors of an Arctic winter are thus disarmed: if, indeed, the former voyage had not produced the moral effects of divesting of its terrors that extremity of cold, and that long disappearance of the sun below the horizon, the bare contemplation of which had appeared so horrible. Queen Elizabeth, however, had no scruples on this head; for in her instructions to her 'loving friend, Martin Frobisher,' she very unceremoniously orders him to leave a party in the strait discovered on a former voyage.*

The two ships, with the *Nautilus* transport laden with provisions, left the *Nore* on the 8th of May, and on the 14th of June encountered the first ice-berg in the entrance of Davis's Strait; and having here cleared the *Nautilus* of her provisions and despatched her homewards, they made sail to the westward, and proceeded through Hudson's Strait with as much speed as contrary winds, tides, currents, and floes of ice, always in motion, would permit; the last of which usually, perhaps invariably, hamper all ships that attempt to pass through them previous to the month of August; so much more difficult is the navigation of this strait, than that of Davis and Baffin's Bay, which are open and navigable, with little or no risk, as early as the month of May.

Many of the old navigators mention the large stones, pebbles, sand, shells and weeds deposited on the floating fields of ice; and express their astonishment how they could have been brought into that situation. 'The quantity in which these substances,' says Captain Parry, 'here occurred was really surprising, and puzzled us extremely to account for the manner in which they found their way upon the floes.' He is not satisfied with the usual and obvious explanation of the floe having been in immediate contact with the land, because, 'masses of rock, not less than a hundred pounds in weight, are sometimes observed in the middle of a floe measuring half a mile or more each way; and of which the whole surface is, more or less, covered with smaller stones, sand and shells.' We will offer him another, which may perhaps be more satisfactory. As these substances are abundantly found in or near that turbulent whirlpool in the neighbourhood of Resolution Island, where fifty or sixty huge icebergs may frequently be seen at a time, let us suppose, what indeed must often happen, one of these masses to take the ground, in which situation the first gale of wind would be sure to overturn it, and alter its centre of gravity, or probably break it up entirely; in one case bringing the base where the top was before,

* Item—Yf yt be possible, you shall leave some persons to winter in the straight, geving them instructions how they may observe the nature of the ayre and state of the countrie, and what tyme of the yeare the straight is most free from yce; with whom you shall leave a sufficient preparation of victuals and weapous, and also a pynnas, with a carpenter, and thyngs necessarrie, so well as may be.—*Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus.*

in the other, sending the fragments, specifically lighter than the water, up to the surface, laden with those stones, shells, corals, and sea-weed which are found upon them; the envelopment by other floating floes, so as to throw the pieces into the middle, we may look upon as matter of ordinary occurrence. Pebbles, shells and sea-weed are also found in the stomachs of seals and sea-horses, and are no doubt deposited by them on the ice. All these substances, it seems, act an essential part in the dissolution of the ice; as the smallest stone or collection of sand will form a pool of water around it, in consequence of its absorption and radiation of heat from the surface.

Owing to the many obstructions in the navigation of Hudson's Strait, it was the 2d of August before the expedition reached the eastern extremity of the channel formed between Southampton Island and, as it afterwards appeared, the coast of America; and which Captain Parry was willing to suppose might be the same channel or strait that Captain Middleton, in the year 1742, for want of a better name, or, as has always been thought, as an excuse for not attempting its navigation, called the *Frozen Strait*. It abounded at least sufficiently with ice of every form, moved and wheeled about by tides and currents, to warrant the name; but the ice was evidently adventitious, and not the produce of the strait. As the impugnors of Captain Middleton's honesty had asserted, partly on the evidence of his own officers, and partly on the belief that he had been bribed by the Hudson's Bay Company, (then extremely jealous of any interference with their chartered rights,) that the 'Frozen Strait was all a chimera,' it will easily be supposed that Captain Parry, when at the eastern end of this strait, felt no little difficulty in deciding between 'the ocular evidence of Captain Middleton, and the speculative reasoning of Mr. Dobbs; as, in the event of the former being right, the distance he had to run by this strait to Repulse Bay was about fifty leagues; whereas if, as the latter asserted, such a strait had no existence, he must be under the necessity of pursuing a route round the south end of Southampton Island, a distance of 170, and perhaps of 200, leagues. 'After the most anxious consideration,' says Captain Parry, 'of all this contradictory evidence, I came to the resolution of attempting the direct passage of the Frozen Strait; though, I confess, not without some apprehension of the risk I was incurring, and of the serious loss of time which, in case of failure either from the non-existence of the strait or from the insuperable obstacles which its name implies, would thus be inevitably occasioned to the expedition.'

The result proved that his decision was right; and having once made it, every exertion was used to push through the strait. In their

their slow progress upwards, and after much interruption from floes and hummocks and packs of ice, it was found that they had passed through an opening into what was afterwards discovered to be 'one of the most secure and extensive harbours in the whole world.' It was an inland basin of water, ten miles in length, and half as much in width, having regular soundings and good anchorage in every part; and what surprised them the more was, that scarcely a piece of ice was seen in any direction. 'This magnificent bay,' says Captain Parry, 'possessing so many advantages as would render it invaluable in a more temperate climate, the officers honoured with the name of the 'Duke of York's Bay, in consequence of the expedition having first entered it on the birthday of his Royal Highness.' It is situated on the north-eastern extremity of Southampton Island.

In passing through the entrance into this fine bay, it was hoped they were now in the fair way for that part of the continent of America where their discoveries were to commence; but, on proceeding westerly, it was soon found, that the bay on that side was completely shut in by a low shore, which, it was concluded, could be no other than the 'low shingley beach, like Dungeness,' of Captain Middleton; and which forms the eastern shore of the Welcome, viewed, of course, by him in a contrary direction to that of our present voyagers, as he was sailing up that channel along the coast of America.

It now became necessary, without further loss of time, to retrace the ground they had lost, and, by repassing the entrance, struggle once more against the floes and hummocks of ice, in the Frozen Strait, with irregular tides, islets, and rocks, equally dangerous with the ice, and not the less so from dark foggy weather: this sort of navigation they were obliged to submit to till the 21st August, when the setting of the tide, with a swell from the southward, seemed to intimate, as the case proved to be, that they had passed the Frozen Strait, and had then the Welcome open to them in that direction. It was thick dirty weather, with snow falling in unusually large flakes, the sea almost clear of ice, so that they sailed to the westward for five or six hours entirely by the lead; when, on its suddenly clearing up, they found themselves almost completely surrounded by land, 'having unconsciously entered Repulse Bay, in which,' says Captain Parry, 'not a piece of ice was to be seen that could obstruct us in its thorough examination.'

Parties were now landed to examine the country on every side, and to collect specimens of natural history. The bay was found to be surrounded by land, and not unlike the form in which it appears on the charts from Middleton's account of it, except that on the
N. W.

N. W. corner, a cove runs up into the land; which could not be seen from that officer's anchoring place. The latitude observed on shore was $66^{\circ} 30' 58''$, being about twenty miles less northerly than that assigned to it by Middleton, owing, probably, as Captain Parry suggests, to the imperfection of his instruments, combined with the uncertainty of terrestrial refraction among ice and snow. Their chronometers for the longitude gave $86^{\circ} 30' 30''$; dip of the needle $88^{\circ} 7' 28''$, and the variation $48^{\circ} 32' 57''$ westerly. The compasses, from the time they made Southampton Island, became sluggish, so that even those of Captain Kater, which unite lightness, sensibility, and accuracy, required tapping with the hand to assist them in traversing. In one or two particular situations farther to the northward, tapping with the hand had no effect. These situations are marked on the chart, 'being satisfied,' says Captain Parry, 'that some extraordinary local attraction was influencing the needles.' We have our doubts of the superior power of any such local and extraneous influence over the needle, when closely surrounded by iron; and we are the more confirmed in this opinion by a recent discovery which bids fair to prove of great importance to the interests of navigation. It is simply this: place the centre of a small circular iron plate in the line of no attraction (of the ship's iron), and at a proper distance *behind* and *below* the pivot of the compass needle, (which must be ascertained and fixed previously to the ship's leaving her port,) and the needle will not only remain active and vigorous in the polar regions, but will continue to point to the correct magnetic meridian, uninfluenced by the attraction of the ship's iron (usually called *deviation*) in every part of the world; at least, this effect has been experimentally proved from the 61st degree of southern, to the 81st degree of northern latitude.* Our old navigators supposed the sluggishness of the needle to be owing to cold, instead of the dip or inclination getting the better of the directive power; and some of them assure us that, on carrying the compasses down to the cabin fire, they regained their activity; not once suspecting that the grate and fire-irons restored the directive power, and not the heat.

* This discovery is due to Mr. Peter Barlow, of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and has been proved by the experiments and observations of Lieutenant Foster, in various parts of the Pacific, and to the northward of Spitzbergen. A table for the placing of the centre of the plate in its proper position, according to the quantities of *deviation*, or the ship's attraction in every position of her head, is preparing by Mr. Barlow. If any one should doubt the efficacy of this simple contrivance, he has only to turn the ship round *with* and *without* the iron plate, and in one case he will find no deviation; in the other, whatever amount the ship may give. The theory of the plate neutralizing the ship's *deviation* is obvious enough; but it is not so easy to account for the prevention of the needle's sluggishness, nor do we believe it was once imagined, even by the discoverer, that such an effect would have been produced.

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Though Middleton was not, perhaps, the officer best qualified for conducting a voyage of discovery, yet it is evident, from Captain Parry's examination of the ground previously occupied by him, that justice has not been done to his memory; which, however, the following testimony ought to rescue from further obloquy.

'From our place of observation on shore we had a distinct view of Cape Hope, which is high and bluff, as well as of the land to the eastward of it, running towards Beach Point, which becomes lower, as described by Captain Middleton. Indeed the whole account he has given of this bay, with the exception of its geographical position, is in general very accurate, particularly in the appearance of the lands, their relative situation, and in the nature and depth of the soundings. With respect to the Frozen Strait, through which we passed with less difficulty than usual in the navigation of those seas,—thus, for the first time, determining by actual examination the insularity of that portion of land which by anticipation has long been called Southampton Island,—there can be little doubt that the account Middleton has given of its appearance, as seen from Cape Frigid, is in the main a faithful one. In that view it would seem to be "almost full of long small islands;" nor is there any improbability of its having been, at the time of his visit, covered with ice, which might appear to be "fast to both shores," presenting to a person so situated a hopeless prospect of penetrating through it to the northward. Above all, the accuracy of Captain Middleton is manifest upon the point most strenuously argued against him by Mr. Dobbs; for our subsequent experience has not left the smallest doubt of Repulse Bay and the northern part of the Welcome being filled by a rapid tide flowing into it from the eastward through the Frozen Strait.'—p. 54.

Having now got fairly hold of the American continent, the main object of the voyage may be said to have commenced, on the 22d August, 1821, just under the Arctic circle; a period at which, we may observe, the expedition might, with all imaginable ease, have been as far advanced as the Copper Mine river, on the supposition of a passage existing through Prince Regent's Inlet, and that its route had been up Davis's, instead of Hudson's, Strait. The obstructions and difficulties to be encountered were, however, on the setting out of the expedition, as little known as the geography of this part of the coast of America, along the line of which Captain Parry was directed to keep in proceeding to the northward, and to examine every bend or inlet which might appear likely to afford a practicable passage to the westward. In fulfilling this part of his instructions, we may venture to say that, since the voyage of Vancouver along the north-western coast of America, never was a line of unknown coast explored with more indefatigable zeal and perseverance, or with more minuteness, under the most appalling difficulties,

difficulties, than that which extends from Repulse Bay, in a south-eastern direction, to the point where it again turns to the northward, has been examined by Parry, Lyon, and the other officers of the two ships—sometimes in the ships themselves, and, when these could no longer with safety advance farther, in their boats, for several successive days and nights, in the most inclement weather.

If, indeed, the difficulty and danger to the ships had been considerable in passing up the southern side of the Frozen Strait, they were tenfold greater in returning down the northern or continental side; where the tides were so strong, and the eddies so frequent and violent, whirling round large masses of ice, sometimes in opposite directions, that it is quite wonderful how either of the ships escaped. Captain Parry observes, after having drifted through one of the narrow channels formed between an island and the main, that 'had the ships taken the ground with so rapid and considerable a fall of tide, and with so much heavy ice hurried along by it, I do not know what human effort could have saved them from almost immediate wreck. By carrying a press of canvass, however, we succeeded in forcing through the ice, but the *Fury* was twice turned completely round by eddies, and her sails brought aback against the helm; in consequence of which she gathered such fresh stern-way against several heavy floe-pieces, that I apprehended some serious injury to the stern-post and rudder, if not to the whole frame of the ship.'

We doubt if the annals of navigation furnish an instance of difficulties to be grappled with, and dangers so frequent and long continued, as occurred from the first entrance of the Frozen Strait, till finally getting out of it. Nor was this all: slow as their progress had hitherto been, they had the mortification, on the 2d September, to be driven back to the same spot where they had been a full month before. Nothing could be more disheartening at this advanced period of the short season of navigation; but it did not in the least abate their exertions. Captain Parry thus notices this mortifying circumstance.

'The wind drawing round to the northward and westward on the morning of the 2d, increased to a fresh gale, which continued to blow during the night; notwithstanding which, I was in hopes that the immense size of the floe to which the ships were attached would have enabled us to retain our station tolerably. It was mortifying therefore to find, on the morning of the 3d, that we had drifted more than I ever remember to have done before, in the same time, under any circumstances. It was remarkable also that we had not been set exactly to leeward, but past Baffin Island towards the two remarkable hills, on Southampton Island, from which we were at noon not more than seven

or

or eight leagues distant. Thus, after a laborious investigation which occupied one month, we had, by a concurrence of unavoidable circumstances, returned to nearly the same spot as that on which we had been on the 6th of August. To consider what might have been effected in this interval, which included the very best part of the navigable season, had we been previously aware of the position and extent of the American continent about this meridian, is in itself certainly unavailing; but it may serve to shew the value of even the smallest geographical information in seas where not an hour must be thrown away, or unprofitably employed. Nor could we help fancying at this period of the voyage, that, had Bylot, Fox, and Middleton, by their joint exertions, succeeded in satisfactorily determining thus far the extent of the continental land, the time which we had lately occupied in this manner might have been more advantageously employed in rounding, by a more direct route, the north-eastern point of America, and even in pursuing our way along its northern shores.'—p. 78.

From the 6th September to the end of that month, the whole of the time was employed in examining several deep inlets into the continent, and ascertaining the continuity of land round each of them; in which arduous service Captain Parry does not appear to have spared himself, being out on one occasion eight days and nights in the boats, and nine days on another. These large inlets are laid down on the charts under the names of Lyon's Inlet, Hoppner's Inlet, Gore Bay, Ross' Bay, besides a number of coves and creeks, all of which were minutely examined to their respective terminations, so that the extent of coast newly discovered and explored, appears to amount to more than two hundred leagues.

On the 1st October, just as they had completed the examination of the several inlets of the continent, unequivocal symptoms of winter setting in were but too apparent.

'The thermometer had for several days past permanently fallen below the freezing point, and sometimes as low as 20° at night; which change, together with the altered appearance of the land, and the rapid formation of young ice near the shores, gave pretty evident notice of the approach of winter. The commencement of this dreary season in these regions, may, indeed, be fairly dated from the time when the earth no longer receives and radiates heat enough to melt the snow which falls upon it. When the land is once covered with this substance, so little calculated to favour the absorption of heat, the frigorific process seems to be carried on with increased vigour, defining very clearly the change from summer to winter, with little or no intermediate interval to which the name of autumn can be distinctly assigned.'—p. 112, 113.

On the 8th October the thermometer stood at zero, and the sea was covered with 'young ice.' The nature and effects of this very teasing substance are thus graphically described by Captain Parry.

'The formation of young ice upon the surface of the water is the circumstance

cumstance which most decidedly begins to put a stop to the navigation of these seas, and warns the seaman that his season of active operations is nearly at an end. It is indeed scarcely possible to conceive the degree of hinderance occasioned by this impediment, trifling as it always appears before it is encountered. When the sheet has acquired a thickness of about half an inch, and is of considerable extent, a ship is liable to be stopped by it unless favoured by a strong and free wind; and even when still retaining her way through the water, at the rate of a mile an hour, her course is not always under the controul of the helmsman, though assisted by the nicest attention to the action of the sails, but depends upon some accidental increase or decrease in the thickness of the sheet of ice, with which one bow or the other comes in contact. Nor is it possible in this situation for the boats to render their usual assistance, by running out lines or otherwise; for having once entered the young ice, they can only be propelled slowly through it by digging the oars and boat-hooks into it, at the same time breaking it across the bows, and by rolling the boat from side to side. After continuing this laborious work for some time with little good effect, and considerable damage to the planks and oars, a boat is often obliged to return the same way that she came, backing out in the canal thus formed to no purpose. A ship in this helpless state, her sails in vain expanded to a favourable breeze, her ordinary resources failing, and suddenly arrested in her course upon the element through which she has been accustomed to move without restraint, has often reminded me of Gulliver tied down by the feeble hands of Lilliputians; nor are the struggles she makes to effect a release, and the apparent insignificance of the means by which her efforts are opposed, the least just or the least vexatious part of the resemblance.—pp. 116, 117.

All these circumstances pointed out the expediency of immediately placing the ships in the best security that could be found for them during the winter. A small island lying off the point where the continent begins to trend to the northward, was found to afford, at its southern side, good anchorage; and having here suffered the ships to be frozen up, they gave to it the name of *Winter Island*.

Every precaution was now taken for the preservation of the boats, sails, and other stores, during the season; and arrangements were made for the comfort and amusement of the men. Captain Parry observes, that 'it would be difficult to imagine a situation in which cheerfulness is more to be desired, or less likely to be maintained, than among a set of persons (and those persons seamen too) secluded for an indefinite period from the rest of the world; having little or no employment but that which is in a manner created to prevent idleness, and subject to a degree of tedious monotony, ill according with their usual habits.' Nothing can be more just; and it is therefore of the utmost importance that constant employment, and a habit of cheerfulness should be kept up by men so situated; it being well known that there exists an inti-

mate

the connection between depression of mind, and that dreadful disorder the scurvy; that hope and joy not only prevent, but actually aid in the cure of it, while gloom and despair never fail to aggravate its fatal malignity.

As a source, therefore, of amusement to the people, Captain Parry renewed those theatrical entertainments from which they had derived so much benefit at Melville Island, on a former voyage, and on a larger and more commodious scale, while the theatre was improved in its decorations, and, what was of more importance, in its warmth. Sylvester's stove, in a few hours after lighting it, dissipated every drop of moisture which was found so annoying on the former expedition: the stream of air on the lower deck was generally 120° of Fahrenheit; that in the cabins near the apparatus, 100° , and at the end of the stove, in Captain Parry's cabin, forty-six feet from the air vessel, from 65° to 72° , when the mean temperature of the atmosphere was about zero: this diffused warmth generally over the whole ship, and kept her perfectly dry. On some evenings they had music; and on others (to furnish rational and useful occupation,) a school was established in both ships for the instruction of those who might choose to avail themselves of this advantage; and Captain Parry, who visited them frequently, observes, that 'he seldom experienced feelings of higher gratification than in this rare and interesting sight;' and it is truly gratifying to learn that, on the return of the ship to England, 'every man on board could read his Bible.' In these pursuits, blended with a proper degree of exercise, the *shortest day* is said to have passed over their heads without any of that interest which, on a former voyage, constituted a sort of era in their winter's calendar. 'Our winter,' observes Captain Parry, 'was no longer an experiment; our comforts were greatly increased; and the prospect of an early release from the ice as favourable as could be desired.' 'In short,' he adds, 'what with reading, writing, making and calculating observations, observing the various natural phenomena, and taking the exercise necessary to preserve our health, nobody, I believe, ever felt any symptoms of *ennui* during our continuance in winter quarters.'

But, perhaps, the greatest of all their amusements, and that which excited the highest degree of interest, was the unexpected appearance, on the 1st February, of a number of strange people coming towards the ships over the ice. A party who went out to meet them soon discovered them to be Eskimaux, who, on coming up, presented a few blades of whale-bone, either as a peace-offering, or for barter, most probably the latter. Some of the women wore handsome clothes of deer-skin, which attracted the attention of the party:

party: on observing this, 'they began,' says our author, 'to our utter astonishment and consternation, to strip, though the thermometer stood at 23° below zero.' All apprehension on this score, however, was soon relieved by finding that they were comfortably clothed in a double suit of deer-skin. Our voyagers accompanied them to their huts on shore, which are thus described.

When it is remembered that these habitations were fully within sight of the ships, and how many eyes were continually on the look out among us for any thing that could afford variety or interest in our present situation, our surprise may in some degree be imagined at finding an establishment of five huts, with canoes, sledges, dogs, and above sixty men, women, and children, as regularly, and, to all appearance, as permanently fixed, as if they had occupied the same spot for the whole winter. If the first view of the exterior of this little village was such as to create astonishment, that feeling was in no small degree heightened, on accepting the invitation soon given us, to enter these extraordinary houses, in the construction of which we observed that not a single material was used but snow and ice. After creeping through two low passages, having each its arched door-way, we came to a small circular apartment of which the roof was a perfect arched dome. From this three door-ways, also arched and of larger dimensions than the outer ones, led into as many inhabited apartments, one on each side, and the other facing us as we entered. The interior of these presented a scene no less novel than interesting. The women were seated on the beds at the sides of the huts, each having her little fire-place; or lamp, with all her domestic utensils about her; the children crept behind their mothers, and the dogs, except the female ones, which were indulged with a part of the beds, slunk out past us in dismay. The construction of this inhabited part of the huts was similar to that of the outer apartment, being a dome formed by separate blocks of snow, laid with great regularity and no small art, each being cut into the shape requisite to form a substantial arch, from seven to eight feet high in the centre, and having no support whatever but what this principle of building supplied. I shall not here further describe the peculiarities of these curious edifices, remarking only that a cheerful and sufficient light was admitted to them by a circular window of ice, neatly fitted into the roof of each apartment.—p. 106.

An acquaintance with these people, of little less than eighteen months from first to last, left on the whole a favourable impression on the minds of our voyagers, who during that period witnessed many valuable and amiable qualities among a very few of an opposite character. The concluding chapter gives an interesting and well-digested account of the peculiar habits, the disposition, the resources, together with many curious traits of character, and the state of society among these poor creatures, whose fate has thrown into this dark and dismal corner of the world, amidst eternal ice and snow. They are described as somewhat

What lower in stature than Europeans in general, the men being, on an average, about five feet five inches, and the women five feet, their knees large, legs straight, hands and feet remarkably small; their flesh loose and without firmness; faces round and full; eyes small, black and narrow, obliquely set in the head like those of the Tartars and Chinese; nose sunk within the cheek-bones, but not much flattened; teeth short, thick, close, white and regular, much worn by chewing seal-skins to make them flexible; skin smooth; complexion clear and transparent, and of a light brown; long black hair, which the women throw loose when their husbands are ill, and cut off, if they die. Their dresses of deer-skin very closely resemble those of the common Chinese or Tartars, with the exception of the women's boots, which are used as pockets and are large enough to hold a child; those of seal-skin are water-tight; and all the seams well and beautifully worked; on the whole they are warmly and comfortably clothed. Their bodies are almost universally tattooed. Their pots, culinary utensils and lamps are made of the *lapis ollaris*; their canoes and sledges, spears, bows and arrows, of drift-wood; the points, barbs, cutting instruments, &c. of stone, bone or iron: they have cups of the horn of the musk ox, and other vessels and baskets of skin. They sleep on skins laid upon birch-twigs, andromeda, and other stunted shrubs, placed upon bedsteads of snow. Fire is kindled by two pieces of pyrites whose sparks are struck into fine dried moss; the wicks of their lamps are also of moss, and the heat from them is sufficient to boil such part of their provisions as they are not disposed to eat raw.

It would be idle to expect any very high or refined notions of morality among a half-civilized horde; but the whole of their conduct, whether towards each other or to the strangers, appeared to be regulated by feelings that, with very few exceptions, did them great credit. Theft, which is an universal vice amongst savages, was practised only on two or three occasions; yet the temptation must have been often pretty much the same, as if gold were carelessly left exposed to the lower class of Europeans. The affection between parents and children, and between man and wife, or wives, for they take more than one if they can maintain them, was strongly marked; and yet infidelity on either side appeared to be no crime; and the ladies were by no means shy of their favours. The only unfeeling part of their conduct, (which is common indeed to the Indians as well as Eskimaux,) is that of forsaking the aged and helpless and leaving them to their fate; and the same is the case with regard to widows who are not fortunate enough to find a second husband. Captain Parry gives an affecting account of the melancholy situation and death of one of these forlorn beings,

beings; (p. 406). It appears, in fact, that no one is considered of any value from the moment he becomes unable to assist in procuring food. Yet they contrive to shed tears and to howl most clamorously at the death of those whom they wholly neglected when alive; and leave to be devoured by dogs and wolves when dead.

The women have much more influence and are more respected than generally happens in half-civilized societies; nor are they subjected to that degree of labour and drudgery, which usually prevails in them; their duties being generally confined to domestic concerns, preparing skins, making and repairing clothes, cooking and taking care of their children, whom they suckle to the age of three and sometimes four years. An unamiable trait in their character, and which indeed was equally observed among the men, was that of selfishness and ingratitude; but both are free from those dark vices of savage life, ferocious cruelty, resentment and revenge.

When viewed more nearly in their domestic relations, the comparison will, I believe, be still more in their favour. It is here as a social being, as a husband and the father of a family, promoting within his own little sphere the benefit of that community in which Providence has cast his lot, that the moral character of a savage is truly to be sought; and who can turn without horror, from the Esquimaux peaceably seated after a day of honest labour with his wife and children in their snow-built hut, to the self-willed and vindictive Indian, wantonly plunging his dagger into the bosom of the helpless woman, whom nature bids him cherish and protect!—p. 536.

They have no other domestic animals than their dogs, which are carefully brought up by the women, but treated with harshness by the men—though they could scarcely exist at all without them. Six of these useful creatures will draw half a ton at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, and proceed with ease fifty or sixty miles a day; yet they appear to get very little food; and when on a journey are never suffered to eat, until they arrive at the end of it.

This hasty sketch is extracted from the chapter before mentioned; but there are besides numerous anecdotes interspersed through the narrative, which an almost daily intercourse with these people enabled the party to observe and collect: from these it would appear that no distress of any kind was capable of depriving them of that happy and cheerful temper of mind, and that good humour which they constantly preserved, even when severely pinched by hunger and cold, and wholly deprived for days together both of food and fuel, a situation to which they are very frequently reduced. Had they not indeed, on more occasions than one, received supplies from the ships, many of them must undoubtedly have perished of hunger. Yet no calamity of this kind can teach them to be provident; or to take the least thought for the mor-

row :

to be with them indeed it is always either a feast or a famine. The enormous quantity of animal food (they have no other) which they devour at a time, is almost incredible.

It is certain indeed, that the quantity of meat which they procured between the 1st of October and the 1st of April, was sufficient to have furnished about double the population of working people, who were moderate eaters, and had any idea of providing for a future day: but to individuals who can demolish four or five pounds at a sitting, and at least ten in the course of a day, and who never bestow a thought on to-morrow, at least with the view to provide for it by economy, there is scarcely any supply which could secure them from occasional scarcity. It is highly probable that the alternate feasting and fasting to which the gluttony and improvidence of these people so constantly subject them, may have occasioned many of the complaints that proved fatal during the winter; and on this account we hardly knew whether to rejoice or not at the general success of their fishery. Certain it is, that on a particular occasion of great plenty, one or two individuals were seen lying in the huts so distended by the quantity of meat they had eaten, that they were unable to move, and were suffering considerable pain arising solely from this cause. Indeed it is difficult to assign any other probable reason for the lamentable proportion of deaths that took place during our stay at Igloodik, while, during a season of nearly equal severity, and of much greater privation as to food, at Winter Island not a single death occurred.—pp. 412, 413.

It was about the time of change from winter to summer, or spring if it may so be called, that the kindness and humanity of our voyagers were mostly called upon for the relief of their misery. The seals then become more wild, the walrus quits the ice, and the rein deer and other migratory animals have not yet arrived. Thus, in the month of April, a great part of the population of Winter Island were compelled to migrate to some other place in search of food. The change of scene in their once happy village, and more especially in their clean and comfortable snow huts while new, is thus described by Captain Parry.

On going out to the village, we found one-half of the people had quitted their late habitations, taking with them every article of their property, and had gone over the ice, we knew not where, in quest of more abundant food. The wretched appearance which the interior of the huts now presented baffles all description. In each of the larger ones some of the apartments were either wholly or in part deserted; the very snow which composed the beds and fire places having been turned up, that no article might be left behind. Even the bare walls, whose original colour was scarcely perceptible for lamp-black, blood, and other filth, were not left perfect, large holes having been made in the sides and roofs for the convenience of handing out the goods and chattels. The sight of a deserted habitation is at all times calculated to excite in the mind a sensation of dreariness and desolation, especially

when we have lately seen it filled with cheerful inhabitants; but the feeling is even heightened rather than diminished when a small portion of these inhabitants remain behind to endure the wretchedness which such a scene exhibits. This was now the case at the village where, though the remaining tenants of each hut had combined to occupy one of the apartments, a great part of the bed-places were still bare and the wind and drift blowing in through the holes which they had not yet taken the trouble to stop up. The old man Hikkeiera and his wife occupied a hut by themselves, without any lamp or a single ounce of meat belonging to them; while three small skins, on which the former was lying, were all that they possessed in the way of blankets. Upon the whole, I never beheld a more miserable spectacle, and it seemed a charity to hope that a violent and constant cough with which the old man was afflicted would speedily combine with his age and infirmities to release him from his present sufferings. Yet in the midst of all this he was even cheerful, nor was there a gloomy countenance to be seen at the village.—pp. 201, 203.

The Eskimaux, however, appear to exhibit a strange mixture of intellect and dulness, of cunning and simplicity, of ingenuity and stupidity: few of them could count beyond five, and not one of them beyond ten, nor could any of them speak a dozen words of English after a constant intercourse of seventeen or eighteen months; yet many of them could imitate the manners and actions of the strangers, and were, on the whole, excellent mimics. One woman in particular, of the name of Iligliuk, very soon attracted the attention of our voyagers by the various traits of that superiority of understanding for which, it was found, she was remarkably distinguished, and held in esteem even by her own countrymen. She had a great fondness for singing, possessed a soft voice and an excellent ear; but, like another great singer, who figured in a very different society, 'there was scarcely any stopping her when she had once begun;' she would listen, however, for hours together to the tunes played on the organ. She seemed to be aware of her own superiority, and betrayed on several occasions a conscious pride of it. The following passage is illustrative of this trait in her character:—

'Iligliuk, who, from the superior neatness and cleanliness with which she performed her work, was by this time in great request as a sempstress, had promised to cover for me a little model of a canoe, and had in fact sent it to me by the serjeant of marines, though I had not rightly understood from the latter from which of the women it came. Believing that she had failed in her promise, I now taxed her with it, when she immediately defended herself with considerable warmth and seriousness, but without making me comprehend her meaning. Finding that she was wasting her words upon me, she said no more till an hour afterwards, when the serjeant accidentally coming into the cabin, she, with the utmost composure, but with a decision of manner

manner peculiar to herself, took hold of his arm to engage his attention, and then looking him stedfastly in the face, accused him of not having faithfully executed her commission to me. The mistake was thus instantly explained, and I thanked Iligliuk for her canoe; but it is impossible for me to describe the quiet, yet proud, satisfaction displayed in her countenance, at having thus cleared herself from the imputation of a breach of promise.—p. 180.

But the superior intelligence of this extraordinary woman was perhaps most conspicuous in the readiness with which she was made to comprehend the manner of laying down, on paper, the geographical outline of that part of the coast of America she was acquainted with, and the neighbouring islands, so as to construct a chart. At first it was found difficult to make her comprehend what was meant; but when Captain Parry had discovered that the Eskimaux were already acquainted with the four cardinal points of the compass, for which they have appropriate names, he drew them on a sheet of paper, together with that portion of the coast just discovered, which was opposite to Winter Island where they then were, and of course well known to her. Having done this, he says—

‘We desired her to complete the rest, and to do it *mikkee* (small), when, with a countenance of the most grave attention and peculiar intelligence, she drew the coast of the continent beyond her own country, as lying nearly north from Winter Island. The most important part still remained, and it would have amused an unconcerned looker-on to have observed the anxiety and suspense depicted on the countenances of our part of the group, till this was accomplished, for never were the tracings of a pencil watched with more eager solicitude. Our surprise and satisfaction may therefore, in some degree, be imagined when, without taking it from the paper, Iligliuk brought the continental coast short round to the westward, and afterwards to the S. S. W., so as to come within three or four days’ journey of Repulse Bay. The country thus situated upon the shores of the Western or Polar Sea is called *Akkoolee*, and is inhabited by numerous Esquimaux; and halfway between that coast and Repulse Bay Iligliuk drew a lake of considerable size, having small streams running from it to the sea on each side. To this lake her countrymen are annually in the habit of resorting during the summer, and catch there large fish of the salmon kind, while on the banks are found abundance of rein-deer. To the westward of Akkoolee, as far as they can see from the hills, which she described as high ones, nothing can be distinguished but one wide-extended sea. Being desirous of seeing whether Iligliuk would interfere with Wager River, as we know it to exist, I requested her to continue the coast-line to the southward of Akkoolee, when she immediately dropped the pencil, and said she knew no more about it.—pp. 197, 198.

Captain Parry now recollected that, when at the head of Lyon Inlet, he had observed; from a high hill, a brightness in the western sky,

sky, resembling the ice-*blink*, and noticed it to Mr. Ross; and that this gentleman, together with Mr. Bushman, on ascending a higher hill, had seen a great deal of water to the W.N.W., with islands and capes. These appearances, at the time, were considered to be chains of lakes, common to this part of America; but, on examining Iligliuk's chart, Captain Parry had not a doubt remaining on his mind that they were, in fact, a part of the Polar Sea, which, as they afterwards discovered, runs down behind Repulse Bay, and probably not more than a day's journey from it. The Eskimaux, after this, in stating the distance, called it three *seniks*; (sleeps) but the length of their sleeps is measured by time and not distance, and the longest of them is generally short. The party that left Winter Island on a journey to the northward were overtaken by the ships in one day's sailing, at a spot on the coast which had cost them forty sleeps to reach.*

Nothing could be more gratifying than the intelligence which was thus communicated by the female chart-maker, and which they had every reason implicitly to trust; for, as that part which described the coast they had examined was perfectly correct, it was but fair to believe the rest was equally so, particularly as Iligliuk was a native of the more northern parts. Other charts were now drawn by other Eskimaux, without any concert with one another; and it is surprizing how very nearly they were found to agree. And, indeed, from this time, our voyagers received various points of information from these people, and particularly from Iligliuk; all of which were subsequently confirmed on their progress to the northward—such as the nature of the strait communicating with the Polar Sea; the numerous islands; the walruses and other animals, which they would meet with. Nor were they backward, on their part, in endeavouring to instruct these interesting people; some of whom, and particularly Iligliuk, were inquisitive enough. On one occasion, Captain Parry found this extraordinary woman observing the smith welding two pieces of iron, 'I never,' he says, 'saw her express so much astonishment at any thing before. Even in this, her superior good sense was observable; for it was evident that the utility of what she saw going on was what forced itself upon her mind; and she watched every

* On turning to Smith and Moore's account of their examination of the Wager River, about the middle of last century, we perceive that when they were near the head of that inlet, they observed from the hills what they considered to be a chain of lakes to the north-east; but which were unquestionably the ice and water of the Polar Sea; the distance across the isthmus from that inlet being not more than, and probably not so much as, that from Repulse Bay. The account given by the lieutenant and master of Middleton's ship is still more decisive. They 'saw to the northward a large collection of water, in which were several islands and high mountainous land on both sides of it, the west side having many bluff points and broken land,' which was in fact the northern coast of America.

stroke of the hammer and every blast of the bellows with extreme eagerness. The consequence, however, of her superior understanding was, just what might have been expected,—that our voyagers, by their admiration and constant attention, spoiled her; and Captain Parry, with no disposition to depreciate her character, thus closes his description of it:

"I am however compelled to acknowledge that, in proportion as the superior understanding of this extraordinary woman became more and more developed, her head (for what female head is indifferent to praise!) began to be turned with the general attention and numberless presents she received. The superior decency and even modesty of her behaviour had combined, with her intellectual qualities, to raise her in our estimation far above her companions; and I often heard others express what I could not but agree in, that for Iligliuk alone, of all the Esquimaux women, that kind of respect could be entertained which modesty in a female never fails to command in our sex. Thus regarded, she had always been freely admitted into the ships, the quartermasters at the gangway never thinking of refusing entrance to "the wise woman" as they called her. Whenever any explanation was necessary between the Esquimaux and us, Iligliuk was sent for quite as an interpreter; information was chiefly obtained through her, and she thus found herself rising into a degree of consequence to which, but for us, she could never have attained. Notwithstanding a more than ordinary share of good sense on her part, it will not therefore be wondered at if she became giddy with her exaltation, assuming certain airs which, though infinitely diversified in their operation according to circumstances, perhaps universally attend a too sudden accession of good fortune in every child of Adam from the equator to the poles. The consequence was that Iligliuk was soon spoiled; considered her admission into the ships and most of the cabins no longer as an indulgence but a right; ceased to return the slightest acknowledgment for any kindness or presents; became listless and inattentive in unravelling the meaning of our questions, and careless whether her answers conveyed the information we desired. In short, Iligliuk in February and Iligliuk in April were confessedly very different persons; and it was at last amusing to recollect, though not very easy to persuade one's self, that the woman who now sat demurely in a chair so confidently expecting the notice of those around her, and she who had at first with eager and wild delight assisted in cutting snow for the building of a hut, and with the hope of obtaining a single needle, were actually one and the same individual."—pp. 219, 220.

At the close of the month of May it became a matter of general observation, and of course of general regret, how few symptoms of thawing had yet appeared; and it was impossible not to recollect that Melville Island had, on the same day, two years before, advanced full as far in throwing off its winter's covering; that before this time, at the latter station, they had experienced several hours of hard rain; and that, in consequence, the ice around Melville Island

Island had assumed a green appearance, while at Winter Island it remained perfectly white. Another comparison was made between the two winter-quarters. The first flower of the *saxifraga oppositifolia* was brought on board as a matter of curiosity on the 9th June, which was *one day later* than it had made its appearance at Melville Island. Again, in the middle of June, a few gallons of water were collected from some little pools, while, at the same date, at Melville Island, 'the ravines were beginning to be dangerous to pass, and were actually impassable during the third week in June: yet Winter Island is situated in lat. $66\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, or $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south of Melville Islands, which lies in lat. $74\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$. The lowest temperature at Melville Island was -55° , at Winter Island -40° .

Having nearly completed the ninth month at Winter Island, on the 2d July, the ships, partly by the exertions of the men in sawing the ice, and partly by the wind drifting from the land, finally effected their escape; doubled the south-east point of this part of America, and stood to the northward up Fox's Channel; keeping the coast of the continent, as directed by their instructions, close on board, and sailing in a channel of water from three or four hundred yards to two miles in width. The shore, in most places, was lined with old ice, while, to sea-ward, large floes and masses were observed in violent motion, being acted upon by the wind, currents, and tides. By these agents, in so confined a channel, one of the ships was swept against the other; 'and after some grinding and squeezing,' says Captain Parry, 'we considered ourselves to have escaped very well with the loss of one of the Hecla's boats, which was torn to pieces by the Fury's anchor.' On the turn of the tide, however, when both it and the current set to the southward, the whole of the navigable channel, through which the ships were slowly working their way, was almost immediately filled by a vast body of drift ice. The Hecla, enveloped in the great mass, broke adrift after losing seven hawsers. Captain Lyon's account will convey a good idea of the dangerous situation in which he was placed:

'The flood-tide coming down loaded with a more than ordinary quantity of ice pressed the ship very much between six and seven A.M., and rendered it necessary to run out the stream cable, in addition to the hawsers which were fast to the land ice. This was scarcely accomplished when a very heavy and extensive floe took the ship on her broadside and, being backed by another large body of ice, gradually lifted her stern as if by the action of a wedge. The weight every moment increasing obliged us to veer on the hawsers, whose friction was so great as nearly to cut through the bitt-heads, and ultimately set them on fire, so that it became requisite for people to attend with buckets of water. The pressure was at length too powerful for resistance, and the stream cable, with two six and one five inch hawsers, went at the same moment. Three others soon followed. The sea was

too full of ice to allow the ship to drive, and the only way by which she could yield to the enormous weight which oppressed her was by leaning over the land ice, while her stern at the same time was entirely lifted more than five feet out of the water. The lower deck beams now complained very much, and the whole frame of the ship underwent a trial which would have proved fatal to any less strengthened vessel. At this moment the rudder was unhung with a sudden jerk, which broke up the rudder case and struck the driver boom with great force. In this state I made known our situation by telegraph, as I clearly saw that, in the event of another floe backing the one which lifted us, the ship must inevitably turn over, or part in mid-ships. The pressure which had been so dangerous at length proved our friend, for by its increasing weight the floe on which we were borne burst upwards, unable to resist its force. The ship righted, and, a small slack opening in the water, drove several miles to the southward before she could be again secured to get the rudder hung; circumstances much to be regretted at the moment, as our people had been employed with but little intermission for three days and nights, attending to the safety of the ship in this dangerous tideway.—p. 258.

The *Fury* had almost as narrow an escape as the *Hecla* :

A little before noon a heavy floe some miles in length, being probably a part of that lately detached from the shore, came driving down fast towards us, giving us serious reason to apprehend some more fatal catastrophe than any we had yet encountered. In a few minutes it came in contact, at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, with a point of the land-ice left the preceding night by its own separation, breaking it up with a tremendous crash, and forcing numberless immense masses, perhaps many tons in weight, to the height of fifty or sixty feet, from whence they again rolled down on the inner or land side, and were quickly succeeded by a fresh supply. While we were obliged to be quiet spectators of this grand but terrific sight, being within five or six hundred yards of the point, the danger to ourselves was two-fold; first, lest the floe should now swing in, and serve us much in the same manner; and secondly, lest its pressure should detach the land ice to which we were secured, and thus set us adrift and at the mercy of the tides. Happily however neither of these occurred, the floe remaining stationary for the rest of the tide and setting off with the ebb which made soon after.—p. 260.

In addition to the danger which threatened to crush and overwhelm the ships among these tremendous masses of ice, thus thrown into violent motion, was the chance of being beset in the midst of the floes, and in that helpless state swept away with the flood-tide and current to the southward, and drifted back again to Southampton Island, as had happened to them before, and thus again would the labour of weeks be inevitably lost. By the 12th July, however, after long and unrelenting perseverance, and by taking advantage of every opening and breeze of wind to move the ships to the

the northward, they had reached the latitude of $67^{\circ} 18'$, opposite to a considerable opening in the land, out of which a strong current was observed to set into the sea. It had not the least appearance of a passage; but as it offered a security against any ice coming in, Captain Parry determined to anchor as near it as possible, and to examine what he justly supposed to be a fresh-water river. It would appear that the polar, like the torrid regions, have their Oases to relieve the dreary monotony of the surrounding wastes, and we think our readers will be gratified with the author's description of this solitary 'spot of verdure,' which is given with equal elegance and spirit, and is further illustrated by a very excellent plate.

↑ Landing on the south shore and hauling the boats up above high-water mark, we rambled up the banks of the stream, which are low next the water, but rise almost immediately to the height of about two hundred feet. As we proceeded we gradually heard the noise of a fall of water; and being presently obliged to strike more inland, as the bank became more precipitous, soon obtained a fresh view of the stream running on a much higher level than before, and dashing with great impetuosity down two small cataracts. Just below this, however, where the river turns almost at a right angle, we perceived a much greater spray, as well as a louder sound; and having walked a short distance down the bank, suddenly came upon the principal fall, of whose magnificence I am at a loss to give any adequate description. At the head of the fall, or where it commences its principal descent, the river is contracted to about one hundred and fifty feet in breadth, the channel being hollowed out through a solid rock of gneiss. After falling about fifteen feet at an angle of 30° with a vertical line, the width of the stream is still narrowed to about forty yards, and then, as if mustering its whole force previous to its final descent, is precipitated in one vast continuous sheet of water almost perpendicular for ninety feet more. So nearly, indeed, is the rock perpendicular, that we were enabled to let down a sounding lead and line, for the purpose of measuring its actual height, while a man descended from crag to crag with a second line attached to him, to see when the lead touched the water below. The dashing of the water from such a height, produced the usual accompaniment of a cloud of spray, broad columns of which were constantly forced up, like the successive rushes of smoke from a vast furnace, and on this, near the top, a vivid iris or rainbow was occasionally formed by the bright rays of an unclouded sun. "The roaring of the mountain-cataract," which constitutes a principal feature of the sublime scenery of this magnificent nature, was here almost deafening, and as we were able to approach the head of the fall, even as close as a single yard, the very rock seemed to suffer a concussion under our feet. The basin that receives the water at the foot of the fall is nearly of a circular form, and about four hundred yards in diameter, being rather wider than the river immediately below it. The fall is about three quarters of a mile above our landing-place, or two miles and a quarter from the entrance of the river.

After

'After remaining nearly an hour, fixed as it were to the spot, by the novelty and magnificence of the scene before us, we continued our walk upwards along the banks; and after passing the two smaller cataracts, found the river again increased in width to above two hundred yards, winding in the most romantic manner imaginable among the hills, and preserving a smooth and unraffed surface for a distance of three or four miles that we traced it to the south-west above the fall. What added extremely to the beauty of this picturesque river, which Captain Lyon and myself named after our mutual friend, Mr. Barrow, secretary to the admiralty, was the richness of the vegetation on its banks, the enlivening brilliancy of a cloudless sky, and the animation given to the scene by several reindeer that were grazing beside the stream.'—pp. 264, 265.

On the following day they had an unobstructed run of fifty miles, 'an event of no trifling importance,' as Captain Parry says, 'in this tedious and uncertain navigation.' About this place their Eskimaux friends had prepared them for meeting with vast numbers of the walrus, or sea-horse; and accordingly they fell in with such a multitude of these animals, as, in Captain Parry's opinion, were probably not to be seen in any other part of the world. They were lying in large herds on the loose pieces of drift ice, huddled upon one another, from twelve to thirty in a group. They were not in the least frightened by the people getting upon the same piece of ice with themselves; but when approached close, they began to show an evident disposition to give battle. From the prodigious numbers of these creatures, and other circumstances, our navigators were now certain that the names of the two islands, Amitioke and Ooglit, as laid down in the chart of Iligliuk and the other Eskimaux, were in their proper positions, and they therefore proceeded with great confidence to the spot beyond them, where the passage that was to conduct them into the Polar Sea was also laid down. This passage they speedily recognized in its proper place; and congratulated themselves on being at the very threshold of the door that was to open a way to the final success of their enterprise;—we may therefore imagine the mortification which succeeded, when it was perceived that an unbroken sheet of ice extended completely across the mouth of the strait, from the northern to the southern land; and this too at so advanced a period as the middle of July. The disappointment became the more serious on finding, from the nature of the ice which formed the impediment, that it bore evident marks of being a floe which had long been attached to the land on every side; and it was besides so level and continuous as to convince them that it had suffered no disruption in the course of that season.

To enter into the details of the unwearied endeavours to push to the westward through this frozen passage; the scarcely perceptible progress made by the partial and occasional fragments of

of ice that separated from the main body; the anxiety with which every such breaking off was watched; and the final repulse of the ships before they reached the middle of the strait, where it was hermetically sealed by the ice and three islands, among which it was closely jammed by a perpetual current from the westward—would take up more space than we can afford: suffice it to say that, from the time of their first arrival before it, until frozen into their winter quarters, they had struggled to make way for sixty-five days; during which the whole distance they had advanced to the westward in the strait was about forty miles: of this period, however, twenty-five days had been spent close to the edge of the ice, in the narrows, watching with intense anxiety for every piece that separated from the main floe, and took its departure to the eastward.

From the moment of their arrival before the mouth of the strait, their exertions, as we have said, were incessant, not only to force the ships to the westward, but to ascertain with precision the geographical position and features of this northern extremity of America, and of the numerous islands and rocky inlets in the neighbourhood, by which the passage seemed to be guarded. Captain Lyon had accompanied an Eskimaux to a salmon fishery up a large inlet a little to the southward of the strait, but from the thick and inclement weather, he was unable to point out its exact direction, and returned without reaching its extreme westerly termination. It was therefore deemed possible that it might be a second strait, communicating with the Polar Sea. To ascertain whether this was the fact or not, seems to have given Captain Parry considerable uneasiness; it might not only be a second passage, but an open one, and 'stopped,' says he, 'as we had now been at the very threshold of the north-west passage for nearly four weeks, without advancing twice as many miles to the westward, suspense at such a crisis was scarcely the less painful because we knew it to be inevitable.' As he felt it his duty to pass no opening that held out the least chance of a passage, without determining that point, he sent out repeated parties to explore it, but without success; till at length he himself effected it, but not without difficulty, having traced it into the American continent until he found only a few feet depth of water, and rounded its extreme end. This opening is named on the chart, Hooper's Inlet.

When the 17th of September had arrived, it was observed with pain that the ice of the preceding year's formation was not yet detached from the shores, while a fresh formation had already commenced. This prospect was not a little discouraging,—but we leave Captain Parry to describe it.

'Appearances had now become so much against our making any further

further progress this season, as to render it a matter of very serious consideration whether we ought to risk being shut up during the winter, in the middle of the strait, where, from whatever cause it might proceed, the last year's ice was not yet wholly detached from the shores; and where a fresh formation had already commenced, which there was but too much reason to believe would prove a permanent one. It has been seen by what gradual steps our information was obtained respecting the strait now before us, how frequent were the delays, and how insurmountable the obstacles we had to encounter; and, though no account, however detailed, can convey an adequate idea of the anxiety with which each scrap of information was sought after and received, or the daily and hourly mortification attendant on each fresh delay, the foregoing narrative is, perhaps, sufficient to shew that it was not without considerable mental solicitude, as well as physical exertion, that we had effected even thus far our passage to the westward. In proportion to the labour and disappointments which the attainment of this object had cost us, was the reluctance I felt in admitting even a thought of its abandonment; and as long as the weather continued open, I always ventured to cherish a belief that some favourable alteration might yet occur. Now, however, that the frost was hourly at work in re-connecting, by numberless links, the "older" masses, whose partial separation had lately excited our hopes, it seemed scarcely reasonable any longer to entertain an expectation of such a change as could essentially promote our ultimate object. Had we, indeed, succeeded in getting fairly through the strait, and then found no more than the *ordinary* obstacles of these seas to contend with, I could not have had a moment's hesitation in continuing to push on to the last hour of the navigable season; taking our chance, as usual, of then finding a place of security for our winter-quarters. But the prospect now before us offering no such encouragement, it appeared more prudent to regulate our proceedings according to existing circumstances, and rather to moderate our views for the present, than by an ill-timed perseverance to interfere with our hopes for the future."—pp. 351, 352.

A few days more decided what was to be done; the young ice had assumed that consistency which baffles all attempt to operate upon it—"too thick," says Captain Parry, "to allow a ship to be forced through it; too tough for regular sawing, and yet dangerous for men to walk upon." "To get a boat," he adds, "her own length through it would occupy a dozen men a quarter of an hour; and, after all, without being able to make a channel for the ship." Under such circumstances, it was obvious that no time was to be lost in looking out for the best winter-quarters that the neighbouring islands would afford; but it was not till after many dark and stormy days were spent at sea among the floating ice, and the loss of several anchors, that they succeeded in bringing the ships into their destined birth, at the island of Igloodik, on the 30th of October, after employing the men for several days in the arduous task of cutting a canal through the ice.

'The whole length of the canal was four thousand three hundred and forty-three feet; the thickness of the ice in the level and regular parts being from twelve to fourteen inches, but in many places, where a separation had occurred, amounting to several feet. I cannot sufficiently do justice to the cheerful alacrity with which the men continued this laborious work during thirteen days, the thermometer being frequently at zero, and once as low as -9° in that interval. It was satisfactory, moreover, to find that, in the performance of this, not a single addition had been made to the sick list of either ship, except by the accident of one man's falling into the canal, and who returned to his duty a day or two afterwards.'—p. 371.

Captain Parry's reflections on this occasion are both just and natural; and the expedient to which he at once determined to resort speaks volumes as to his resolute and enterprising character; though we can by no means approve of what appears to us little less than a desperate measure, productive of no real benefit to the object in view, and likely to be attended with fatal results: with this view of the subject, we cannot lament the cause which put an end to the project.

'Flattering as our prospects appeared at the commencement of the past summer, our efforts had certainly not been attended with a proportionate degree of success; and little satisfaction remained to us at the close of the season, but the consciousness of having left no means within our reach untried, that could in any way promote our object. It required indeed but a single glance at the chart to perceive, that whatever the last summer's navigation had added to our geographical knowledge of the eastern coast of America, and its adjacent lands, very little had in reality been effected in furtherance of the North-west Passage. Even the actual discovery of the desired outlet into [from] the Polar Sea, had been of no practical benefit in the prosecution of our enterprise; for we had only discovered this channel to find it impassable, and to see the barriers of nature impenetrably closed against us; to the utmost limit of the navigable season.

'Viewing the matter in this light, it appeared to resolve itself into the single question, by what means the resources of the expedition could possibly be extended beyond the period to which they were at present calculated to last, namely, the close of the year 1824. Only one expedient suggested itself by which that object could be attained; and this I determined to adopt should no unforeseen occurrence arise to prevent it.—It was to send the *Hecla* to England in the following season, taking from her a twelvemonth's provisions and fuel to complete the *Fury's* resources to the end of the year 1825; and then continuing our efforts in that ship singly as long as a reasonable hope remained of our ultimate success. One or two collateral advantages occurred to me as likely to be derived from this plan; the first of which was the opportunity thus afforded of transmitting to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a full account of our past proceedings and present situation and intentions, whereby perhaps much needless anxiety on
our

our account might be prevented. It would also, as I hoped, allow their Lordships the option of making any alteration which they might now deem requisite in the arrangements pointed out in my instructions, respecting the ship to be sent to meet us near Behring's Strait, for which the orders might not perhaps leave England before the arrival of the *Hecla* there, in the autumn of 1823. These were, however, minor and less important considerations; my principal object and determination being to persevere, to the utmost extent of our resources, in the prosecution of the enterprise with which I had the honour to be charged. Having suggested this expedient to Captain Lyon, I had much satisfaction in finding his opinion entirely coincide with my own; and without at present mentioning it to the other individuals belonging to the expedition, we continued to consult together from time to time during the winter, concerning the arrangements it would be requisite to make for commencing the execution of our plan in the course of the following spring.—pp. 372, 374.

Being now fairly fixed in their second winter-quarters, they set about making such arrangements as experience had taught them would add considerably to their comforts. Instructed by the Eskimaux, Captain Parry caused a wall of snow twelve feet high to be thrown up round the *Fury*, at the distance of twenty yards from her, 'forming a large square like that of a farm yard,' by which the snow-drift was kept out, and a good sheltered walk afforded against every wind; and by it was also prevented, in some measure, the abstraction of heat from the ship, which was found to be very considerable in high winds. The distance between the two ships was too great to allow of the continuance of theatrical entertainments, which, in fact, had, with other occupations, in a great degree lost their interest with their novelty; the want of these, however, was amply compensated by the almost daily visits of the Eskimaux, which afforded both to officers and men 'a fund of constant variety and never-failing amusement, that,' says Captain Parry, 'no resources of our own could possibly have furnished.' The men, however, were too well aware of the advantages which they had derived from the schools, not to be desirous of their re-establishment; this was accordingly done, and they continued to be attended regularly for the six succeeding months.

The Eskimaux who had fixed their winter-quarters on the island of Igloodik were more numerous than those on Winter Island. The snow-houses were constructed on the same principle; some, however, were lined with skins, over which was a covering of snow; and some had passages to them from ten to fifteen feet in length, and from four to five feet high, neatly constructed of large flat slabs of ice, cemented together by snow and water; others were entirely built of this material, of a circular or octangular form.

'The light and transparent effect,' Captain Parry observes, 'within

'within these singular habitations, gave one the idea of being in a house of ground glass, and their newness made them look clean, comfortable and wholesome.' They soon, however, lose this comfortable state; for it is observed that, 'when all the lamps are lighted and the hut full of people and dogs, a thermometer placed on the net over the fire, indicated a temperature of 38° ; when removed two or three feet from this situation it fell to 32° , and placed close to the wall stood at 23° ; the temperature of the open air at the time being 25° below zero.' But toward the spring of the year, when from the increased temperature without, and the warmth of the huts within, the ice and snow begin to melt, these poor people are grievously affected with colds and febrile diseases, which was so much the case in the present season, that out of 155 individuals who passed the winter at Igloolik, it was ascertained that eighteen had died, while only nine births had taken place in the same period: many more must have perished of famine or disease, but for the friendly and humane endeavours of our navigators to relieve them, as far as they were able.

Any abstract that we could give of the various exploring parties sent out during their long imprisonment at Igloolik, would convey but a very inadequate notion of the strenuous exertions made both by the officers and men in obtaining geographical information, and collecting subjects of natural history; as well as of the various astronomical, hydrographical, and atmospherical observations and phenomena: we pass on, therefore, to the 1st of August, 1823, on which day, as Captain Parry observes, 'incredible as it may appear, the ships were as securely confined in the ice as in the middle of winter, except that a pool of water about twice their own length in diameter was now open around them.' 'I determined, therefore,' he adds, 'notwithstanding the apparent hopelessness of sawing our way through four or five miles of ice, to begin that laborious process.' In three days, however, after excessive fatigue and constant toil, a broad canal 1,100 yards in length was effected; by means of which, assisted by a natural disruption of the floe, the *Fury* was liberated and got into open water on the 8th of August, and on the 12th was followed by the *Hecla*.

The lowest degree of temperature experienced in their winter quarters at Igloolik was 45° below zero, in the month of January; and the mean comparative temperatures of the six months, from October to March, inclusive, of the three winter stations, was as follows:—

At Winter Island, . . . lat. $66\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ — 11.7°

At Igloolik, lat. $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ — 18.3°

At Melville Island, . . lat. $74\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ — 24°

Captain Parry having caused as many stores and provisions to be removed,

removed, in the course of the winter, out of the *Hecla*, as she could spare, so as to leave sufficient for her voyage to England, now resolved to prosecute his further discoveries in the *Fury* alone; but,—fortunately we must say, a few days previously to their liberation, several slight but unequivocal cases of scurvy were reported by Mr. Edwards, the surgeon. In the early part of spring most of the officers had experienced slight attacks of this insidious disease, which; however, readily gave way to lemon-juice, but the men had hitherto escaped; now, however, the disease again made its appearance among several of the officers who had recovered from its former attacks, and four or five of the *Fury's* men were also affected. The same thing happened also in the *Hecla*.

‘That a ship’s company,’ says Captain Parry, ‘should begin to evince symptoms of scurvy, after twenty-seven months entire dependence upon the resources contained within their ship, (an experiment hitherto unknown perhaps in the annals of navigation, even for one-fourth part of that period,) could scarcely indeed be a subject of wonder, though it was at this particular time a matter of very sincere regret.’

We have already expressed a contrary opinion; we look upon this visitation, at the time it occurred, as a most fortunate circumstance, as it is quite clear from some very sensible observations of Mr. Edwards, that another winter, in a single ship, might have proved fatal, perhaps, to every officer and man.

‘It is not necessary,’ he says, ‘that I should dwell on the altered circumstances in which the crew would then be placed, as they are such as you must long ago have foreseen and weighed. I allude to the increase of labour and exposure resulting from the separation of the vessels, the privation of many salutary occupations, mental and corporeal, attending their union, and I may add, at this late period of the season, the hopelessness of the success of the ensuing navigation being such as to excite feelings sufficiently lively to counteract those depressing causes. It is impossible, in fact, to reflect on the subject and not to apprehend a less favourable result than might be expected under the preceding conditions.’

This opinion, backed by that of Captain Lyon, satisfied Captain Parry of the inexpediency of the attempt, and determined him to make the best of his way home.

‘Under such circumstances I no longer considered it prudent or justifiable, upon the slender chance of eventual success now before us, to risk the safety of the officers and men committed to my charge, and whom it was now my first wish to re-conduct in good health to their country and their friends.’

Having taken this determination, the ships’ heads were turned to the southward on the 12th of August; and in the course of two days; on account of the wind failing them, were completely enveloped in ice, and along with it carried away to the southward, by

that perpetual current which sets down Fox's Channel; when, on the 30th, they found themselves close to their old quarters off Winter Island.

'Thus had we,' (says Captain Parry,) 'in a most singular manner, once more arrived at our old winter-quarters, with scarcely a single successful exertion on our parts towards effecting that object. The distance from Ooglit to our present station was about one hundred and sixty miles along the coast. Of this we had never sailed above forty, the rest of the distance having been accomplished while we were immovably beset, by mere drifting. The interval thus employed having been barely eight days, gives an average drift to the southward of above fifteen miles per day.'—p. 478.

Nor did the drift ice stop here. It whirled them past the island towards Lyon's inlet, half-way up which the *Fury* was driven, without the possibility of stopping her, and left at the mercy of the ice and currents, among rocks and dangerous shoals, while the *Hecla* was in no better plight; and thus they continued to be driven about for ten or twelve days. Nor was this all; the season was so far advanced that a considerable degree of frost took place nightly; and, says Captain Parry, 'we began to consider it not improbable that we might yet be detained for another winter.' On the 17th of September, however, a good strong westerly breeze forced them out to the eastward, and allowed them once more to shape a course in a perfectly open sea. 'We then finally' (Captain Parry observes) 'made our escape from the ice, after having been almost immovably beset in it for twenty-four days out of the last twenty-six, in the course of which time the ships had been taken over no less than one hundred and forty leagues of ground, generally very close to the shore, and always unable to do any thing towards effecting their escape from danger.' We may well imagine their feelings at being thus set free from a long, dreary, and helpless state of entanglement, and with what delight the seamen, imprisoned as they had been for so many months, 'in thrilling regions of thick-ribb'd ice,' now once more on their own element, would listen to the shrill whistle,

'which doth order give
To sounds confus'd, and mark the threaten'd sails,
Borne with the invincible and creeping wind,
Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea,
Breasting the lofty surge.'

From this time, in fact, they saw no more ice, but were allowed to make their way down the Straits and across the Atlantic, with fresh breezes and flowing sails: they reached Lerwick, in the Shetland islands, on the 10th of October, where they enjoyed the 'first trace of civilized man that they had seen for seven-and-twenty months.'

months.' The kindness which they received from these poor but hospitable people is thus feelingly described:—

'I feel it utterly impossible adequately to express the kindness and attention we received for the three or four days that we were detained in Bressay Sound by a continuance of unfavourable winds. On the first information of our arrival the bells of Lerwick were set ringing, the inhabitants flocked from every part of the country to express their joy at our unexpected return, and the town was at night illuminated as if each individual had a brother or a son among us. On the 12th, being Sunday, the officers and men of both ships attended divine service on shore, when the worthy minister, the Reverend Mr. Menzies, who was before well known to many among us, offered up in the most solemn and impressive manner a thanksgiving for our safe return; at the same time calling upon us, with great earnestness, never to forget what we owed to Him who had been "about our path, and about our bed, and who spieth out all our ways." The peculiarity of the circumstances under which we had joined the congregation, the warmth of feeling exhibited by every person assembled within the sacred walls, together with the affectionate energy of the preacher, combined to produce an effect of which words can convey but little idea, but which will not easily be effaced from the minds of those who were present on this affecting occasion.'—p. 486.

Captain Parry arrived at the Admiralty on the 18th of October, and the ships at Deptford a few days afterwards; the officers and crews all in high health; having lost, however, in the course of the voyage, five men, three by sickness, one of previous disease, and one killed, out of the two crews composed of 118 men.

The information gained by this voyage has finally settled the North-eastern termination of the continent of America, and the communication round it with the Polar Sea, though an impassable one by ships. The latitude of that point is $69^{\circ} 41' N.$ longitude $89^{\circ} 33' W.$ It is the extremity of a narrow peninsula (named by Captain Parry, Melville Peninsula) which stretches out from the general line of the continent like a great bastion, and is connected with it by a crooked isthmus, which might with propriety be called the isthmus of Little Darien. The length of the narrowest part of the strait, which Captain Parry has named the 'Strait of the Fury and Hecla,' is three miles in the direction of E. by S. and W. by N. it is two miles across, and nearly uniform in its width the whole way. The length, which is the width of the peninsula, is about sixty geographical miles. The land to the northward Captain Parry has named Cockburn Island, round the northern extremity of which the Eskimaux said there was a passage, but none of them could say that it was navigable. This island must either extend to Barrow's Strait, or very near it.

The result of this most laborious, irksome, and anxious voyage,

is, to say the least of it, a very valuable addition to our geographical knowledge of the seas and lands within the Arctic regions; and if it has not, as Captain Parry observes, and as we set out with saying, discovered the route by which the North-West Passage may be effected, it has at least clearly pointed out that by which it *cannot*. It has proved the total inutility of any further attempt up Hudson's Strait, and along the eastern coast of America up Fox's Channel; the navigation of which is, perhaps, the most dangerous, difficult and uncertain, of any other of equal extent, in the seas within the Arctic regions.

The chief cause of these difficulties is now sufficiently obvious. We know that our old navigators invariably found a strong current setting down the channel, called the Welcome, along the coast of America, into Hudson's Bay; from thence through the strait to the westward, carrying with it whole fields of ice, together with those immense masses known by the name of ice-bergs, conveying them along the coast of Labrador, across the banks of Newfoundland and the tail of the gulph stream, from thence to the southward, in the teeth of that stream, and never quitting the American side of the Atlantic, though westerly gales of wind are almost as constant as the gulph-stream. Where then originates this perpetual motion of the sea to the southward? certainly not in Baffin's Bay, where no current was found to exist; nor in Hudson's Bay, into which it is poured down from the northward; nor in Lancaster Sound, where little or none was found; it can only therefore originate in some open sea to the westward. The first discoverers seem to have been aware of this, and concluded that it flowed round the north-east point of America, which they imagined was not far distant from the Welcome, and accordingly their endeavours were directed, but in vain, to discover that point. Captain Parry has now ascertained it; and with it the important fact, that a perpetual current sets through the strait which divides the continent from a large island to the northward of it—so strong that it brings with it out of the Polar Sea, and wedges into the strait, such immense fields of ice as to render a passage through the strait utterly hopeless; for no sooner does a disruption (sometimes of a square mile or more in extent) take place at the eastern entrance, than its place is immediately supplied with an equal extent from the field to the westward.

The question then that naturally occurs is, from whence does the Polar Sea, surrounded as it is by land, receive a sufficient supply of water, to provide for the perpetual discharge that takes place through the Strait of the Fury and Hecla? It cannot be from the torrents of melted ice and snow in the sea and surrounding shores and islands, which a pleasing but not very profound French writer thought

thought sufficient to explain the ebbing and flowing of the tides: Captain Franklin saw no such torrents; indeed so small is the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere in high latitudes, that it scarcely ever rains; no snow fell at Melville island during a whole winter, and the spiculæ which floated in the air, lay on the ground not more than a few inches; at Winter island, perhaps eight inches, not a third part of the quantity which frequently falls in many parts of Great Britain, nor, perhaps, a sixth of that on the continent; yet it would be absurd to suppose that the North Sea or St. George's channel was ever swelled by the melting of snow. Neither can it be from the melting of ice on the Polar Sea; for that would diminish instead of increasing the bulk of water, by the contraction of its dimensions when in a fluid state; we might just as well suppose that a piece of ice placed in a basin of water would by melting cause the water to run over the edges. We might also ask why this melting of the ice produced a current *out* of the Polar Sea on one side of America, and *into* it on the other? The current must, therefore, originate *out* of the limits of the Polar Sea, which we always thought was the case, and, in fact, has now been proved to be so.

On turning to our Nos. 35 and 36, written before any of the recent northern voyages had been undertaken, it will be seen, that from the great quantities of drift-wood found on the shores of the Aleutian islands, generally the growth of more southern climates, from its abundance on both shores of America and Asia, still higher up, and from so much of it being intermixed in the ice of Behring's Strait as to supply Captain Cook's ships with fire-wood, we concluded that the waters of the Pacific flowed into the Polar Sea through Behring's Strait. That this is literally the fact has since been corroborated by Kotzebue, who, in his late voyage, found a constant current setting up the Strait at the rate of two and three miles an hour, that on the Asiatic side, after passing the Strait, turning round to the westward towards the North-east cape, and that on the American side, round Icy Cape to the eastward. The same fact has since been experienced by two Russian corvettes, which found the current setting so strongly to the eastward, as to occasion some alarm lest they should not be able to return.* Proceeding

* The following copy of a Note written at Petersburg, puts this beyond a doubt.

Commodore Krusenstern has the honour to present his respects to Sir Charles Bagot, and to inform him that he has seen the commander of the two ships returned last year from the straits of Behring. With respect to the currents in these straits, they have been observed constantly to set on the coast of Asia to the N. W. near the coast of America to the N. E. and off Icy Cape, near which the ships remained four days, *due east*, at the rate of twenty-five and thirty miles a day. These ships were about twenty or thirty miles to the northward of Icy Cape. As to the state of the ice, it was seen floating in not very great masses, so that if the wind had been southerly, the coast might have been clear of it.—14th January, 1823.

along the northern coast of America to Hearne's river, we have the testimony of Captain Franklin that the same kind of drift-wood was deposited on the western shores of jutting headlands from thence to Cape Turnagain; and we have now the authority of the Eskimaux, whom Captain Parry considers as fully worthy of credit, that a considerable part of their supply of wood for sledges, boats, bows, and other implements is received from Akkoolee on the western shore of Melville peninsula behind Repulse Bay. These are unequivocal proofs of a current setting easterly from the Pacific along the northern shore of America. But we can trace it still farther into the Atlantic. Being impeded in its course in this *cul de sac*, behind the isthmus of Melville Peninsula, it is necessarily turned to the northward along the western shore of the latter, till finding an outlet by the Strait of the Hecla and Fury, it rushes through, beneath the ice, with which, as we have seen, the Strait is hermetically sealed, at the rate of four miles an hour, carrying with it, down Fox's Channel, large fields, floes, and detached masses of ice to the southward; and making, together with a flood tide of eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, in the same direction, the navigation up that channel so hazardous and harassing as it was found by the late expedition, and which renders all future attempts by the same route hopeless and therefore unadvisable. From Fox's Channel it sweeps along both sides of Southampton Island, round Hudson's Bay, and through the Strait, down the coast of Labrador, and, as we have already seen, across the banks of Newfoundland into the Atlantic.

Some vague information was received from the Eskimaux of another strait to the northward of Cockburn island, but it could not be traced that any of them had ever sailed through it in their canoes. Captain Hoppner made an attempt to cross this island; but his Eskimaux guides forsook him, and he was compelled to return. Captain Parry did not attempt it, not deeming it proper to quit the Strait of the Fury and Hecla with the ships, while a hope remained of forcing them through it. But supposing such a strait to exist, and even to afford a practicable passage for ships, we do not think that any further attempt by that route would be advisable. For though we believe that the eastern side of Fox's Channel offers none of those difficulties and dangers which exist on its western shore, it would still be necessary to cross over to the latter; and judging from what happened to the late expedition, we think it extremely probable that, having gained the latitude of this supposed Cockburn Strait, the ships in crossing the channel might get entangled in a floe of ice, and in this helpless state be hurled down by the united strength of the tide and current to Southampton or Winter Islands, as were the Hecla and Fury.

Is then any further attempt to be abandoned as hopeless? We are glad to find that the government think otherwise; and that a pursuit which has already added so many brilliant names to the page of our naval history; which has already extended the physical and moral knowledge of the globe; and which for two centuries and a half has been the favourite object of the highest persons in the realm in station and character; will not hastily be abandoned, but, we trust, continue to be persevered in until it is accomplished or proved to be impracticable. It has been said, we know, and rashly enough, that if a passage be discovered, it will be useless for all the purposes of commerce! Are we then so humbled, as to sanction the impudent assertion of our bitterest enemy, and to avow ourselves 'nothing better than a nation of shopkeepers?' We think better of those who direct the energies of this mighty empire, to suppose them capable of being turned aside by such paltry considerations, where the interests of science and humanity are so materially concerned. All human power has its limits, dominion frequently changes hands, and riches make to themselves wings and fly away; but knowledge endureth for ever; and the names of Cook, Parry, Franklin, and a host of others who have contributed so amply to enlarge the sphere of knowledge, will shed a lustre on our naval history, and stimulate the youth of ages yet to come, to imitate their bright example.

To those, however, who may suppose that all merit consists in pounds, shillings, and pence, we could give a satisfactory answer were it worth while to discuss that part of the question. We will, however, just mention that in the course of last year, for the first time, no less than thirty whale-ships, despairing of taking fish on the usual haunt on the eastern, passed over to the western side of Davis's Strait, which Parry had surveyed two years before; and that every one of them returned *full fished*. If an easy passage should be found from the mouth of Mackenzie's River round Icy Cape, ask the North-West Company whether *they* would not derive considerable advantage from it? Ask Russia, whether, by thus bringing her European, American, and Asiatic possessions close together, as it were, *she* would not derive advantage from it? But it is idle to waste another word on the subject.—The less apparent advantage England individually is likely to reap from expeditions of discovery, the greater her merit in persevering to pursue them—a pursuit which, we trust, she will not abandon till there is nothing more to discover.

With these feelings we cannot but rejoice that another attempt for the discovery of a North-West Passage is about to be made. The same ships, under the same able and experienced commander, and almost the whole of the officers and men, are once more on the eve

of

of embarking on this enterprize. In the view taken by that commander we entirely concur; and are satisfied, with him, that a navigable and practicable passage does exist; and that, when once upon the northern coast of America, a tract of open water will be found to conduct the ships to Icy Cape; that the report of the Russian ships; that lately visited Icy Cape, is as favourable as the most sanguine mind could wish; 'for their description is precisely that of a kind of navigation through which our ships have already held their course, uninjured, for hundreds of leagues, and through which, therefore, they may, under Providence, be again conducted by similar exertions.' We believe, with him, (and have recorded our belief,) that the main difficulty lies on this eastern or Atlantic side; but we are now more confident than ever that the difficulty is not insurmountable.

The only question then which remains to be discussed is, by what route shall the ships proceed so as to be able to reach the northern coast of America? In our answer to this, we also entirely concur with Captain Parry in thinking that Prince Regent's Inlet offers the most obvious route to be pursued, now that we know the impracticability of sailing round Melville peninsula, which, like a huge bastion, stretches up to nearly 70° of latitude. Supposing even that they had passed the strait into the Polar sea, still the chance of success, as Captain Parry observes, is rather in favour of this Inlet, both on account of the shorter distance from thence to Point Turnagain of Captain Franklin, (about 450 miles,) as well as from the probability of the constant pressure of ice by the westerly current against the western mouth of the strait. To this advantage of Regent's Inlet, we may add, that the distance is shorter from Cape Farewell, the navigation more certain and safe, and, at the same time, considerably more in advance towards the point of destination. Captain Parry did not arrive at Repulse Bay before the 22d August; and then only after extreme difficulty and hazard to the ships. On a former voyage, he was at the bottom of Prince Regent's Inlet on the 7th August, and might have been there much sooner. We speak from past experience; for in the month of July, and the early part of August, not fewer than thirty whalers, as we have said, had crossed into Lancaster's Sound, and along the western coast, without the least damage or risk, though they are generally the very worst description of ships; not one of which would ever have passed the 'Frozen Strait' in safety. One of them, the *James of Whitby*, Quickfall, Master, reached Lancaster Sound in latitude 74° , without difficulty or obstruction, on the 5th July, at the very time when Captain Parry was struggling to get out of the ice in which he was beset in latitude $61^{\circ} 20'$, on this side of Hudson's Strait. Even if it was advisable

visible to try the northern part of Cockburn Island, the most eligible way would be across Davis's Strait, for the James was fifty miles up an inlet (qu. Pond's ?) on the western coast, free of ice as far as the eye could reach, with a strong adverse current, and in a direction which induced the Master to suppose it would ultimately join Prince Regent's Inlet. There is no doubt of its joining Fox's Channel.

This then is obviously the route which is most desirable to be taken. 'The view,' says Captain Parry, 'which we obtained from the southern part of Prince Regent's Inlet, in 1819, was not, indeed, very encouraging as to the state of the ice at that particular time; but our business at that time lying in a different direction, we remained only a few hours on the spot. The ice was, however, detached from the shores, and in motion; in which case a hope may always be cherished of occasional openings in our favour.' All experience proves this. In a deep and open sea where the ice floats, it is absolute nonsense to talk of 'impenetrable fields of ice; they are the sport of winds, tides, and currents. Of the sudden and extraordinary changes which take place in this respect, Captain Parry has afforded numerous instances. Thus, in proceeding up Fox's wide channel: 'at this time,' says he, 'the prospect to the westward appeared from the crow's nest as unpromising, on account of the closeness and extent of the ice, as I ever remember to have seen it. Shortly afterwards, however, the sea became gradually, or rather suddenly, navigable; the ice separating, and, in fact, disappearing in so rapid and extraordinary a manner, as to astonish even those among us who had been accustomed to this sort of navigation, and affording a striking example of those sudden changes which, in icy seas, almost teach us never to despair of making progress, even under circumstances apparently the most unfavourable.' Again, when nothing was to be seen from the ships 'but one wide sea, uninterruptedly covered with ice as far as the eye can reach,' he observes, 'a prospect like this would naturally convey to the mind of a person little acquainted with this navigation, an idea of utter hopelessness; yet the following day the ships had drifted in the ice and out of the ice, not less than forty or fifty miles.

It is certainly true, as Captain Parry observes, with regard to crossing the Polar Sea, that 'to enter a body of heavy ice, of great and uncertain extent, without any known land stretching in the desired direction, is an enterprize differing in character from almost any hitherto attended with success; but he thinks it not improbable, that some intervening land may be discovered to assist his progress to the south-westward; or, should it prove one vast expanse of sea, 'channels of open water may occur to assist a ship's progress

progress to the westward.* We are disposed to hope, that the latter may be the case. Proving, as we have done, that floating ice on a wide sea can never be permanently stationary, we conceive that less difficulty will be found, than among an archipelago of islands, where it firmly attaches itself to the narrow passages between them, as at Melville and Cockburn islands. In further proof of this, we might mention the voyage of William Barentz round the northern extremity of Nova Zembla; of a Russian ship having passed the same point in 1822; of the Russian corvette round Icy Cape in the same year; and the extraordinary journey from the mouth of the Kolyma to the northward over the ice, by Baron Wrangel, who was stopped by an open sea, on which neither ice nor land was visible in any direction, as far as the eye could reach, to the east, north, and west.* These and many other instances prove the absurdity of fixed and impenetrable ice on the surface of a spacious sea.

Another circumstance not noticed by Captain Parry induces us to augur favourably of a practicable passage across the Polar Sea to the coast of America. It is that of the rapid tide (independent of the permanent current) which sets through the Strait of the Fury and Hecla, and which, on the former voyage, was also found to set up Prince Regent's Inlet, and to rise to the height of twelve feet. Now these two tides must have their origin in the Polar Sea; and it is a question, which we presume not to decide, what amount of influence, if any, the moon may exert on the surface of a sea covered or nearly so with ice? but we are induced to think that a very considerable surface of water would be required to cause a regular tide to the extent mentioned.

Once upon the American coast, we consider the object in a great degree accomplished. So many points of that coast are now known, the low parallel of latitude in which it generally runs, the resources it affords in fish and game, the known communications with the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, from Cape Turnagain to Mackenzie's River, and the thickly inhabited country which lies between the rocky mountains and Behring's Strait, as recently explored by the Americo-Russian Trading Company, must give a confidence to those employed on the Enterprize, and set their minds at ease in the event of any accident befalling the ships. In this we apprehend we have Captain Parry's concurrence, who thus termi-

* This excellent officer had nearly perished on a second attempt in the month of March last. He had scarcely advanced fifty werst, when a gale of wind broke up the ice all around him, and he found himself on an open sea tossed about on a floe of ice about eighty fathoms long, and forty broad, floated about at the mercy of the wind and current, which fortunately drove him at length, half dead with cold and hunger, to the Asiatic shore, not far from Behring's Strait.

nates his narrative. 'For my own part, I never felt more sanguine of ultimate success in the enterprize in which I have lately been engaged, than at the present moment; and I cannot but entertain a confident hope that England may yet be destined to succeed in an attempt which has for centuries past engaged her attention, and interested the whole civilized world.*

We have little to observe as to the style and character of the Narrative of the late voyage; the first is plain, unaffected, and perspicuous; the latter such precisely as might have been expected by those who have perused the account of the former voyage; full and precise in all the descriptions of objects, and minute in all the transactions and events of the Expedition—rather too minute, we should say, for the general reader; but Captain Parry, like his predecessor, Vancouver, leaves nothing behind him for another to do. The detail of astronomical and meteorological observations, with various phenomena connected with them, the description of objects of natural history, and other scientific researches, he has, wisely we think, omitted in this account of the voyage, reserving them for a future publication as an Appendix; but the volume is illustrated

* We shall ere long be in possession of the geography of the northern coast of America, which ought not to have remained a blank on the charts of the nineteenth century. Even Siberia, which stretches to a higher latitude, has long been known and described, though not, perhaps, with accuracy, while two points only of the wide extended coast of America were ever visited, and one of these placed several degrees of latitude beyond its proper position, and the other, in all probability, not placed correctly. To ascertain this latter point, and to explore the coast from thence to Icy Cape, is an enterprize which we understand Captain Franklin has volunteered to undertake, while his friend and former associate, Dr. Richardson, intends to accompany him as far as the mouth of Mackenzie River, and to examine the interjacent coast between it and the Copper Mine River, returning by the Copper Mountains, and the field of coal which has been described to crop out along the bank of the Bear Lake; and, in short, to complete the collection and description of the natural history of North America. It is also understood, that Captain Lyon has volunteered to proceed in the Griper gun-brig to Repulse Bay, to cross over from thence to the Polar Sea, and to carry on the survey of the coast to Cape Turnagain, where Captain Franklin was obliged to stop. These discoveries are worthy of the enlightened age, and the rapid strides that are making in arts and sciences, and redound to the honour of the government under whose patronage they are carried on. We do not despair of seeing the day when this spirit of enterprize will have conducted some adventurous Englishman to the very northern extremity of the earth's axis. To reach the North Pole from the north part of Spitzbergen, with the united aid of a couple of boats, half decked, and sledges, to carry each other in turns as ice or water may occur, would, as we conceive, neither be so difficult nor so dangerous an enterprize as that which was undertaken and performed by the Russian officer, Baron Wrangel, on sledges alone. From Hackluyt's Headland to the Pole is only 600 geographical miles. Allowing a speed only of fifteen miles a day (of twenty-four hours, always light) it would only require forty days; so that if a little vessel, like the Griper, which has already been at Spitzbergen, should arrive there in the beginning of June, the boats might reach the Pole, and return to her with ease by the end of August. So little is this of a visionary project, that Captain Franklin proposed to undertake it; and indeed there is not a naval officer who has seen the ice, and knows what it is, but will admit of its being feasible, and who would not cheerfully volunteer to make the attempt.

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and embellished with a number of well executed and characteristic prints from the pencil of Captain Lyon, who, we perceive by a note of Captain Parry, is about to publish his account of the voyage, which will probably contain a more free and familiar description of the Esquimaux, their domestic habits and character, than was perhaps thought consistent with the gravity of the authentic and historical Narrative.

ART. XII.—*Observations on the Judges of the Court of Chancery, and the Practice and Delays complained of in that Court.* London. 1823. pp. 68.

THE Law's delay has been a complaint ever since England has had law. Poets, play-writers and novellists have made it the subject of facetious allusion; disappointed litigants and disgraced practitioners have used it as a peg on which to hang their individual malignity; theorists, who have never weighed the difficulty of adjusting conflicting claims, balancing contradictory statements, and unravelling complicated rights, have reprobated a delay the causes of which they did not understand; and many wise and able men have admitted that the delay does sometimes amount to an evil, although they are unable to devise any plan by which suits can be accelerated without endangering the security of individual rights, and the general confidence in the law.

Nor is it in England alone that this problem has been jocularly or seriously treated. Every nation which enjoys a free and impartial administration of law, also suffers the inseparable inconvenience of delay, and that inconvenience is generally in proportion to the merits (in other points) of its legal system. We hear little complaint of delay in Russia; in Turkey, we apprehend, there is none at all. Frederic of Prussia, when he was modelling his institutions, attempted to give rapidity to justice—he might as well have attempted to make round square;—and there are some well known instances in which his desire to do right speedily, led to substantial and permanent wrong. France, whose system of civil justice was excellent, complained, as we do, of the delays of the law, and the chicanery of practitioners; but this was set right at the revolution: and during the reigns of Robespierre and Tallien, all processes, both criminal and civil, advanced with a rapidity that at first delighted, and soon after astonished the reformers themselves,—

‘Whose heads fell headlong, wondering why they fell.’

In short, it is the infirmity of human nature that falsehood, violence and wrong are prompt and sudden; while the elucidation of truth,

truth, the proportioning of reparation; and the development of justice, are difficult, complicated and slow.

But it has been reserved for our days to see this popular complaint assume a more commanding tone, and receive a degree of countenance which (to our knowledge at least) it never had before. Individual legislators, as well as committees of both houses of parliament, have, for some years past, been occasionally employed on this subject; and even the government itself has, by the appointment of an additional judge in equity, admitted the necessity of doing something to remedy this inconvenience, and seems thereby to have given encouragement to propositions for doing more. We have always doubted the constitutional propriety of the creation of the office of Vice-Chancellor, and we more than doubt its expediency and advantage. Notwithstanding the zeal and ability of the learned person appointed to that office, it has not (whatever other good it may have done) accomplished the object for which it was specifically instituted; and there even seems reason to apprehend that it has had a tendency to increase rather than diminish the quantity of equity business: but one useful effect this experiment will have had, if it teaches us how little we ought to rely on the most plausible propositions;—how slow we ought to be in admitting *expedients* into our legal system;—how uncertain it is that any alteration of that system will produce the presumed advantages;—and how certain it is to produce some inconveniences which never were contemplated.

Let it not be supposed that we deny that the administration of our law, like all other human institutions, must be affected—that is, altered in its practical details—by time and circumstances; or that the internal situation of this country has been, within the last century, so essentially changed as to vary, in a most important degree, the proportion which existed between the legal business to be done and the means of doing it. It will be seen in the progress of this Article that we are fully convinced of this change, and that the views we take of the case are mainly directed by such conviction; but we wish in the first instance to warn the public against imputing to our legal system as a *fault*, that which is really its *merit*—the diffusion of wealth and the extension of rights which have grown up under its protection, and the confidence which it universally inspires as a real, impartial, and substantial measure of equity and justice. We also wish to warn the country against such a supposition as, that the inconveniences which are occasioned by an increase of business, are to be remedied by an increase of judges, and that, because there may be twice as much business as in Lord Thurlow's

time, and thence as much as in Lord Hardwicke's, the proper remedy would be the appointment of two or three Lord Chancellors. If, whenever a clamour against the administration of justice happens to be excited, the government and the judges are to make a compromise between their conscientious duty and their desire to satisfy popular demands, it is not hard to see that such clamours will become more frequent from every partial success, and that—what with admitting this and altering that—the constitution of England will be undermined, and the venerable fabric of our legal system (like the actual courts in which it is administered) will be so ‘*amended and improved*’ by the hands of modern artists, as to be no longer fit for the purposes for which it was erected. We will, however, fairly confess that, although we think it right to throw out these suggestions, we derive consolation and confidence on this topic, from a quarter which does not at first sight appear likely to afford any; we mean the excitors of these clamours themselves. They do not, we are satisfied, wish to alter the law—they have no desire to subvert the constitution: they are actuated by mere personal motives—by a desire to retaliate on the present Chancellor for being blind to their merits, or by the hope of awakening him to a due sense of their importance—they are far from wishing to overturn the system, they only want to profit by it—they have no enmity to the serjeant's coif or the silken robe, they only wish to wear them—they have as little desire as we have to overthrow the bench of justice, they are only anxious to mount it: and accordingly,

We find that the *ancient* and *general* complaint against the whole course of the *law*, is now concentrated in an impeachment of the practice in *Chancery*; and that all the charges which, from time immemorial, have been made against the *Chancery*, are now levelled *personally* and directly at the individual *Chancellor*.

The delay, the expense, the anxiety, the ruin, which other men in other times have attributed to the proceedings of the *court*, are now charged upon the *judge*; every thing else is kept out of sight—the necessity of the forms in which justice is slowly, in order to be safely, administered—the passion and pertinacity of men in defending rights or in inflicting wrongs—the indolence, ignorance, or chicanery of practitioners—the complication of the kind of cases which come into *chancery*,—all these are *now* passed over in respectful silence, and the whole evil is discovered to arise from the doubts, hesitations and delays of the Earl of Eldon.

We will not waste our readers' time in an eulogy upon this venerable and excellent judge—one of the greatest, we believe, of a series of great men, who, for the last 150 years, have presided in the
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the Court of Chancery, each bringing to the bench, for the use of his own day, and for the instruction of posterity, different but admirable powers of intellect and dispositions of mind. One was eminent for the largeness and another for the accuracy of his views. The turn of one mind was to the development of principles—that of another tended to their practical application. He that comes latest has, as to general principles, nothing to invent and little to add; but he has the less brilliant though more difficult task of distinguishing the effect of these principles—of reconciling the ever growing variety of precedents—and of guarding the application of old principles and precedents to a new cause, from any doubt as to the precise points to which such authorities are applied. Lords Nottingham and Hardwicke may be considered the fountains, as it were, of equity law; it was reserved for Lord Eldon to illustrate them both (as Coke illustrated Littleton) by the admirable commentaries which he has pronounced on the decisions of his predecessors.

In order to expose the unfair (and, we doubt if we should not add, *malignant*) attempts to make Lord Eldon personally responsible for all the inconvenience which is imputed to the Court of Chancery, we beg our readers to allow us to make a few quotations from some works now before us.

‘It cannot be unknown to you how this honourable court of Chancery (which is one of the highest of the kingdom) has had many grievous complaints preferred against it in the high court of parliament—how it is *traduced*, and how so many foul aspersions are thrown upon it, as to be termed a dilatory court!—Will your lordship know the reason, and who are the causes thereof? I answer in a word, *counsellors*!’

Our readers, perhaps, may think that this charge is made against the present Lord Chancellor, and that they may find in the parliamentary debates the names of the *counsellors* who *traduced* him—they are mistaken—these words are extracted from an old tract in the British Museum—this charge of delay applies to the time of the *great Lord Bacon*; but the names of his *traducers* are forgotten—as those of Lord Eldon will be.

Again—we have before us a pamphlet with the following plausible title:—

‘Proposals for regulating the law, to make the same more plain and easy to be understood, and less chargeable and expensive than heretofore.’

This learned author, who, we believe, was sometime *Common-Sergeant of the City of London*, has (amongst many others to the same effect, but too long to quote) the following passage:—

‘Experience shows what very *great delays* and *intolerable charges* arise from being tost from court to court, viz. from chancery to common law, and so back again; nay, I am persuaded that not one cause of ten, especially if of any consequence, but first or last comes *into chancery merely for delays*, by which means peaceable-minded men will rather *give away* half their right than be troubled to sue for it.’

Our readers may probably suppose that this refers to the *present* impaired constitution of the Court of Chancery, and that they can give a shrewd guess at the name of the Common-Sergeant; but here again they are mistaken—the date of this tract is about 1641—the chancellor, or rather lord-keeper, of the day was *Lord Littleton*, and the writer was Calthorpe, afterwards (absit omen!) Recorder of London.

Again—

‘Proposals concerning the chancery, wherein is set forth the desires of divers well affected persons for the regulating of the High Court of Chancery, and the proceedings there, and abolishing of several fees, offices and officers thereunto belonging.’

This pamphlet, complaining of the great delays in the Court of Chancery, and the enormous profits of the officers—(the six clerks having upwards of £2000 per annum each)—is so much in the style of our own day, that we are astonished to find it published not in the corrupt times of George III. or George IV., but in the pure and regenerate age of the *Commonwealth*—not when poor Lord Eldon sat single-handed in the Lords and in Chancery—in lunacy and in bankrupts—but when the great seal was in commission, and such men as *Fiennes, Lisle* and *Bulstrode Whitelock* were commissioners.

We now approach more modern times. Mr. Williams, an eminent barrister, asserts that,

‘By our Magna Charta, (upon which we much value ourselves,) cap. 29th, it is ordained, that justice should not be sold, or denied, or *delayed* by the King to any man. But if by the subtle contrivance of the officers and clerks in the *courts of equity*, the proceedings are extended to an extravagant and unnecessary length, and thereby the charge of prosecuting or defending men’s rights is extravagantly increased, and the determination of causes is *unnecessarily and unreasonably delayed*; I take it to be a selling of justice and right at too dear a rate, and it is manifest to all that have had any experience of Chancery suits, that the *charge and delay* in proceedings there are grown to be such, that in causes of great wrong and oppression, the *remedy is worse than the disease*, and most men, of small and indifferent estates, that come thither for relief, often meet with ruin by the *excessive charge* of the proceedings.’

These will not surprise our readers, as the sentiments of Mr. Williams;

Williams; but they may be a little startled to hear that this gentleman's Christian name was *Walter*; that these complaints were uttered—not in a speech in Parliament in 1824, but—in a pamphlet published about 1700, and that the Chancellor, to whose administration the complaint must have more immediately referred, was not the Earl of Eldon but—*Lord Chancellor Somers!*

We shall next venture to quote—

“Reasons humbly offered to both Houses of Parliament for passing a bill to prevent delays and expenses in suits in law and in equity.”

This author insists that

‘The unavoidable expense, as well as unnecessary delay, in the prosecution of suits in the courts of law and equity (*especially in the latter*) are become so *exorbitantly* great and burthensome to the subject, that they may be justly ranged amongst our first-rate grievances.’

If we had room to quote more of this author's style and sentiments, not a doubt would remain on the minds of our readers, that he was one of those gentlemen who have discovered that the whole guilt of such enormities lies on the head of Lord Eldon; but the truth is, that this work was published in 1707, and directed against the Court of Chancery while presided by *Lord Chancellor Cowper*!

One quotation from another pamphlet, and we have done.

‘The High Court of Chancery is incontestibly the *most dilatory*, as well as the *most expensive*: an *oppression* which his Majesty's subjects have long laboured under, and universally complained of; insomuch, that the interrogatory proverb hath not been more jocularly than pertinently proposed, to such who, with more precipitation than precaution, resolved to engage in Chancery suits: “Will you be hung up six or eight years in Chancery?” implying, that his cause may so long depend there, until his purse and patience are exhausted, his health impaired, and his person (by vexation) emaciated, like a skeleton in the study of a physician, or an anatomy in the office of a surgeon: for the delay of justice is said to be the denial thereof; since what is not done in due time, is not done at all.

‘*Justitiæ procrastinatio, ejusdem fit abnegatio.*’

Our readers will here recognize the topics, and indeed the very expressions, of some late declamations against the conduct of the present Chancellor. They are well calculated to excite general indignation; ruin produced by expenses—sickness by anxiety—death by despair; such are the consequences of the administration of—Lord Eldon? no, alas!—*Lord Chancellor Hardwicke*! And, not Lord Hardwicke, newly come to the seals, and not having yet raised his court to that degree of excellence which it afterwards attained, but Lord Hardwicke in the

fifteenth year of (what is now called) his '*dynasty*,' and when his character was at the very summit of its fame!*

After the extracts which we have just made, (and we might have produced double the number of specimens from every reign since Elizabeth,) can our readers recollect with common patience the attempts made in the years 1823 and 1824, to impute the fault of all these delays and expenses to Lord Chancellor Eldon personally? To persons well acquainted with our laws and our history, the refutation which we have thus given of this calumny may seem superfluous; but we flatter ourselves that with the world at large some good may be done by shewing, that what is *now* charged as the crime of an *individual*, has been for *two hundred years* objected to ALL the greatest and most eminent persons who have occupied the woolsack during the most enlightened days of our history, and the most illustrious periods of our law!

Having thus, beyond all contradiction, shewn that the court under other Chancellors has been blamed just as it now is under Lord Eldon, we proceed to prove, that the real subject of amazement is, that the latter has been able to do so much—that he has despatched so much business—that he has so little arrear.

We shall not distract our readers' attention by involving this part of the subject in the perplexity of Chancery details, which it would take a volume to explain; nor shall we descend to squabble about *individual cases*, on which no fair judgment could be formed without knowing minutely, not only all the *facts* of the case itself, but the tempers and objects of the parties, and the skill, activity, and honesty of their respective agents: for on these elements the real delay of individual cases depends, and the judicious inquirer who overlooks all such considerations, will, if he happens to meet with a *windmill*, be sure, like an ancient redresser of grievances, to convert it into a giant.

The author of the pamphlet, the title of which we have prefixed to this Article, has, in addition to a very able argument on the general question, entered into the detail of some particular

* As grave legislators have condescended to tell an affecting story, (which, even if true, could not have assisted the argument,) of an infant suitor dying, before his cause was determined, we take the liberty of quoting (though we modestly throw it into a note) a case, much more in point, a great deal more terrific, and, we apprehend, somewhat more true, of a catastrophe occasioned by the delays and expenses of the Court of Chancery, rather before Lord Eldon's time.

'John Batesham, a headstrong litigious man, who had suits in Chancery depending thirty or forty years, and having been awarded, by the report of Sir John Tindal, a Master in Chancery, a less sum than he expected, he, in revenge, by a pistol loaded with three bullets, blew out Sir John Tindal's brains, and then hanged himself.'—Ogilby's Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harl. Collection, No. 83.

This tragical occurrence happened in November, 1617, temp. Lord Bacon!

cases which contradict in the most decisive manner the general declamations of the Chancellor's adversaries, and prove that their particular cases are nothing but *particular* cases, and that they have been grossly exaggerated. We recommend this little work both for its style and its facts; it is written with great moderation and a perfect knowledge of the subject. What he has treated of we should not think it necessary to handle again; but his views and ours occupy different portions of the matter—he dwells chiefly on the practice of the Court, while our limits, as well as our inclination, prescribe to us a shorter, simpler, and more general view of the subject: we shall look at the Chancery business in the aggregate; we shall suppose that there are, in all times, pretty nearly the same proportions of obstinacy and passion in parties, of chicanery and neglect in practitioners—we shall not set off against a windmill of Lord Eldon's day, a watermill of Lord Hardwicke's, but we shall lay before our readers a succinct but clear and *incontrovertible* statement of facts, which will prove that the Earl of Eldon has, in equal time, despatched twice as much business as the most rapid of his predecessors.

His Lordship's antagonists, though they may amuse their hearers, and indulge their tempers by the statement of an individual case of apparent enormity, feel that they can make no *real impression* unless they can shew that it is not the increase of business, but the *hesitation of the Lord Chancellor* that produces the alleged delay. They are all forced to admit that he is a judge of the most *spotless integrity*. The Edinburgh Review introduces its attack upon him by confessing that he is '*a great and learned lawyer*'—'*who possesses a most subtle and refining understanding, and unites with an extraordinary degree of penetration and sagacity, a singular patience and circumspection.*' Such is the eulogy, which the necessity of conforming in some degree to public opinion, wrings from Lord Eldon's adversaries; but, then, they add that all these transcendent qualities are impaired, if not rendered quite useless, by the dubious and undecided disposition of the Chancellor's mind, and by the delay and procrastination of his proceedings. This, they allege, is the true cause of the accumulation of business. This we deny—and on this ground—a fair, clear, open, and visible arena—we meet them.

'Has the equity business,' it is triumphantly asked, 'has the equity business been doubled, or any thing like it? No man will be so wild as to dream of such a thing!' and in support of this argumentative and elegant form of assertion, the authorities of Sir S. Romilly and of the present Vice-Chancellor (when Mr. Leach) are profusely quoted.

Now although we hold it of very little importance whether *equity*, ONE branch of the Lord Chancellor's business, has doubled or not, if we can show that the *aggregate business* to be performed by him has more than doubled; yet we will venture to confess that we are *wild* enough—with our eyes open and in a day-light possession of our faculties—to assert that even the EQUITY BUSINESS HAS NEARLY, IF NOT ABSOLUTELY, DOUBLED; and we think that we shall prove it, not by *wild* declamation or visionary hypotheses, but by figures and facts, clear in their evidence and incontrovertible in their nature.

Chancery, like any other, business, must be measured by its *quantity* and its *quality*, by its importance and difficulty, as well as by its variety and extent: the *quantity* is sometimes to be obtained without difficulty; as the numbers of bills filed,—of petitions presented,—of causes set down,—of motions granted, and so on. If our adversaries would be content with resting the question on the result of *mere numbers*, it might be speedily decided; but in common fairness, we must admit the other ingredient into the consideration, namely, the *quality*, the weight, the importance, the value of the business transacted. We are not deterred from this admission by the obvious difficulty of finding *data* on which to establish the comparison. We know that a direct calculation of such fugacious and ever-varying elements cannot be given, '*no man is so wild as to dream of such a thing*;' but we think that, by taking a general view of the elements of which Chancery business is composed, and measuring (as we are in many cases enabled to do with perfect accuracy) their increase, we can arrive at very satisfactory inferences as to the increase of that business to which they severally conduce.

Without attempting, in a hasty and popular essay of this nature, to enter into an examination of the extensive nature and objects of the Chancellor's jurisdiction, we shall only remind our readers, generally, that the increase of population, and the growth of riches, must always produce a corresponding increase of business in *all* the courts of civil law; and we must add, that our population has grown, and our wealth has increased, under circumstances which have in a peculiar and surprising degree augmented the duties of the Chancellor. Let us now proceed to examine those several circumstances which may affect the increase of business in Chancery, and let us compare their amount at the present day with their amount in the time of Lord Hardwicke—we need hardly say, that we choose Lord Hardwicke's administration as being, what our adversaries would call, the best times of the Court of Chancery.

The first of these elements is, no doubt, the population; in a certain

certain proportion to which all the law and other business of a nation must necessarily be increased.

In 1750, England contained 6,017,000 souls;

In 1821, 11,500,000;

and lest it should be replied that population increases chiefly on those classes which give least occupation to a chancellor, we shall show, that—(the wealth of the country increasing in a still greater proportion)—those classes which are likely to occupy the time of a chancellor, have increased in very considerable proportions. In 1750, there were about 180 peers; in 1822, there were 304.

Of the class of persons ranking as *private gentlemen*, we have no means of ascertaining the precise numbers at either period, but we have some collateral evidence to show that it has increased in a still greater ratio. The sons of the gentry of England are to be found, in the first instance, at the universities, and subsequently in the learned professions and the military and naval services. Now the number of students matriculated in Oxford, was,

In 1750, 190;

In 1820, 366.

In Cambridge, the numbers matriculated were

In 1748, 138;

In 1823, 397.

The field and general officers of the army were

In 1773, 277;

In 1822, 2,656.

The commissioned officers of the navy were

In 1749, 1,000;

In 1820, about 10,000.

It is not easy for us, at this moment, to ascertain the comparative numbers of the clerical and medical professions, but those of the *barristers* we have obtained, and they are doubly important not merely as assisting in the point of view we are now taking, but as demonstrating the proportional increase of business in the courts of law. The calls to the bar were

In 1750, 37;

In 1820, 69!

and we can state that forty years ago the number of practising barristers *behind the bar* in Chancery did not much exceed a dozen, and that there are at this hour fifty gentlemen of that rank and avocation. The merchants, traders and manufacturers have increased, almost beyond calculation, in numbers, in the direct value of their commercial transactions, and in the variety and extent of their operations—this is so notorious that it would be a waste of time to stop to prove it by details. Thus then we have the population at large, doubled—the peerage nearly doubled—the

the gentry; as far as can be ascertained from the numbers educated in the universities and attached to the professions trebled—the commercial classes probably more than trebled—and the *barriers*, who are to conduct the affairs of all these classes in the courts, at least doubled. No one, we think, can doubt that these increases indicate a corresponding increase in the business in the courts of law generally, and we shall now proceed to state some circumstances which prove that the business in the Court of Chancery is proportionably increased: we shall begin by some general observations, as to the increased wealth of the country, and then show, by arithmetical statements, the actual quantity of work done by the Lord Chancellors at the periods which are the objects of comparison.

It is not perhaps possible to estimate the increased value of real property within the last 70 years, but it will be admitted, that, since population has doubled, the general produce must have greatly increased. Some writers assert, that population and wealth always advance hand in hand, and we think that, at least as to England, we may safely admit the general justice of the observation. But the species of income, which, from its nature most frequently becomes the subject of application to Chancery, is that which accrues from the public funds, and as to them there is no difficulty in making the calculation. In 1750, the national debt was £72,000,000, and the interest on it, £2,700,000. At present the debt is £800,000,000, and the interest annually paid upon it is £30,000,000—a tenfold increase in direct amount; producing a probably equal increase in the importance of chancery business, when we consider the tendency of this kind of property to become subject to the Chancellor's jurisdiction, in matters of trusts, wards, infants, wills, bankrupts, partnerships, &c. &c.

The principle of these observations will apply to the increase of Bank and East India stock, both in value and amount.

	1750. £.	1820. £.
Bank Stock . . .	{ Amount . . . 10,780,000 . . .	14,553,000
	{ Value per cent. . . . 134	224
East India Stock {	Amount 3,200,000	6,000,000
	{ Value per cent. . . . 186	240

Another branch of this subject, which applies these general calculations immediately to the court of chancery and which affords the best pecuniary measure of the increase of business is, the amount of monies accumulated in the hands of the Accountant-General of the court: this information we collect from Mr. Peel's speech of the 24th Feb. last, in the House of Commons; of which we may be allowed to say, that, excellent as it seems to have been in all points; it is peculiarly valuable in the numerical and

and therefore incontrovertible proofs of the Lord Chancellor's diligence in the discharge of his immense duties.

In 1750 the balance in court was . . . £1,665,160 . . .

In 1828 38,938,360 . . .

We are quite aware that this pecuniary measure of value is, by no means a conclusive measure of the business—we know that a case of £10,000 may be as hard to explicate as one of £100,000, and that the value of the stake does not always (nor even frequently) increase the difficulty of the decision—we accordingly do not pretend that the business in chancery has increased, with its pecuniary responsibility, thirty-fold—our argument is only that, so immense an increase of the property lying in the court indicates a vast (though not a proportionate) increase of business: we shall prove from other arguments (all of which concur in their results) that the business of Chancery, properly so called, is about doubled, and that the general business to be transacted by a Lord Chancellor is at least tripled.

Having thus argued *à priori* what the increase of chancery work was likely to be, we shall now proceed to show, as well as our materials allow, what it really was, in arithmetical amount, which taken in combination with the general value and importance of the matters decided, will give the true view of the real business of the court.

The duties of the Lord Chancellor, as such, may be reduced to four great classes:

1. Chancery suits properly so called.
2. Bankruptcy.
3. Lunacy.
4. Petitions and references to the court, arising out of public and private acts of parliament.

In the three former of these branches, we shall offer a comparison of the proceedings in the times of Lords Hardwicke and Eldon; but the last class, which is numerous and complicated, scarcely existed in the times of the former, and is therefore an unbalanced weight in the scale of the present chancellor.

1. As to Chancery suits, properly so called, they commence by *bill*; they are pursued by *motions*, *petitions*, and *hearings*, up to final judgment, but there are none of those stages in which the real point of the case may not be sometimes decided, and it happens in a large proportion of cases, that they are decided and brought to an end long before they are brought to, what is technically called, a hearing, and consequently, as *causes*, they are never heard at all. What was formerly the business of the court, in the hearing of *causes*, is of late often done by *motion*, and the orders on *motions* have become (at one-third of the cost) as useful to the parties as the decrees made on the hearings of causes

causes used to be.* It is therefore clear, that in order to afford any thing like a fair view of the amount of business, all the kinds of proceedings ought to be taken into an aggregate account.

We begin with submitting calculations of the number of judgments pronounced by Lord Hardwicke in three years, (viz. 1749, 1750, 1751,) with those pronounced by Lord Eldon in the years 1808, 1809, 1810. We have selected those periods from the parliamentary report, because the latter precedes the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, and the search after other dates would be too voluminous and laborious.

BY LORD HARDWICKE.

YEARS.	Causes and Petitions.	Exceptions, further Directions, and Equity reserved.	Rehearings and Appeals.	Pleas and Demurrers.	Motions.	TOTAL.
1749	351	57	5	27	4060	} 12,378
1750	383	75	6	27	4073	
1751	248	53	6	26	2981	

BY LORD ELDON.

1808	298	46	10	19	6909	} 20,973
1809	261	28	9	18	6362	
1810	213	38	11	21	6730	

The above account relates solely to *Equity* business, and our readers will at once see we were not *dreaming* when we asserted, that Lord Eldon had decided nearly double the number of matters that Lord Hardwicke did in a corresponding period; and if it should be observed, that though the *whole* number be much greater, yet the number of *causes* decided is less, we beg to repeat, that *causes* are often substantially decided on *motion*, and that in Lord Eldon's time this practice has

* We select from the Second Report from the Committee of the Commons appointed to inquire into the Causes that retard the decision of suits in the High Court of Chancery, part of the examination of Jacob Crofts, Esq., Senior Deputy Register of the High Court of Chancery, on this point:—

“The time of actually hearing causes does not commence till the termination of the seal, whatever number of days that may take up?”—“Certainly so.”

“State, from your own knowledge and experience, what is the reason that this interval, which used to be passed in hearing the causes, is exhausted by the continuance of the seal?”—“It arises from motions being of that high consequence, that the point in the cause is frequently determined, and takes up a great time.”

“Does it sometimes happen that the points which would arise in the hearing the cause, being presented to the notice and decision of the court on the motion, the cause is never afterwards heard of?”—“That frequently happens.”

“That point is now frequently determined upon motion, which formerly used to be determined upon the hearing of the cause?”—“Yes; and the cause is put an end to by the decision upon the motion.”—*Report*, p. 45.

(from

(from a concurrence of reasons) become frequent, though it was unknown in Lord Hardwicke's. Lord Hardwicke scarcely ever would suffer any thing to be decided by *motion*, but reserved all serious questions till the *hearing*—so did Lord Thurlow. The modern practice of deciding important points on *motion* is cheap and convenient to the suitor, though it increases the individual labour of the judge, who is thereby obliged to wade several times through the facts of complicated and voluminous cases.

In bankruptcy our *data* are capable of still more precision :

Lord Hardwicke, in 20 years, issued 14,000 Commissions.

Lord Eldon, in 20 years, 40,000.

Nearly *three times* the number.

Lord Hardwicke made, in 11 years 11 months, 1398 orders,

Lord Eldon, in 11 years and 4 months, 3168.

Nearly *three times* the number.

In lunacy, the number of orders made by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke in *nine* years, from 1738 to 1746 inclusive, was 410, an average under fifty per annum. But in Lord Eldon's last nine years, the number of similar orders was 2372, an average of above 250 per annum.

Thus then, putting out of the account, the whole weight of the fourth class of business, above enumerated, which affects Lord Eldon alone, we have been able to show, that on a comparison with Lord Hardwicke's time, the *business despatched* has been increased, in Chancery, near two-fold !

in Bankruptcy, near three-fold !

in Lunacy, above five-fold !

Of that fourth Class of business, we cannot give a better view than by extracting the following passage from the Parliamentary Report :

' For about thirty years last past, by virtue partly of standing orders in this house, and partly by the practice and usage of the house, the Court of Chancery has been made an instrument in the execution of local acts of parliament, relating to canals, navigations, aqueducts, avenues to bridges, inclosures, docks, railways, tramroads, opening and paving streets, supplying towns with water and gas, and various other speculations ; by which acts the purchase-money of lands, taken under the authority of parliament for such purposes, (where the titles are doubtful, or cannot be immediately completed,) is directed to be paid into the Court of Chancery ; there to remain until, by proceedings in that Court, the titles can be tried, or means found by that Court to clear doubtful titles : and it is obvious that, in every case, in which parliament has thus burthened the Court of Chancery, this new species of business operates against the despatch of the ordinary business of the Court.'—*Lords' Report*, p. 10.

Upon other parts of this Report, showing different successive increases made to the duties of the present Chancellor, (such as proceedings

proceedings by *habeas corpus*, &c. &c.) we have not time to dwell; suffice it to say, that in every minute ramification, as in the greater branches of business, Lord Eldon's labour has exceeded what was ever before imposed on any Chancellor.

But there is another great and important branch of judicial duty attached to the station of Lord Chancellor which requires particular notice; namely, the presiding in the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. The accumulation of undecided causes in this high court of parliament has excited even more attention than the delays in Chancery; and we have lately seen, that the extent of inconvenience has been admitted, and attempted to be remedied by the appointment of a deputy Speaker, and the compulsory attendance of certain lords, in rotation, in order to get rid of this accumulation. In this regulation, (as in the case of the Vice-Chancellor,) the detractors of Lord Eldon recognize an admission, on the part of his colleagues, of the delays of his administration; but it is no such thing—it is an admission, indeed, of that truth which nobody but the '*traducers*' have been bold enough to deny—the increase of business—but neither his lordship's colleagues, nor any other candid person in any degree acquainted with the facts of the case, can impute to Lord Eldon any undue delay in the disposal of this class of business—on this point, the nature of the proceedings enables us to bring the matter to clear arithmetical admeasurement, and we shall show, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that Lord Chancellor Eldon has *exceeded* in diligence of attention, and in *rapidity of decision*, the most diligent and the *most rapid* of his predecessors.

The following statement of the number of controverted appeals and writs of error determined in the House of Lords by every Chancellor, from Lord Hardwicke inclusive, compared with an equal period of Lord Eldon's administration, will astonish those of our readers who only know of this matter what they learn in newspapers and parliamentary debates, and with silence, we are confident, all such charges for the future.

Lord Hardwicke, in 20 years, (1737 to 1756,) 235 cases.

Lord Eldon, in 20 years, (1801 to 1822,) 469 cases.

Twice the number.

Lord Northington, in 10 years, (1757 to 1766,) 136 cases.

Lord Eldon, in 10 years, (1818 to 1822,) 397 cases.

Three times the number.

Lord Camden, in 4 years, (1764 to 1769,) 69 cases.

Lord Eldon, in 4 years, (1813 to 1816,) 214 cases.

Above three times the number.

Lord Apsley, in 8 years, (1771 to 1778,) 172 cases.

Lord Eldon, in 8 years, (1813 to 1820,) 396 cases.

Above twice the number.

Lord

Lord Thurlow,	in 14 years, (1779 to 1792,)	186 cases.
Lord Eldon,	in 14 years, (1809 to 1822,)	453 cases.
Greatly above twice the number.		
Lord Rosslyn,	in 8 years, (1793 to 1800,)	122 cases.
Lord Eldon,	in 8 years, (1813 to 1820,)	325 cases.
Greatly above twice the number.		

This detail, extracted from the journals of the Lords, speaks (to use a trivial, but here appropriate phrase) *volumus*; and we cannot help further observing, as a curious coincidence, that Lord Eldon has, in twenty years, decided 29 appeals more than Lords Hardwicke, Northington, and Camden, *all together*, decided in thirty-four years! Nor must it be omitted, that since the Union the Irish appeals have come in addition to the natural increase of the business of the House of Lords. They are generally questions of great weight, length, and intricacy, and we ourselves know of one case, which, after having, in one form or another, during a period of near thirty years, passed through all the Irish courts, was decided by the Lords with a celerity which surprised both parties, and rescued one of them from the ruin which a rich, obstinate, and litigious adversary had almost accomplished.

We know that those who cannot refute the foregoing important statement as to the decision of appeals, will endeavour to attenuate Lord Eldon's merit by saying that he has sat a much longer time for the determination of these appeals than his predecessors did. We admit it; it is our case—we praise Lord Eldon, not for deciding without hearing, but for hearing with the most exemplary patience, and yet deciding, in fact, so great a number of the most important class of causes. But, on the other hand, if the pressure of the appeals has forced Lord Eldon to give up so much more of his time to them, every moment of that time has been taken—*not*.

‘From toys, nor mirth, nor wine,’

but from the Court of Chancery, where, nevertheless, he has, as we have seen, done nearly twice as much business as Lord Hardwicke.

If, therefore, the undecided appeals have accumulated, the inconvenience cannot be attributed to Lord Eldon, who has done about *twice* as much of this class of business as was done by *any* of his predecessors, and *thrice* as much as was disposed of by others.

But we have some other observations to make which will put Lord Eldon's despatch of the judicial business of the House of Lords in a still more striking point of view. It must not be forgotten, that the Lord Chancellor is speaker of the House, not merely in its *legal* but in its *legislative* and *political* capacity, and that the increased demand on his time on the latter account must diminish the

the quantity which he can dedicate to his *legal* duties either in Chancery or in the Lords. There is no record of the number of hours during which their lordships sit, but that the length and frequency of their meetings on subjects of *public* interest have increased, is notorious; and there are some circumstances which may enable us to approximate to a tolerably fair comparison between the parliamentary duties imposed on Lords Hardwicke and Eldon respectively.

We find by the Lords' Journals, that in the year 1750 that house sat 52 days, and the record of their proceedings is comprised in 175 pages of the Journal. In 1810 the house sat 94 days, and the record of its proceedings occupies 402 pages of the Journal. In 1750 there were passed 40 public and 83 private acts of parliament:—in 1810, 119 of the former and 334 of the latter—double the quantity of time (even if their Lordships sat only the same number of hours in each day) and six times the quantity of space and more than six times the quantity of business. We think we may venture, from these premises, as well as from general notoriety, to assert, that the chancellor's parliamentary duties are at least doubled since the time of Lord Hardwicke.

Before we conclude this head, we beg leave to say a word or two with a view of correcting some nonsense which has been written and some nonsense which has been talked, on the subject of the new arrangement, by which *three* peers have been balloted to sit each day with the deputy speaker for the hearing of appeals. Periodical writers have admitted into their pages, and newspaper reporters have put into the mouths of peers, the most gross misrepresentations of this matter. 'Is it to be borne,' say those objectors, 'that the judges of appeals shall be selected by ballot, without discrimination of any personal qualities which may fit or may disable a peer to perform so nice and conscientious a duty; and under such absurd regulations that there must be a new set of these ballotted judges every day; so that those who hear the cause pleaded one day are not to decide upon it the next, and those who are called upon to the decision of to-day can never be the same who heard the arguments of yesterday?' This objection, which we have stated in its full strength, is plausible only to those who are wholly ignorant of the meaning of the individual proposition, and of the general custom and constitution of the Houses of Parliament. In each of them a certain number of members is necessary to constitute a house—forty members in the Commons, and *three* in the Lords: without the presence of the requisite number of members the Houses cannot proceed to any business, and are *ipso facto* adjourned.

To the *ordinary* meetings of the Houses, the members, induced by duty or curiosity, or party, generally come in sufficient numbers, and

such if they happen now and then, to ~~make a house~~, as it is called, no great inconvenience, public or private, ensues. But if the House of Lords were to attempt to meet every morning at ten o'clock, and to sit on law business till five, and then on public business indefinitely longer, it is quite certain that, without some compulsory regulation, *no House would be made at ten o'clock*, and the suitors who had feed their lawyers and incurred the necessary expenses for any particular day, would be disappointed, and, we add, defrauded, by the adjournment of the House. The time of the Law-lord appointed to preside would be equally wasted, for he must sit from ten till four, waiting to see whether any extraordinary decision should bring three peers down, and constitute the court. In order therefore to ensure the despatch of business, which no one would voluntarily attend, and to secure the suitors from the ruinous effects of adjournments, for which no peer would be individually responsible—the House of Lords resolved to compel, under a heavy penalty, the attendance, during the *whole day*, of a sufficient number of peers. They are chosen by ballot, to obviate any suspicion that the court could be packed for any individual cause, and their attendance is *compelled* for one day, and *not for one case*, because, the cases being of various and indefinite lengths, the peers might be unequally subjected to this duty, to the obvious derangement of their private concerns, and even of their public occupations. Moreover, as the duration of each case would be doubtful, how was the attendance of the *next set* of peers to be ensured? if a case appointed for one morning should go off by compromise or early decision, how were the peers appointed for the next case to be collected? and if after a case was once begun, one of the lords, by death, or sickness, or any other uncontrollable cause of absence, was interrupted in his attendance, what was to become of the case? and how was the waste of time, the expense, and the anxiety to be repaid to the suitors? The House of Lords, therefore, has judiciously provided by a compulsory attendance for the *daily existence* of the court; but the *compulsatory* attendance of the three nominated peers does not interfere with the *voluntary* attendance of any others; and if those who have been compelled to hear the beginning of a cause feel themselves *inclined and able* to give their attendance during its continuance, they may and ought to do so—their right and their duty to sit as judges in *every* cause is not impaired by their being obliged to attend one or two days in the session to constitute the court. Persons may object altogether to the constitution and practice of the appellate jurisdiction. With that question we have at present nothing to do—it affects the ancient constitution and practice of the House, and is in no wise connected with the new arrangement, which makes *no kind of change in the trial*,

We have thus laid before our readers incontrovertible proof of the vast increase of business which must be performed by the Lord Chancellor,—an increase that the assistance of a Vice-Chancellor, or a Master of the Rolls, (which can supply only a small branch of his labours and that not the most urgent) most not and cannot countervail; and we trust that our readers must be, as we ourselves most conscientiously are, convinced that the wonder ought to be, not why there is so much arrear, but that there is so little. But that which is little, when compared with what the Chancellor has done, is, we admit, too much, with regard to the interests of the public at large. It is clear from the experience of past years—and the future promises to increase rather than diminish the inconvenience—it is clear that the time and strength of any one man are unequal to accomplish all that is now expected from a Lord Chancellor. It has become therefore the duty of Lord Eldon himself and of the government to consider how this evil can be remedied. Our reformers would find no difficulty—‘separate,’ they say, ‘the judicial from the political functions of the Chancellor,’—or ‘take away his guardianship of wards or lunatics,’—or ‘relieve him from the cases of bankruptcy,’—or ‘abolish his appellate jurisdiction over the Vice-Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls,’—or ‘separate the bench from the woolstack,’—in short, do any thing that may lower, dismember and degrade this great office, and the reformers promise that all the evil they complain of will vanish—we verily believe it would! Let the office be shorn of its dignity and circumscribed in its authority,—let it be no longer necessary for ministers to fortify themselves with the king and with the people by their choice of a Chancellor—let that officer be no longer the keeper of the conscience of the former and the first guardian of the rights and properties of the latter—lower, in short, the scale by which Chancellors have been hitherto chosen, and we are perfectly satisfied that this new officer will have no arrear of causes nor accumulation of appeals! That respect, that confidence, which has loaded with petitions for justice the desks of Hardwicke and Thurlow, and overloaded that of Eldon, will cease to operate; and either some new authority must be constituted in the state, of rank, ability, and weight equal to those which now distinguish the Lord Chancellor, or the complaints (not of party rivals or petty practitioners, but) of the whole nation thirsting after the purest fountain of justice, will oblige us to restore our mischievous innovations and to re-create in, if possible, his pristine authority, a Lord High Chancellor of England.

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perhaps be done by simplifying processes, by curtailing pleadings, by abridging forms, by diminishing the intricacies into which obtuseness and bad faith will try to escape, and from which it is so difficult to dislodge them.

We have lately seen a case in which the Chancellor desired to be furnished with an abstract of the proceedings to enable him to give judgment—the case was one in which the solicitors on each side might in two hours have agreed on a proper statement—the abstract however sent to the Chancellor was a *carte blanche* of papers, which actually covered the floor of his chamber and would have consumed at least a whole month of his time.

These are the real evils of the practice of the Court of Chancery, and they are such as Vice-Chancellors and Masters of the Rolls must obviously rather increase than diminish, and which the Chancellor himself (while he attends to his other duties, or perhaps even if he give his whole time to them,) cannot effectually remedy. They are connected with too many details, and branch off into too many minute considerations to be unravelled by any one man, and we therefore think that Lord Eldon has acted most wisely in advising his Majesty to institute a Commission to inquire into these matters. No commission can give to future Chancellors the solid principles of a Hardwicke, the vigorous decision of a Thurlow, or the deep learning and acute discrimination of an Eldon; but it may produce all that is wanting to make the court of Chancery as perfect in its administration as any human institution can be, namely, the simplification of those proceedings and the diminution of those expenses which occur in the earlier periods of causes, and which from their nature never meet the eye of the judge and even serve to postpone the time when the cause comes under his immediate cognizance. All that a Chancellor could do in this matter Lord Eldon has done, and the practice of hearing and deciding so much on petition and on motion has had a great tendency this way, and has been a main cause why the arrear has not been greater. These things a Commission may contribute to do—at least the experiment ought to be tried—we trust that it may be successful, and we are the more anxious for this result, because, with all our respect for the older professors of the law, and all our hopes from the younger, we confess we are not sanguine that another Eldon will be speedily found; and we are satisfied that whoever is destined (and late may it be!) to succeed him, will require all the concurrent assistance which can be given, to enable him to occupy with any degree of credit that station which Lord Eldon has already filled for more years, with greater diligence and a more established reputation, than any of his predecessors.

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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1824.

ART. I.—*Essay on Political Economy. Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. VI. Part I. Edinburgh. 1823.*

THE purpose of this Treatise, as stated by the author, is to define the objects and limits of the science of political economy—to trace its progress—to exhibit and establish the fundamental principles on which it is founded—and to point out the relation and dependence subsisting between its different parts.

Much of what is here stated is ably accomplished, particularly a very useful sketch of the progress of the science; and the whole is executed with so much talent and general knowledge of the subject, as to give considerable weight to the opinions advanced. Yet, we think, that the author, in exhibiting the fundamental principles on which he conceives the science of political economy to be founded, has fallen into some most important errors; and as both his ability as a writer, and the depository in which his treatise is found, will necessarily give it a wide circulation, the interests of the science seem to require that these errors should be pointed out.

Of the work of Adam Smith, on the *Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the author says, (p. 233.) that it ‘has done for political economy, what the *Principia* of Newton did for physics.’ The principles of a work which will admit of being so characterized, should not certainly be rejected or modified but on grounds which will stand the test of the strictest examination. We should be among the last to check free and continued inquiry in any science, particularly in one which is most justly described in the present treatise as a science, ‘*not of speculation, but of fact and experiment.*’ On such a subject, no writer, however great, can be expected to produce a work which may not subsequently require some modifications and corrections. We do not therefore object to the author of this treatise and the school which he represents, that they differ from Adam Smith; but that, in rejecting some of the fundamental principles of that great master, they propose to substitute others, which not only do not so well account for the facts with which we are surrounded, but are in many cases absolutely inconsistent with them. They seem to have pro-

ceeded upon a principle just the very reverse of the position above laid down by the author, and to have altered the theories of Adam Smith upon pure speculation; and not because they do not accord with facts and experience.

The Treatise is divided into four parts—

- I. The Definition and History of the Science.
- II. The Production of Wealth.
- III. The Distribution of Wealth.
- IV. The Consumption of Wealth.

We shall make some remarks on the principles laid down in each of these parts.

The author begins with a definition of the science, to which we see no objection, although we do not think that it expresses so clearly and happily the precise object in view as the title of Adam Smith's work. He then notices the importance of making a proper distinction between value in exchange, and utility. In this we entirely agree with him, and have always thought that M. Say, whose opinions seem chiefly to be alluded to, by applying *utility* in a sense altogether inconsistent with the common meaning of the term, has obscured a part of the subject which was before sufficiently clear: we were not, however, aware that Mr. Malthus, whose name is coupled with that of M. Say, had fallen into a similar error. Our impression is, that he has adhered to the distinction stated by Adam Smith, which is plain and intelligible, and requires neither the rejection nor the alteration of common terms—changes which it is always desirable to avoid, unless really necessary.

The author next proceeds to the definition of the term *wealth*; and here he has made a useful addition to the definition of Mr. Malthus. He says, Mr. Malthus has defined wealth to consist of 'those material objects which are necessary, useful, or agreeable to man'—(p. 217.) but that this definition is too comprehensive, as it would include such material products as atmospheric air, and the heat of the sun, which are highly useful and agreeable, yet, by universal consent, are excluded from the investigations of political economy: he proposes, therefore, to limit the definition of *wealth* to those objects alone which have exchangeable value, and it will then stand thus, *those material products which have exchangeable value, and which are either necessary, useful, or agreeable to man*; and to this definition we see no objection.

The author is very decided as to the propriety of confining the definition of *wealth* to *material objects*, as the following passage will show. Having observed that some economists had considered

considered wealth as synonymous with all that man desires as useful and agreeable to him, he goes on to say,

‘But if political economy were to embrace a discussion of the production and distribution of all that is useful and agreeable, it would include within itself every other science; and the best Encyclopædia would really be the best treatise on political economy. Good health is useful and delightful; and, therefore, on this hypothesis the science of wealth ought to comprehend the science of medicine. Civil and religious liberty are highly useful, and, therefore, the science of wealth must comprehend the science of politics. Good acting is agreeable, and therefore, to be complete, the science of wealth must embrace a discussion of the principles of the histrionic art, and so on. Such definitions are worse than useless. They can have no effect but to generate confused and perplexed notions respecting the objects and limits of the science, and to prevent the student ever acquiring a clear and distinct idea of the nature of the inquiries in which he is engaged.’
—p. 217.

In all this we agree with the author, and the author agrees with Adam Smith: we were, therefore, greatly surprised to find him afterwards totally differing on a point so very closely connected with the definition of wealth, as the definition of productive labour. To us, indeed, it appears that the term productive labour, when used in an *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, is absolutely unmeaning and useless, unless it be applied, according to the intention of Adam Smith, to signify the labour which is directly productive of wealth; and if the term wealth be confined to material products, this must be the labour which is so fixed and realized on these products as to be estimated in their value when they become the subjects of exchange. But, according to our author, this distinction is ill-founded: let him, however, speak for himself. Having quoted the passage of Adam Smith, in which he clearly explains the difference between what he has denominated productive, and what unproductive labour, he thus proceeds:—

‘Such are the opinions of Dr. Smith, and it will not we think be very difficult to show the fallacy of the distinctions he has endeavoured to establish between the labour, and consequently, also the consumption of the different classes of society. To begin with the case of the menial servant:—Dr. Smith says that his labour is unproductive; because it is not realized in a vendible commodity, while the labour of the manufacturer is productive, because it is so realized. But of what, may we ask, is the labour of the manufacturer really productive? does it not consist exclusively of comforts and conveniences required for the use and accommodation of society? The manufacturer is not a producer of matter, but of utility only; and is it not obvious that the labour of the menial servant is also productive of utility? If, for ex-

apple, the labour expended in converting the wool of the sheep into a coat be, as it unquestionably is, productive; then surely the labour expended in brushing and cleaning the coat, and rendering it fit to be worn, must be so too. It is universally allowed that the labour of the husbandman in raising corn, beef, and other articles of provision is productive; but, if so, why is the labour of the menial servant, who performs the necessary and indispensable task of preparing and dressing these articles, and fitting them to be used, to be stigmatized as unproductive? It is clear to demonstration, that there is no difference whatever between the two species of industry, that they are both productive or both unproductive. To produce a fire, is it not just as necessary that coals should be carried from the cellar to the grate, as that they should be carried from the bottom of the mine to the surface of the earth? and if it be said that the miner is a productive labourer, must we not also say the same of the servant who is employed to make and tend the fire? The whole of Dr. Smith's reasoning proceeds on a false hypothesis. He has made a distinction where there is none, and where there can be none. The end of all human exertion is the same—that is, to increase the sum of necessities, comforts, and enjoyments; and it must be left to the judgment of every man to determine what proportion of these comforts he will have in the shape of menial services, and what in the shape of material products. It is an error to suppose that a man is impoverished by maintaining menial servants, any more than by indulging in any other species of expense. It is true he will be ruined if he keeps more servants than he has occasion for, or than he can afford to pay; but his ruin would be equally certain were he to purchase an excess of food or clothes, or to employ more workmen in any branch of manufacture than are required to carry it on, or than his capital can employ. To keep two ploughmen, when one might suffice, is just as improvident and wasteful expenditure as to keep two footmen to do the business of one. It is in the extravagant quantity of the commodities we consume, or of the labour we employ, and not in the particular species of commodities or labour that we must seek for the causes of impoverishment."—p. 274.

This passage appears to us to be totally inconsistent with that which we before quoted respecting wealth, and to merit all the severity of remark which was applied by the writer to those political economists who do not confine wealth to *material objects*. If the production of utility and enjoyment, as here stated, be the point in question, then, beyond all doubt, not only the labour of the menial servant is productive, as well as that of the manufacturer, but the exertion necessary to learn to dance, to get to a pleasant party, to read the public papers, or to acquire any useful or agreeable kind of accomplishment or information, must come under the same denomination.

But when Adam Smith gave his definition of productive labour, he obviously did not mean to refer simply to utility and enjoyment, but

but to *enrich*, that is, to the utility and enjoyment resulting from *material products*. He most expressly, indeed, notices the high utility and importance of many other kinds of labour besides those which he has denominated productive, and had not the slightest idea of *stigmatizing* them, as the use of this expression by the author would imply. Could he, indeed, for a moment doubt that the labours of a just magistrate, a skilful physician, or an able legislator, were, beyond comparison, more *useful* than the labour of the lace-maker? We have not the least objection to agree with the author in saying that 'the end of all human exertions is the same; that is, to increase the sum of necessities, comforts and enjoyments;' but if political economy be, as he states, 'the science of the laws which regulate the *production*, distribution and consumption of those *material products* which have exchangeable value, and are either necessary, useful, or agreeable to man,' then it is certain that the term *production*, or *productive labour*, as it ought to be used in the science of political economy, can only apply to the labour which increases the quantity or value of material products.

That in this classification there may be a few anomalous cases we are perfectly ready to admit, but we hardly know what classification is without them. It is true that the labours of some *menial servants* sometimes increase the value of material products; but the amount of this value, as it affects the wealth of the society, never comes to be estimated, like the labours of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the carrier, and the shopman; and even if it could be estimated, it would be found so trifling compared with *the material products consumed by them*, that *men* class their labour may most fairly be denominated unproductive. In fact, menial service, when most like productive labour, may be characterized as assisting in the convenient and agreeable *consumption* of wealth, and not essentially in its production. But what puts the matter beyond doubt, and makes a very marked and striking distinction between them is, that menial service is always employed by revenue with a view to consumption and enjoyment, and never by capital with a view to production and profit; and as this is the only intelligible and useful distinction between unproductive and productive consumption, it is clear that menial servants, even when they most resemble productive labourers, must come under the head of unproductive consumers. It may be true, as stated by the author, that 'to keep two ploughmen where one only might suffice, is just as improvident and wasteful expenditure as it is to keep two footmen to do the work of one.' But the agriculturists who raise corn with a view to profit are in no danger of offending in this way; whereas

the rich landlord, who keeps menial servants with a view to gratification and sumptuous expenditure, almost always maintains much greater numbers than are necessary to keep in order and prepare for immediate use his material products. Dr. Clarke, in his *Travels in Russia*, says, if we recollect right, that some of the Russian noblemen of Petersburg and Moscow keep one or two hundred servants and attendants of various kinds. This would be generally thought much more than sufficient. Yet we agree with the author, that it must be left to the judgment of every man to determine what proportion of comforts he will have in the shape of menial services and what in the shape of material products. We agree with him also that it is an error to suppose that a man is impoverished by maintaining menial servants any more than by indulging in any other species of expense. Though he is no doubt likely to be ruined if he employs more servants than he can pay, yet a rich landlord may employ forty servants to do the work of four, and still live decidedly within his income. To the income of the individual it matters not whether the same sum be laid out in the maintenance of menial servants and followers, or in the material products of carpets, curtains, and carriages. But Adam Smith was inquiring about the *causes* of the wealth of nations; and if wealth consist, as our author allows, of material products, then one of the most powerful causes of wealth must be the general prevalence of such a taste for material products as will occasion the employment of a great and increasing quantity of that kind of labour which produces them. It is true that there would be no use in employing a greater quantity of productive labour than is necessary to supply the demands of society for material products. We must wait the inclinations of the owners of property: and as we cannot force them to prefer the results of one kind of labour to those of another, the capitalists would be very unwise to ruin themselves in the attempt. But that the difference between the two kinds of labour consists in *quality* and not in *quantity* is further manifest from this, that there is scarcely any amount of demand for the results of productive labour which would not tend very greatly to increase the wealth of a nation, or the quantity and value of its produce; whereas a great preference of the results of unproductive labour or a great demand for menial servants and followers, would destroy more than half of the capitals which are generally employed by a rich and prosperous country in manufactures, and in domestic and foreign commerce, and leave it merely with its landlords surrounded by poor dependants. And yet it is said that Adam Smith has made a distinction where there is none, and can be none!

With

With regard to the labour *indirectly* productive of material objects, which the author seems to consider in the same light, as if it were *directly* productive, (p. 275.) we really believe that there is scarcely any exertion, and certainly not any regular consumption, which may not be shown to come under this head. If the exertions of the physician are to be considered as productive, according to our author, because he has been instrumental in preserving the health or saving the life of an Arkwright or Watt, that is, of some of those who increase the value of material objects, we do not know how indirect productiveness can be denied to the walks, rides, and drives which are instrumental in preserving the health, strength, and lives of all the productive labourers of Adam Smith. And, with regard to consumption, it must be allowed to be so decidedly the *indirect* cause of all production, except that of the spontaneous fruits of the earth, that it cannot but have the most extensive and powerful operation, *indirectly*, in increasing the mass of material wealth. But if, because it is true, that the end of all human exertion is the same, that is, to gratify some want or wish of mankind, we are to make no distinction between exercise for health and the labours of the loom, or between the act of consumption and the act of production, in an inquiry into the *nature and causes of the wealth of nations*, we are totally at a loss to conceive how the student in political economy is to explain the effect of capital in increasing national wealth, the operation of saving as distinguished from spending, and the causes which make the balance of produce exceed that of consumption. Surely, to a description of productive labour which leads to such results, the observations, which, as we have seen, the author himself makes on some of the vague descriptions of wealth, may most justly be applied: 'Such definitions are obviously worse than useless: they have no effect but to generate confused and perplexed notions respecting the objects and limits of the science, and to prevent the student ever acquiring a clear and distinct idea of the nature of the inquiries in which he is engaged,'—(p. 217.)

On the other hand, the definition which Adam Smith gives of productive labour is not only quite consistent with the definition of wealth, which is of great importance, but it is at once as distinctly marked as such subjects will admit of, and in the highest degree useful. It amounts in substance to this. Having defined wealth to be the material products, possessing exchangeable value, which are necessary, useful, and agreeable to man, productive labour is that labour which is so directly productive of wealth as to be estimated in the value of the objects produced. This naturally includes the labours of carriers, shopmen, and of all those persons who are paid by capital, and give a definite in-

crease of value to material products; while all those exertions the results of which are immaterial, indirect, or indefinite, are excluded. And having thus got a name for the labour which is directly productive of wealth, we may proceed with much more clearness in our inquiries into the quantity of unproductive labour or of unproductive consumption, which may be necessary in a flourishing society, either on account of its great intrinsic utility; or its tendency to increase the demand for material products.

We have to apologize to our readers for going at once from the beginning to the end of the treatise, in the discussion of this subject; but we consider the definition of wealth and of productive labour as so very closely connected, that they cannot with propriety be treated separately.

The author begins the second division of his *Treatise* with a definition of *production*, which he says is never 'the production of matter, for that is exclusively the attribute of Omnipotence, but the production of utility, and consequently of exchangeable value.'—(p. 234.) This may be strictly true; but, as Adam Smith had before called those modifications of matter which adapt it to the various tastes and wants of society, *production*, we see no advantage in the change of terms. On the contrary, it appears to us obviously calculated to mislead; because exchangeable value is never proportioned to utility, though it may be to the tastes and wants of society. The cobweb piece of muslin, produced by a great quantity of labour and skill, is not nearly so *useful*, according to the natural and common acceptance of the term, as a piece of cotton obtained by a third part of the exertion; yet the former would unquestionably be considered as the production of the greater amount of wealth. This is exactly the error into which M. Say has fallen, and which the author had before noticed with disapprobation.

The author next proceeds to insist very strongly on labour being the only source of *wealth*, and to assert that the earth; 'however paradoxical it may at first sight appear, is not a source of wealth.'—(p. 235.) He says that, 'independently of labour, matter is rarely of any use whatever, and is never of any value. Place us on the banks of a river, or in an orchard, and we shall infallibly perish either of thirst or hunger, if we do not, by an effort of industry, raise the water to our lips, or pluck the fruit from its parent tree.' This last position we are most ready to admit; but we cannot think it follows from it, that labour is the only source of wealth. If it were indeed the sole source of wealth, the legitimate conclusion would be, that wealth might be produced without the assistance of land; yet we strongly suspect that, if we were to make the same *effort of industry* in a place where

where the earth had not been the source of water or apples, such a degree of labour would do but little towards saving us from thirst or hunger. It is necessary to exert much more labour than the effort of industry here described to obtain the use of silver and gold; but to say that human labour is the sole source of these metals would surely be a most strange and useless perversion of terms. As well might we say, when two men were co-operating in carrying a log of wood, which was too heavy for either of them separately, that one was the sole carrier, because, without the effort of industry made by him, the log might have remained unmoved and useless. We totally disapprove of such futile and unnecessary attempts at simplification. We are disposed to consider labour as a most essential source of wealth; but knowing, with Adam Smith, the absolute necessity of the co-operation of land to give us food, clothing, lodging, &c. &c. we see no kind of reason why we should not acknowledge, with him, what is so obviously true, that both land and labour are sources of wealth.

It is not our intention to notice, among much that is good, in this and the other divisions of the treatise, all the passages in which we think the author has unnecessarily deviated from Adam Smith, or has otherwise advanced propositions which are unfounded. Our chief object is to call the attention of the reader to some of the main principles which characterize what may be called the new school of political economy, as contradistinguished from that of Adam Smith. But before we proceed more especially to this subject, we cannot refrain from adverting to a passage quoted in this division of the treatise, of which it is said, 'this is perhaps the most objectionable passage in the *Wealth of Nations*, and it is really astonishing how so acute and sagacious a reasoner as Dr. Smith could have maintained a doctrine so manifestly erroneous.'—(p. 249.) The passage is the following:—

'No equal quantity of productive labour or capital employed in manufactures can ever occasion so great a reproduction as if it were employed in agriculture. In manufactures nature does nothing, man does all, and the reproduction must always be in proportion to the strength of the agents that occasion it. The capital employed in agriculture, therefore, not only puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion too to the quantity of productive labour which it employs it adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of the inhabitants. Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed it is by far the most advantageous to the society.'—(B. II. c. v.)

Now, admitting that Adam Smith has in one part of this passage

may underrated the operations of nature in manufactures, perhaps because he might think, with the author of this treatise, that political economy was the '*science of values*,' (p. 216.)—and that, as the boundless gifts of nature confer no value, he was not called upon to consider them; yet we maintain that, in the principal part of the passage, he is fully justified in what he has said, and that it is strictly and most incontrovertibly true that 'the capital employed in agriculture, in proportion to the quantity of labour which it puts in motion, adds a *much greater value* to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants, than any equal capital employed in manufactures.'

Adam Smith evidently does not here refer, nor ought he in this case to refer, to the returns of the *last* capital employed on the land, but to *all* the capital employed on the land; and unless we are prepared to affirm that wrought cotton, worth a hundred pounds, is of more value or confers greater wealth than raw produce worth a hundred pounds, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the whole of the labour and capital employed to obtain the whole of our raw produce, bears a much less proportion to the value of that produce, than the whole of the labour and capital employed to obtain the whole of our manufactures does to the value of those manufactures; and consequently, that a given quantity of labour employed on the land, taking an average of the rich and poor land together, is actually productive of a *greater value and revenue* than the same quantity of labour employed in manufactures; which is the statement of Adam Smith. Nor do we see that he has shewn a greater want of sagacity in attributing more importance to that species of industry which is the *prime mover* of the whole, and without which every thing would stop, than the man who might naturally enough be tempted to consider the main spring of a watch as of more importance to its movement than some of the subordinate wheels, or its ornaments. The sweeping generalizations which make no difference in the different parts of a work that co-operate to form a whole, appear to us, we confess, to be fatal to all clear explanation of the means by which the final result is attained. We feel certain, at least, that if the watchmaker, the anatomist, and the natural philosopher, were to proceed in this way, they would dreadfully confuse their pupils; and we do not see why it should be different with the political economist. To establish the very great importance of manufactures it is not necessary to deny the superior importance of food and raw materials. Yet it does not at all follow, nor is it considered as a consequence by Adam Smith, that any forced cu-

encouragement should be given to agriculture, which would probably defeat the very end in view.

The author further observes on this subject, that

'The rent of the landlord is not, as Dr. Smith conceives it to be, the recompence of the work of nature remaining after all that part of the produce is deducted which can be regarded as the work of man. But it is, as we shall hereafter show, the excess of the produce obtained from the best soils in cultivation over that which is obtained from the worst.' (p. 250.)

Now, even allowing this last position of the author, we do not see how it essentially contradicts that of Adam Smith. Let us suppose two nations with exactly the same rate of profits and corn wages, but that one had previously cultivated a large quantity of very fertile land, while the whole of the land cultivated by the other was little better than the poorest then in use. Would not the prodigious difference which would exist in the rents of the two countries in this case be clearly attributable to the excess of the produce above what was necessary to pay the labour of man? and would not this excess arise from the natural fertility of the soil, or the work of nature? An approximation to this state of things is indeed by no means uncommon. In countries which have been long peopled, the returns of the last capital employed on the land are more nearly the same than the productiveness of the richest lands which have been cultivated. Independently of the great difference of natural fertility, it is certain that with every increase of skill and saving of labour, the mass of rich lands becomes more productive, compared with the labour employed upon it, while these improvements enable the farmer gradually to cultivate poorer lands with the same returns, so that the difference between the most productive and the least productive capitals employed on the land may be increasing for a century together without any diminution in the quantity of produce divided between the labourer and capitalist, or any essential rise in the value of corn. In fact, this is what has really taken place in our own country during the last hundred years. The severity of remark, therefore, upon Adam Smith on account of the passage above quoted, seems to be by no means warranted.

We now proceed to consider the main principles which more especially characterize the new school of political economy. These appear to be three.

1. That the quantity of labour worked up in commodities determines their exchangeable value.
2. That the demand and supply have no effect upon prices and values, except in cases of monopoly or for short periods of time.
3. That

3. That the difficulty of production on the land is the regulator of profits, to the entire exclusion of the cause stated by Adam Smith, namely, the relative abundance and competition of capital.

The first of these principles is maintained partly in the second division of the treatise and partly in the third, and the inferences from it naturally run through the whole.

In page 237 of the second division, the author says, 'It is to labour therefore, and labour only, that man owes every thing possessed of exchangeable value.' And a little farther on he observes, 'having established this fundamental principle, having shown that it is labour only that gives exchangeable value to commodities, it is plain, &c. &c.'

In the beginning of the third division, he states repeatedly and strongly, that in the early periods of society when the whole produce of labour belonged to the labourer, the quantity of labour which had been expended in the procuring of different articles, would form the only standard by which their relative worth or exchangeable value could be estimated.—(p. 258.) He quotes Adam Smith, who says exactly the same thing; he then adds, 'thus far there is no room for doubt or difference of opinion;' and as, in this case, labour would be the sole condition of the supply of commodities, we are fully prepared to agree with him. Setting out from this point, he proceeds to investigate the laws which regulate the exchangeable value of commodities in an advanced period of society; and after an inquiry of considerable length concludes as follows, 'the analysis we have now completed shows that labour is not only essential to the existence of exchangeable value, but that it is, in every stage of society, from the rudest to the most improved, *the single and only principle which enters into its composition.*'—(p. 268.)

We are in no degree disposed to underrate the prodigious effect of the labour employed to produce a commodity in determining its exchangeable value even in the most improved stages of society. Of whatever other elements this value may be composed, the labour worked up in it must at all times be beyond comparison the most influential. It would indeed be most absurd to compare generally the difference of value occasioned by any other ingredient to the difference occasioned by the quantity of labour employed being that of one day, one hundred days, or one thousand days. This is so very obvious as scarcely to require stating. But though the labour worked up in a commodity is thus allowed to be beyond comparison the main ingredient of value; yet if there really are other ingredients, and they are at the same

same time of such a nature as essentially to encourage or discourage production, and thus operate powerfully on the progress of wealth, it would be inexcusable in the political economist, from a desire of simplification, not to allow them their separate and due weight.

Adam Smith, in his chapter on the Component Parts of Price, (B. i. c. 5.) resolves the price of the great mass of commodities in every improved society into wages, profits, and rent. And in his next chapter, he considers natural price as made up of wages, profits, and rents, each at their ordinary and natural rates.* There is obviously in every society, as stated by Adam Smith, an ordinary or natural rate of wages and profits; but it is not the same with rents. On account of the very different fertility of different soils in the same country, the portion of the produce of land which is resolvable into rent, is extremely various. Sometimes it is a half, a third, or a fourth, and sometimes little or nothing. But if the price of a bushel of corn be the same, whether it be resolvable into more or less rent, rent cannot have much influence in determining its exchangeable value; and we think, on the whole, that satisfactory reasons have been given why, in tracing the causes of exchangeable value, in reference to the most important commodities, rent may be considered as having only a very inconsiderable effect.

But supposing this to be allowed, and the influence of rent on value excluded, as the author would wish, profits will still be left, besides wages or labour. And it remains to be considered whether profits do or do not influence, and if they do, to what extent they influence, the exchangeable value of commodities.

The author has distinctly allowed, that in the early periods of society, when labour alone is concerned in production and the returns are almost immediate, the value of commodities so obtained is determined by the quantity of labour employed to obtain them. But in every stage of society there are a few commodities which are obtained nearly in the same way; and if the value of these commodities, where no profits are concerned, may be correctly

* These three parts seem either immediately or ultimately to make up the price of corn. A fourth part, it may perhaps be thought, is necessary for replacing the stock of the farmer, or for compensating the wear and tear of his labouring cattle, and other instruments of husbandry. But it must be considered that the price of any instrument of husbandry, such as a labouring horse, is itself made up of the same three parts, the rent of the land upon which he is reared, the labour of tending and rearing him, and the profits of the farmer who advances both the rent of this land, and the wages of this labour. Though the price of the corn, therefore, may pay the price as well as the maintenance of the horse, the whole price still resolves itself either immediately or ultimately into the same three parts of rent, labour, and profit. (*Wealth of Nations*, B. i. c. vi.)—Consequently, if it appear that rent has little effect on price, the whole will be determined by labour and profits.

estimated

estimated by the quantity of labour employed to obtain them, we may make a fair calculation of the additional value given by profits, by comparing the value of such commodities with the value of those where profits have entered as a component part.

If, for instance, a useful stone inclosure, built from materials on the spot, were constructed in eight days by fifty common masons paid at half-a-crown a-day, the inclosure, when completed and fit for use, would, on account of the very small quantity of profits concerned, be worth but little more than the labour employed on upon it, that is, 400 days, or, in money, fifty pounds. Now, if we suppose a pipe of wine to be worth, when it is first put into the cask, exactly the same quantity of labour, and money, but that it is to be kept two years before it is used, and that the rate of profits is fifteen per cent., it is obvious that, at the expiration of that time, it must be sold at above £65, or its value must be above 520 days instead of 400 days labour, in order that the conditions of its supply may be fulfilled. We have here, then, two commodities which, by the hypothesis, have had the same quantity of labour employed upon them, and yet the exchangeable value of one of them exceeds that of the other above 30 per cent., on account of the very different quantity of profits worked up in each.

Now let us suppose that the rate of profits falls from 15 per cent. to 6 per cent., then the value of the article, in which profits had very little concern, would remain nearly the same, the conditions of its supply being nearly the same; while the conditions of the supply of the wine will have so essentially altered, without the slightest alteration in its quality, that, instead of being worth above 30 per cent. more than the walls, it would now only be worth a little above 12 per cent. more.

These cases are far from being merely imaginary. Wine is frequently kept much more than two years. Ships are often much above two years in building. The final returns for the commodities which purchase teas in China, reckoning from the period when the first advances required to produce them were made, can hardly be less than that period; and the same may be said of the wrought cottons sold in India after the raw material had been brought from that quarter of the globe and worked up in England. Of some other articles of exchange, particularly coppice-wood and timber, the proportion of the value resolvable into profits is very much larger; while it is universally allowed that the quantity of profits which enters into the composition of commodities, is greatly increased in all cases of an increase of fixed capital as compared with circulating. On the other hand, though, in an improved society, there are but few commodities in which

which labour is concerned exclusively, yet there are some; and there are unquestionably a great many where the tools are so cheap and the returns so little distant, that the profits on the advances necessary to such productions form but a small part of their exchangeable value. In short, the conditions of the supply of commodities at the same period in improved countries, with reference to the quantity of profits which must be repaid in their value when sold, are extremely various; and though it does not often happen that, in short periods, profits fall from 15 per cent. to 6 per cent., yet in the progress of nations greater changes must necessarily occur; and taking only what really happens, we are strongly disposed to believe that the variations of value arising from profits are in many commodities frequently more than 20 per cent., and that variations of 10 or 12 per cent. are common. How then can it be asserted that commodities exchange with each other according to the quantity of labour worked up in them? As far as we can trust our senses, the fact is notoriously otherwise.

The author, however, says, that 'the profits of stock are only another name for the wages of accumulated labour.'—(p. 263.) And it is no doubt true, that if the value of commodities be resolvable into wages and profits, and profits be only another name for wages, the whole is resolvable into wages. It is equally true, that if five be another name for four, two and two will equal five. But whether it will not tend to confuse matters either to consider five as another name for four, or profits as another name for wages, deserves our serious consideration.

We have always understood the wages of labour to mean the remuneration paid for some kind of human exertion; and it is certain that the accumulated labour worked up in machinery, raw materials, or any other species of capital, is just of the same nature as immediate labour, and paid for exactly in the same way: but the profits both upon the accumulated labour and the direct labour are totally a different kind of thing, and obey a different set of laws. This is justly and strongly stated by Adam Smith. He observes, 'the profits of stock, it may perhaps be thought, are only a different name for the wages of a particular sort of labour, the labour of inspection and direction. They are, however, altogether different, are regulated by quite different principles, and bear no proportion to the quantity, hardship and ingenuity of this supposed labour of inspection and direction.' He then proceeds to explain the nature of the fundamental distinction between profits and wages; and concludes as follows: 'in the price of commodities, therefore, the profits of stock constitute a component part altogether different from the wages

wages of labour, and regulated by quite different principles.'—(B. II. c. vi.) In this view of the subject we entirely agree with Adam Smith. But perhaps the author means to place it in a different light. In replying to a case urged by Colonel Torrens, he seems to intimate that the effect of capital employed to keep a cask of wine till it is fit for drinking, is to set in motion the agency of nature, or the processes which she carries on in the casks, instead of the agency, or the labour of men: and that the only difference is in the agents employed.—(p. 268.) But the assistance of nature to give this kind of improvement to wine is at the command of every one who has capital, and certainly, therefore, requires no wages; and that in this case she gives her labour gratis, is quite clear from this, that the increased value which the wine acquires is in no degree proportioned to the efficiency of her workmanship, as is mainly the case in rents, but is entirely regulated by the time during which the returns of the capital are delayed, and the ordinary rate of profits. We have already seen, that an alteration in the rate of profits from 15 to 6 per cent. would make the value of a cask of wine, after being kept two years, compared with its value when first put into the cask, fall from 30 per cent. to 12 per cent., while the processes of nature remained unchanged: and it is quite certain, that all wine kept for two years must be paid for at the same price, whether it improved by keeping or not, provided that the keeping of all wines were enforced, and the returns of the capital employed on them were delayed, for that period, by an arbitrary decree.

In no view of the subject, therefore, is there the slightest ground for confounding the profits of stock with the wages of labour: yet without this strange and most uncalled for misnomer, how is it possible to say that commodities exchange with each other according to the quantity of labour worked up in them, that is, that fifty pounds worth of kept wine has had the same quantity of labour worked up in it, as fifty pounds worth of stone walls sold as soon as built? or that fifty pounds worth of young firs planted thirty years ago on a barren heath had cost in their production the same quantity of labour as fifty pounds worth of Scotch pebbles picked up on the sea shore, or fifty pounds worth of straw plat?

Cases of this kind are, indeed, so numerous and palpable, that they force themselves to be acknowledged. Very large concessions and modifications were, in consequence, repeatedly made by Mr. Ricardo, which, though not sufficient to meet the real truth, are quite sufficient to destroy the assumption that the products of the same quantity of labour in the same country, always remain of the same value. And it is certainly most remarkable that,

that, in the last edition of his work, after having introduced modifications which he himself calls *considerable*, he should have the following passage, which we believe is a new one :—

“It is necessary for me to remark that I have not said, because one commodity has so much labour bestowed upon it as will cost £1,000, and another so much as will cost £2,000, that, therefore, one would be of the value of £1,000 and the other of the value of £2,000; but I have said that, their value will be to each other as two to one, and that in these proportions they will be exchanged. It is of no importance to the truth of this doctrine whether one of these commodities sells for £1,100 and the other for £2,200; or one for £1,500 and the other for £3,000; into that question I do not at present inquire. *I affirm only, that their relative values will be governed by the relative quantities of labour bestowed on their production.*”—(c. i. p. 46.)

And on this assumption, so contrary to our every-day experience, the whole of the calculations and reasonings throughout the remaining part of the work is founded; although, in two sections of the first chapter expressly devoted to the subject, it is specifically allowed, that the principle that the quantity of labour bestowed on commodities regulates their relative value, is *considerably* modified both by the employment of machinery, and by the unequal rapidity of the returns of capital to its employer.

Similar concessions are made in the present treatise. It is stated that, when wages rise and profits fall, one large class of commodities will fall in exchangeable value, another will rise, and a third will remain the same (p. 265.); and it is rather oddly proposed to lump them all together, and to assume that, notwithstanding these changes, the products of the same quantity of labour always remain of the same value. If we want to know the general price of corn during a certain period, or even the general rate of profits, it may be well enough to take an average; but if our object be to ascertain the effects of the *seasons* on the price of corn, it would surely be passing strange to resort to the same proceeding: and it appears to us, we confess, equally strange to propose the taking of an average, when the specific object of our inquiry is to ascertain the effects of the varying quantity and varying rate of profits on the value of the products of the same quantity of human labour. Very considerable effects of this kind are most distinctly acknowledged by our author, varying according to the amount of profits worked up in different commodities, compared with the amount worked up in that commodity which is taken as their measure. They prove incontrovertibly that the cases of exception to the rule are, both in theory and in fact, beyond comparison more numerous than the cases in which the rule holds true. It is therefore absolutely inconceivable

to us, on what ground, other than that of utterly confounding all distinction between wages and profits, the author could arrive at the conclusion before adverted to on the subject of *value*, namely, that labour ‘*is, in every stage of society, from the rudest to the most improved, the single and only principle which enters into its composition.*’ (p. 268.) We trust that we have shown that this doctrine, which peculiarly characterizes the new school of political economy, and from which all their peculiar tenets flow, is a most unwarranted deviation from Adam Smith, and rests on no solid foundation. But this truth will still more fully appear as we proceed to examine the two other most important principles which flow from it.

The second principle which we proposed to consider is, that demand and supply have no influence on prices and values, except in cases of monopoly, or for short periods of time.

On this subject the author is very decided in his opinion. Having referred to the admirable chapters of Adam Smith, in which, as it is justly observed, the general equality of wages and profits was first fully demonstrated; he goes on to say,—

‘The principle of the equality of wages and profits once established, it is easy to show that variations in the demand and supply of commodities can exert no lasting influence on price. It is the *cost of production*, denominated by Smith and the Marquis Garnier *necessary or natural price*, which is the permanent and ultimate regulator of the exchangeable value or price of every commodity which is not subjected to a monopoly, and which may be indefinitely increased in quantity by the application of fresh capital and labour to its production.’—(p. 255.)

He then enters into the subject at considerable length; but as the passage we have quoted clearly expresses the substance of the doctrine, it will be sufficient for our purpose.

Though we cannot by any means accede to the statement that demand and supply exert no lasting influence on price; yet we are very willing to allow that the natural prices of commodities are determined by the natural costs of production, according to the meaning of the term, as used by Adam Smith, or even after we have excluded the effects of rents: but as profits will still remain a component part of price, it is absolutely necessary, before we can exclude demand and supply from a lasting influence on exchangeable value, to show that they can have no influence on the natural rate of profits. Adam Smith, in using the term *natural rate of wages and profits*, says, that he means by it ‘the ordinary or average rate which is found in every society or neighbourhood, and which is regulated partly by the general circumstances of the society, their riches or poverty; their advancing, stationary, or declining conditions; and partly by the particular nature of each employment.’

employment.' This reference to the varying circumstances of the society strongly savours of the effects of demand and supply; and, by ordinary and average profits, cannot be meant an average for fifty or a hundred years, but an average of the varying profits of the time, as long as they are sufficient to encourage the employment of capital by the owners of stock. An average of ten or a dozen years, therefore, may fairly be considered as sufficient or more than sufficient to determine the ordinary rate of profits. But it is a matter of universal notoriety that, in the progress of a nation towards wealth, considerable fluctuations take place in the rate of profits for ten, twelve, or twenty years together out of one or two hundred: and the question is, to what cause or causes these fluctuations are mainly to be attributed.

Of all the truths which Mr. Ricardo has established, one of the most useful and important is, that profits are determined by the proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour. It is, indeed, a direct corollary from the proposition, that the value of commodities is resolvable into wages and profits; but its simplicity and apparent obviousness do not detract from its utility. It is, however, only one important step in the theory of profits, which of course cannot be complete till we have ascertained the cause which, under all circumstances, regulates this proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour immediate and accumulated.

When the productiveness of labour employed on the land is continually diminishing, it is easy to see that the corn wages of labour cannot go on diminishing in the same degree without starving the labourer; and that, therefore, of the produce of the same quantity of labour, a greater proportion must go to labour and less to profits. But we know, from experience, that the operation of this cause may be suspended by improvements in agriculture, for a hundred years together; and we are to inquire what it is which, independently of this cause, determines the proportion in which the produce of a given quantity of labour is divided between labour and profits. On this important point the present treatise is silent;* but the prevailing opinion is, that it depends upon the greater or less demand for labour. If this opinion were correct, it would still show that the rate of profits must, so far, depend upon the principle of demand and supply. It appears, however, from experience, to depend rather upon the demand and supply of *produce*, than of labour. And it will be found that the specific reason which occasions a larger or smaller

* The author says, 'The limits to which this Article has already extended prevent our entering into an investigation of the various circumstances which determine the market rate of wages.' (p. 269.)

proportion of the produce of a given quantity of labour to go to labour, is the fall or rise in the value of the whole produce of such labour resulting from the temporary or ordinary state of the supply, compared with the demand. If we refer to the value of the whole produce of a given quantity of labour, this proposition is true, whatever may be the variations in the productiveness of labour; but if we are considering the value of a given quantity of produce as determining profits, we must refer to the state of the demand and supply, while the productiveness of labour remains the same.

Thus, to take one of the most familiar cases: if cottons fall in value from an abundant supply, not occasioned by improved machinery, will not a larger proportion of the produce of the same quantity of accumulated and immediate labour be necessary to repay that labour? and will not a smaller proportion be left for profits, although, instead of an increased demand for labour, the capitalist will neither have the power nor the will to employ so much as before? On the other hand, if cottons rise in value from a diminished supply, not occasioned by the diminished productiveness of labour, will not a smaller proportion of the produce of the same quantity of accumulated and immediate labour go to repay that labour? and will not a larger proportion of the produce be left for profits, although, instead of a diminished demand for labour, the capitalists will have both the power and the will to employ more labour? It appears, therefore, that in these cases of varying profits, it is specifically the varying state of the demand compared with the supply of produce while the productiveness of labour remains the same, which determines them. And does it not follow that the ordinary state of profits, or the ordinary *proportion* of the produce which goes to repay the advances of accumulated and immediate labour necessary to obtain it, is determined by the ordinary state of the demand compared with the supply of such produce?

But to make this important point more clear, let us consider what is meant by the amount of effectual demand, in the simplest form which it can assume so as to be correct. Adam Smith says, very justly, that labour was the original purchase-money of all commodities. If certain commodities were the objects of desire, but not attainable without a good deal of exertion, the person so desiring them would or would not have an effectual demand for them according as he was able and willing to purchase them with the necessary sacrifice of labour; and the quantity of labour which he was able and willing to give for them, might, with propriety, be considered as the amount of his demand; while the supply would depend upon the quantity of such commodities which

which the labour applied to obtain them could procure. In this case, it is obvious that the value of the articles would be as the demand directly and the supply inversely, or each article would be worth the quantity of labour which would arise from dividing the amount of labour employed by the amount of the articles obtained.

We have here supposed the returns to be rapid, and immediate labour only to be employed. But supposing the returns of some commodities to be necessarily very much slower than those of others, and further to require for their production expensive tools, or some form of accumulated labour; is it not quite certain that these commodities would be more scarce and valuable compared with the quantity of human labour worked up in them, than the commodities produced and brought to market rapidly? There would, in this case, be two causes influencing the supply of the commodities obtained by the same quantity of human labour: first, the productiveness of such labour; and, secondly, the plenty or scarcity of those accumulations called capital, and the time for which it was necessary to employ them; and the supply of such commodities compared with a given quantity of immediate labour would cease to be proportioned to the productiveness of that labour, and would only be proportioned to its productiveness after subtracting what was necessary to repay the profits of the capital employed.

To make an effectual demand for commodities of this description, we must transfer to the owners of them the means of obtaining a quantity of labour equal to the accumulated and immediate labour worked up in them, with such an additional quantity as will compensate for the use of the capital employed according as it is plentiful or scarce, compared with immediate labour, and according as it has been employed for a short or a long time.

In this case, the quantity of immediate labour necessary to make an effectual demand for the commodities will exceed, in various degrees, the quantity of accumulated and immediate labour worked up in them. But it will still be strictly true that the value of the commodities will be as the demand, directly, and the supply inversely. In the same manner, if the palms, yams and bananas belonging to a chief of Otaheite were in great request, the demand for them would be represented, not by other commodities similarly circumstanced, nor by the very small quantity of labour which they had cost in production, but by the great quantity of labour and service, that original purchase-money which the inhabitants were able and willing to give him in order to obtain them; and their value would be determined by the demand directly, and

the supply inversely ; or the quantity of service offered divided by the quantity of produce received. This last is a case of monopoly ; but the value of all commodities is determined exactly in the same way, whether they are the subjects of any kind of monopoly, or of the freest competition ; whether they are produced by labour alone, or by labour and profits combined. In fact, all that is necessary to constitute value is, that a commodity should be wanted by more persons than can obtain it for nothing. When this is the case, some sacrifice must be made by the competitors. This sacrifice can seldom be measured with any approach towards precision by other commodities, the ever varying *products* of labour ; but it may be measured with tolerable exactness by labour itself ; that is, by the quantity of their own or of other people's labour of a given description, which the competitors are willing to offer ; and the value of the commodities to those whose demands are effectual, will be just in proportion to the amount of their demand, compared with the supply which they obtain.*

This may be considered as the universal proposition applicable in all cases, temporary and permanent, and in whatever way the commodity is produced. The other proposition, namely, that the value of commodities is determined by the costs of their production, is limited in various ways. In the first place, it necessarily involves the supposition that profits form a part of *costs* ; a supposition, the propriety of which has been controverted ; secondly, it refers always to the average and ordinary values of commodities, and not to the variations of their actual and market values ; and, thirdly, it is confined to commodities which are produced by free competition, and excludes all those which are affected by monopolies either strict or partial, either natural or artificial, which are more numerous than people are aware of. With these limitations, however, the proposition is unquestionably true, and for this specific reason, that, under the circumstances supposed, the necessary condition of the continued supply of commodities is, that the demand or the amount of labour offered for them, should be such as to replace their costs, or the quantity of labour and profits required to bring them to market. Their value evidently cannot long be less than this, and when the competition is free, it is not necessary to the supply that it should be greater. It appears, therefore, that the value of all commodities, whether regulated by the costs of production or not, is determined by the supply compared with the demand, and that, as a

* In civilised societies, where the precious metals are in use, a *given demand* may be safely represented by the *variable* quantity of money which will command a *given quantity of labour* of the same description : but it cannot be represented by any *given quantity of commodities*.

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given demand may be represented by a given quantity of labour, the supply of commodities compared with this demand which determines their value, must, while the productiveness of labour remains unaltered, determine, at the same time, the proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour, or, under similar circumstances, the rate of profits.

It is now generally allowed that, in almost every department of industry, the labourer who is employed at the present average rate of money wages, receives a larger proportion of what he produces than he did during the war. It is almost as generally allowed that this is mainly occasioned by the abundance of the supply compared with the demand; and the natural and necessary consequence is, that fall of profits which is the subject of universal remark.

In referring, therefore, to the costs of production, including profits, as the regulating principle of price and value, instead of demand and supply, we really refer to two elements, one of which is essentially determined in its value by the demand and supply. Independently of any question relating to the greater or less productiveness of labour, the costs of production, including profits, have diminished during the last eight or nine years, owing to a fall in the value of profits occasioned by the state of the demand and supply. Thus, the hardware, which in reference to the accumulated and immediate labour worked up in it, was produced both during the war and since, by the same advances, which we will call a hundred days' labour, was, in the former period, worth perhaps 114 days, and is probably now only worth 108 days, owing to the great supply of hardware compared with the demand. If the average term of the advances on which profits would be reckoned were a year in both cases, then, in the former case, profits would be 14 per cent., and in the latter, 8 per cent. The value of the produce of the same quantity of labour would have fallen in that degree; and it is certain that, if the producers were able and willing to continue the same proportionate supply, at the same rate, owing to the abundance of capital, this state of things might continue for twenty or thirty years together.

It is clear then, that in denying the influence of demand and supply on prices, except for short periods, the friends of the new school have totally mistaken the nature of the principle, and the mode and extent of its operation. This, indeed, is strikingly obvious from the following passage in the present treatise. Speaking of cottons, the author says, 'no one can deny that the demand for them has been prodigiously augmented within the last fifty

or sixty years ; and yet their price, instead of increasing, as it ought to have done, had *the popular theory of demand and supply been well founded*, has been constantly and rapidly diminishing.' (p. 256.) Now, we should like to know, what 'popular theory' of demand and supply ever supposed that an increased consumption, specifically and exclusively caused by an increased supply, and increased cheapness, ought to occasion increased prices. That such increased consumption may prevent prices from falling so low as they otherwise would do, is natural enough ; but that it should raise prices is the grossest contradiction in terms ; and the statement only proves how totally the author has misapprehended the nature of that kind of demand and supply which affects prices and value. The specific reason why cottons have fallen during the last fifty or sixty years is, that they have been supplied in much greater abundance compared with a given demand, or a given quantity of labour. The main cause of this no doubt is, the greater productiveness of labour in this species of industry, or the power of producing the same quantity of cottons at a less cost of production in labour ; but to show how exclusively the effect is owing to the principle of demand and supply, it would be universally acknowledged that, if a greater quantity of cottons had not been produced compared with the demand, or a given quantity of labour, no change whatever would have taken place in the value of cottons, however great might be the improvements in machinery :—but this, of course, could only have happened under a monopoly.

If, then, the nature of the principle of demand and supply be properly understood, it must be allowed that the rejection of this principle in the determination of value, except in cases of monopoly or for short periods, is totally unwarranted ; and that, in reality, the only difference between market prices and natural prices is, that the former are determined by the actual and temporary state, and the latter by the more permanent and ordinary state of the demand and supply.

The third important principle which we propose to consider, as peculiarly distinguishing the new school of political economy, is, that the difficulty of production on the land is the regulator of profits, to the entire exclusion of the cause stated by Adam Smith, namely, the relative abundance and competition of capital.

This principle, which is adverted to in various parts of the treatise, is broadly laid down in the last section of the third division, in the following passage :—p. 296.

' Dr. Smith was of opinion that the rate of profit varied inversely as the amount of capital, or in other words, that it was always greatest where capital was least abundant, and lowest where capital was the most abundant.

abundant. He supposed that, according as capital increased, the principle of competition would stimulate capitalists to endeavour to encroach on the employment of each other, and that, in furtherance of this object, they would be tempted to offer their goods at a lower price, and to give higher wages to their workmen. This theory was long universally assented to. It has been espoused by MM. Say, Sismondi and Storch, by the Marquis de Garnier, and, with some slight modifications, by Mr. Malthus. But, notwithstanding the deference due to these authorities, it is easy to see that the principle of competition could never be productive of a general fall in the rate of profit. Competition will prevent any one individual from obtaining a higher rate of profit than his neighbours; but no one will say that competition diminishes the productiveness of industry, and it is on this that the rate of profit must always depend. The fall of profits, which invariably takes place as society advances, and population becomes denser, is not owing to competition, but to a very different cause—“*to a diminution of the power to employ capital with advantage, resulting either from a decrease in the fertility in the soil which must be taken into cultivation in the progress of society, or from an increase of taxation.*”

‘Mr. Malthus has clearly demonstrated that population has a constant tendency not only to equal, but to exceed the means of subsistence. But if the supply of labourers be always increased in proportion to every increase in the demand for their labour, it is plain the mere accumulation of capital could never sink profits by raising wages, that is, by *increasing the labourer's share of the commodities produced by him.* It is true that a sudden increase of capital would, by causing an *unusually* great demand for labourers, raise wages and lower profits; but such a rise of wages could not be permanent; for the additional stimulus which it would give to the principle of population, would, as Mr. Malthus has shewn, by proportioning the supply of labour to the increased demand, infallibly reduce wages to their former level.’

On these observations it is first necessary to remark, that the opinion of Adam Smith on the subject of profits, is not properly understood. It is quite clear, from the context of the passage referred to, that he never meant to state generally, that the rate of profit varies inversely as the amount of capital, without any reference to the difficulty or facility of finding employment for it, which would be saying that England must have lower profits than Holland, on account of the greater quantity of capital employed in England, or that the rate of profits in any country whose capital was increasing, must go on falling regularly, and be always lower at every subsequent period, whether new channels of trade, and more productive means of employing capital, were opened to her or not. What Adam Smith says is this, (B. ii. c. iv.) ‘As capitals increase in any country, the profits which can be made by employing them, necessarily diminish. It becomes

becomes gradually more and more difficult to find within the country a *profitable* method of employing any new capital. There arises in consequence a competition between different capitals, the owner of one endeavouring to get possession of that employment which is occupied by another.' This very distinctly implies, not merely *absolute amount of capital*, but relative difficulty of finding *profitable* employment for it. Abundance and competition, indeed, always have a relative signification; and by the abundance and competition of capital, Adam Smith obviously means an increase in the *share* of the 'annual produce which, as soon as it comes from the ground, or from the hands of the productive labourers, is destined for replacing a capital.' But it is quite certain, that whenever this share increases profits must fall.

With regard to the statement that competition cannot diminish the productiveness of industry, we most readily allow it; but we utterly deny, that it is on this that the rate of profit must always depend. There is a very frequent, but certainly no *necessary* connection between the productiveness of industry and the rate of profits. The rate of profits depends upon the *proportion* of the whole produce which goes to replace the advances; but this proportion may obviously be the same when the productiveness of industry is very different. And that practically, it very seldom increases or decreases according to the degree of productiveness, is manifest from this, that in the various countries of the commercial world so different in natural fertility, the rate of profits, allowing for difference of security, is much more nearly the same than the rate of corn wages. Nothing indeed can be more entirely unwarranted by facts, than the assumption of any thing like a constant rate of corn wages. In our own country great variations have taken place for twenty, thirty, and even sixty years together; and in the United States the corn wages of labour have long been considerably more than double those of England. Yet, in order to be able to say with truth, that the rate of profit must always depend upon the productiveness of industry, we must assume, that the corn wages of labour are always the same.

On the subject of the difficulty of production on the land, we have to observe, that we are by no means disposed to overlook the effects resulting from the necessity of resorting to poorer land in the progress of cultivation and population. The principle founded on the gradations of soil not only shows clearly why rent, though generally considered as the consequence of monopoly, appears in an early period of society, while land is still in great plenty; but it explains specifically the reason why the continued increase of capital, in a limited territory, must unavoidably terminate in a fall of profits. In both these views it is of the
highest

highest importance, and most decidedly confirmed by experience. But if it be considered as *regulating* profits, that is, if we assume, that while the productiveness of the last capital employed on the land remains the same, profits will continue the same, and that when it increases or diminishes, profits will necessarily increase or diminish, then it will be found to be almost universally contradicted by facts.

Is it possible, for instance, to attribute the fall of profits which has taken place during the last eight or nine years, to the difficulty of production on the land? Corn, it is well known, has been unusually cheap during the greatest part of the time; the capitals of many farmers have greatly suffered, and it is the universal impression, that they have been unable, on account of their losses, to keep their lands in the same high state of cultivation as before. Under these circumstances, and with a falling money price of labour, the doctrines of the new school teach us that profits ought to rise. The fact, however, has been exactly the reverse. Nor is there the least reason to say, that the effect is peculiar, or merely temporary. A similar fall of profits has taken place in almost every state at all similarly circumstanced, with which we are acquainted; and at a former period, in our own country, for nearly thirty years together, from the accession of George II. to the year 1757, the interest of money was at 3, 3½, and even, during an intermediate war, only at about 4 per cent., and profits must have been low nearly in proportion. In neither of these cases can we attribute the low profits to the difficulty of production on the land. Corn was plentiful and cheap; and nothing indicated that the labour employed on the last land taken into cultivation had become less productive.

What then was the cause of the fall of profits? It was obviously and unquestionably a fall in the value of produce owing to the abundance and competition of capital, which would necessarily occasion a different division of what was produced, and award a larger proportion of it to the labourer, and a smaller proportion of it to the capitalist. Accordingly, we find that, while the productiveness of labour on the land remained nearly the same, the labourer was paid greater corn wages than usual. It was during the thirty years of low profits just referred to, that he earned on an average about a full peck of wheat a day, which was more than he had earned, during any ten years together, for nearly a century and a half before, or could earn for above half a century afterwards. The same circumstance has attended the fall of profits since the war. It is well known, that the money price of wheat has fallen more than the money price of labour; and consequently, the labourer

labourer who has been employed, has earned a greater quantity of wheat than usual.

When the difficulty of production on the land really increases, the corn wages of labour almost uniformly fall, and the money price of corn almost uniformly rises. In these cases exactly the opposite effects were experienced, corn wages rose, and the money price of corn fell considerably; while, with these two symptoms so strongly negating all idea of the diminished productiveness of the last capitals employed on the land, there was not a single symptom which could be brought forwards tending in the slightest degree to establish such diminished productiveness.

Here then we have two glaring instances in our own country of a fall of profits, one of thirty years continuance, and the other of eight or nine years, which cannot, with the slightest semblance or probability, be attributed to the difficulty of production on the land. Both instances, however, accord most perfectly with the more general proposition of Mr. Ricardo respecting profits, namely, that they are determined by the proportion of the whole produce which goes to labour. It is matter of incontrovertible fact, that in both these cases the labourer absorbed a larger proportion of what he produced: but it is of the highest importance to remark that, in neither case, could the increased corn wages be attributed to the increased demand for labour. In the former period, when the average corn wages of common day labour were a peck a day, if there had been the same demand for labour, and it had been equally easy for the wife and children of the labourer to find full employment, as it was from 1793 to 1815, it is quite impossible to suppose that we should not have had a nearly equal increase of population; while it is well known that the population from 1727 to 1756 increased very slowly, and from 1793 to 1815 very rapidly. In the period which has elapsed since the return of peace, the difficulty of finding employment, particularly on the land, has been too notorious to require proof; and if, owing to the extraordinary stimulus given to the population by the previous demand for it, it still continues to increase with rapidity, yet there is reason to think that the present demand would not nearly have kept pace with the rate of increase, and that great distress would have been the consequence, if the happy opening of new and large channels of foreign commerce, combined with the improved views of our government in commercial legislation, had not prepared the way for a renewed demand for labour. As it is, it is universally allowed that the money price of corn and commodities has fallen during the last nine years more than the money price of labour; and which

while the merchant sees that on this account the workmen which he employs are paid a larger proportion of the commodities which they produce, we believe that there is not a single unsophisticated person in business who would not at the same time acknowledge, that this was not owing to the scarcity and increased demand for labour, but to the abundance and cheapness of the commodities produced, occasioned by the abundance and competition of capital in every department of industry.

We fully agree with the author of the present treatise, that when it is said that profits depend on wages, they must not be understood to 'depend on wages estimated in money, in corn, or in any other commodity, but on proportional wages, that is, on the share of the commodities produced by the labourer, or of their value, which is given to him.' But innumerable facts concur to show, that this increased proportion awarded to the labourer continually takes place without being accompanied with any circumstances which indicate either an increased demand for labour, or an increase in the value of the same quantity of labour.

We are in the habit, and we believe justly, of considering the precious metals as a commodity less liable to sudden changes of value than any of the other products of human industry, and it is well known that the money price of the same kind of labour often remains the same for many years together. But during such periods there are frequently variations in the prices of commodities produced by a given quantity of labour, owing to the state of the demand and supply, without any alteration in the power of production, or the amount of produce obtained by the same quantity of labour and capital.

Now what is the consequence of these variations? If the *prices* of calicoes fall, it is quite obvious that while the workman continues to earn the same money wages, he will obtain a larger proportion of the calicoes produced by him. We have already shown that this does not imply an increased demand for labour, and it is equally certain that it does not imply an increased *value* of labour. Measured in money, the value of which for short periods is considered as being steady, labour remains of exactly the same value as before, and the additional quantity of calicoes earned by the workman is exclusively owing to the fall in their money price.

On the other hand, if, under the same circumstances, calicoes rise in money price, the workman must necessarily earn a smaller proportion of what he produces; but this, so far from implying a decrease in the demand for labour, implies, on the part of the capitalist, both the power and will to employ more than before. Nor does it imply a diminished *value* of labour. Measured in the steady article of metallic money, labour has continued exactly of the

the same value; and though the workman earns a smaller quantity of calicoes, yet this is exclusively owing to the rise in the price of calicoes, while the price of his labour has remained the same. Instances of this kind are occurring all around us every day of our lives; and we believe that there is no political economist who would venture to say, that, in these individual cases, the variations of profits, arising from wages absorbing a greater or smaller proportion of the produce, were occasioned by the rise or fall in the value of the labour, instead of a rise or fall in the value of the produce.

But, in reality, the principle is as applicable generally as it is individually, and will be found to be true for periods of considerable length, as well as for those short periods, during which we are in the habit of considering metallic money as practically of the same value. If the competition of capital in any particular department of industry may so lower the value of the produce as to occasion a larger proportion of the produce to be paid to the labourer, there seems to be no reason why the competition of increasing capital in all departments should not so lower the value of the mass of commodities, compared with labour, as to award generally a larger proportion of what is divided between the labourers and the capitalists to the labourers, and thus occasion a general fall on profits.

The only argument against this natural and obvious conclusion is taken from the principle of population stated by Mr. Malthus, and referred to in the passage before quoted. His doctrine is considered as proving, that 'the supply of labourers will always be increased in proportion to every increase in the demand for their labour;' and in this statement we are disposed to agree with the author. But the great question, and a most important one it must be acknowledged to be, is, whether an accumulation of capital coming upon a slack demand for produce, which will certainly award a larger share of this produce to the labourer, will always be accompanied by that increase in the demand for labour which is so necessary to occasion a rapid increase of population? It is well known, that the effect of increase of quantity on price and value is frequently to lower the exchangeable value of commodities in a much greater degree than in proportion to the increase. But when this is the case the mass of such commodities, after their increase, must command a smaller quantity of any object which had not altered its value, than before. Now, supposing this increase to have taken place, under the circumstances stated, in the funds specifically destined for the maintenance of labour, the necessary consequence would be, that, instead of an *unusually great demand* for labourers, there would be a *diminished demand*,
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and the mass of these funds would not be adequate to set so many people to work as before. Either a part of the labourers must be thrown entirely out of work, or the whole must be only partially employed—a state of things exactly calculated to generate those indolent habits, which, while they occasion a larger proportion of the produce to go to labour, owing to the greater number employed, tend to reduce to but a scanty allowance the annual remuneration of each labourer. Under these circumstances it is evident, that, notwithstanding the increased produce awarded at first to the labourers actually employed, the progress of population is likely to be but slow. The theory on the subject is very simple and clear, and it only remains to be considered whether it is confirmed by experience.

In the first place it is obvious, that whenever the money price of the funds for the maintenance of labour so falls as to lower the value of the whole mass, while the money price of labour remains nearly the same, the labourer must earn a larger proportion of the produce, and profits must fall; and it must be allowed that this event is practically frequent. It is continually happening for short periods, owing to a fall in the price of corn, occasioned by the state of the seasons; and for longer periods, owing to more permanent causes. It occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, in this country, for sixty years together; it occurred in the early part of the last century for above thirty years together, and has been taking place for the last nine years, since 1814; and whatever may have been the increase of population during the latter period, occasioned by the *impetus* previously received, and the fortunate opening of new channels of trade, it is certain that in the two former periods of very considerable duration, the high corn wages earned by the labourer were not accompanied by anything like so rapid an increase of population as at periods when the corn wages were lower, and the demand for labour greater. But, if it appear both from theory and experience, that an increased rate of corn wages is not always accompanied by an increased demand for labour, and on that account does not necessarily occasion a more rapid increase of population, it is perfectly clear that a distribution of the produce which awards a larger share to the labourer, may occasion a fall of profits for a very considerable time together, without any increase in the difficulty of production on the land.

But if this be so, it is equally certain that it is specifically the competition of capital, or the increase of capital compared with the value of the produce to be derived from it, which can alone occasion such a distribution. The relative difficulty of production on the land accounts for none of those considerable variations in

in the rate of profits which are practically found to occur during those long periods when the improvements in agriculture, and the saving of labour, have compensated the disadvantage of resorting to naturally poorer soils, and when, in consequence, the productiveness of labour on the land has remained nearly the same; while the principle of the competition of capital not only gives the true explanation of all these variations, but equally applies to those variations which arise from the diminished productiveness of labour on the land. In both cases the immediate cause of the fall of profits is the increase or abundance of capital greater than the demand for the produce; in both cases the effect depends *solely* on the altered distribution of what is produced. And the only difference is, that, in the latter case, this altered distribution is absolutely necessary and unavoidable, in the actual state of the land, and of the skill with which it is cultivated; while in the former, it depends upon the tastes and habits of the effectual demanders, and is susceptible of change, without any alteration in the state of the land, by a better proportion of the supply to the demand.

In denying, therefore, the effects of the relative competition of capital on profits, and referring exclusively to the relative productiveness of labour, the friends of the new school have rejected a principle which will account for almost every variation of profits which can possibly occur, and have endeavoured to substitute another, which will only account for one class of cases, and those of such a nature that they may not occur in the course of one or two centuries.

It appears, then, that their theory of profits does not account for things, as they have been, and as they are, in any degree so well as the theory of Adam Smith which they have rejected.

We have already anticipated most of the remarks which we wished to make on the fourth division of the present treatise, in what we said of productive and unproductive labour, and productive and unproductive consumption as necessarily connected with the definition of wealth given in the first division. But we cannot quit this last division, without referring to a passage in it which strikes us as peculiarly illustrative of the impracticability and inapplicability of some of the opinions maintained by the new school. The author fully adopts the doctrine of M. Say, laid down in his chapter *Des Debouchés*, that is, *that effective demand depends upon production*: and to show that a general glut is impossible, he has the following argument.

‘In exerting his productive powers every man’s object is either directly to consume the produce of his labour himself, or to exchange it for such commodities as he wishes to obtain from others. If he does
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the first—if he directly consumes the produce of his industry, there is an end of the matter, and it is evident that the multiplication of such produce to infinity could never occasion a glut: if he does the second—if he brings the produce of his industry to market, and offers it in exchange for other commodities, then and then only there may be a glut; but why? Not certainly because there has been any excess of production, but because the producers have not properly adapted their means to their ends. They wanted, for example, silks, and they offered cottons in exchange for them; the proprietors of silks were however already sufficiently supplied with cottons, and they wanted broad cloths. The cause of the glut is therefore obvious. It consists not in over-production, but in the production of cottons which were not wanted, instead of broad cloths, which were wanted. Let this error be rectified, and the glut will disappear.

‘Even supposing the proprietors of silks to be not only supplied with cottons, but with cloth and every other commodity that the demanders can produce, it would not invalidate the principle for which we are contending. If those who want silks cannot obtain them from those who have them by means of an exchange, they have an obvious resource at hand—let them cease to produce the commodities which they do not want, and *directly produce the silks which they do want, or substitutes for them.* It is plain, therefore, that the utmost facility of production can never be the means of overloading the market. Too much of one commodity may occasionally be produced; but it is quite impossible that there can be too great a supply of every species of commodities. For every excess there must be a corresponding deficiency. The fault is not in producing too much, but in producing commodities which do not suit the tastes of those with whom we wish to exchange them, or which we cannot ourselves consume.’

It is here stated, that for every excess there must be a corresponding deficiency. If this means any thing, it must mean, that if, in some departments of industry, the fall in the value of the produce from excess of quantity destroys nearly all the profits of the producer, this must necessarily be accompanied by such a rise in the value of produce in other departments of industry, as to yield to the capitalists engaged in them an unusually high rate of profits. Now we would appeal to the experience of every person who, without being biassed by some previous prejudice, had turned the smallest attention to the subject, whether, at the time when a general glut was talked of, there was the least ground for the assertion, that, although the state of the trade in cottons was ruinous, the capitalist engaged in making broad cloths or silks, or some other article which would absorb a large capital, was in the most prosperous and flourishing state, and investing additional stock by high prices and high profits. This assertion of corresponding deficiency, as applied to what is known to have taken place since the peace, appears to us as strange as

if it were gravely asserted that every man in the streets of London who was observed to have his head covered, would be found upon examination to have his feet bare. All people have not been in London, and could not therefore personally contradict such an affirmation; but on account of its extreme improbability none would believe it, and in justification of this disbelief they would naturally say that, if it were true, they must have heard more of it. Now we will venture to say, no one ever heard, as a matter of fact from competent authority, that, for some years together since the peace, there was a marked deficiency of produce in any one considerable department of industry.

If, however, in spite of the general principles of political economy, which inculcate an equality of profits; in spite of the intelligence and skill of our merchants and manufacturers, who are not apt to be obstinately inattentive to their interests, and in spite of an abundant quantity of floating capital ready to go any where for the chance of a tolerable profit, some capitalists are absolutely unable to obtain the commodities they want by means of an exchange; what is their resource? Our author says it is obvious, and at hand.—‘Let them cease to produce the commodities which they do not want, and *directly produce the silks which they do want, or substitutes for them.*’

Let us for a moment consider the nature of this remedy. In the first place no capitalist ever wants a large quantity of any one commodity with a view to his own consumption. If he could most readily exchange his cottons for silks, or any other commodity which he might prefer, and were to consume such commodity, he would at once be ruined, as he would have consumed his capital. What, then, does he really want? Besides the raw materials to be worked up, which he can seldom obtain but by means of an exchange, his main want is the means of supporting his workmen. Is he to set about producing these means? If he does, he will proceed but slowly in his new manufacture; and in the interim must produce all the various articles required for the consumption of his family, and thus give up the benefits derived from the division of labour. We feel quite certain that if the reason why a general glut cannot happen is, that the producers have this remedy at hand, gluts might take place over and over in civilized countries, without its ever occurring to a single producer that he might relieve himself by resorting to so impracticable and barbarous a resource.

The doctrine of the equality of profits teaches us that partial gluts cannot be of long duration. The interest of individual producers to move their capitals to more profitable employments is so obvious and pressing, that it cannot long be unattended to; though

though the change may occasion temporary loss. But when the warehouses are generally full, and there is a sudden and unusual fall of profits in *all* employments, which is what is meant by a general glut, the producer cannot relieve himself. It is of little consequence in this case; that all the articles are produced in their proper proportions to each other, and that cottons, broad cloths, silks, hardware, &c. &c. exchange among themselves exactly at the same rate as they did before. If without improvements in machinery, they have all fallen compared with labour,* which they may very easily do from the competition of capital acting on a slack demand, foreign and domestic, there must necessarily be a general fall of profits accompanied with all the appearances of a general glut. How long this might last, it would not be very easy to say: it would depend entirely upon the tastes and habits of the effectual demanders, and the perseverance and competition of the producers. Such a state of things, however, would at once be put an end to by the opening of new and large channels of trade, which would absorb a great mass of capital, and raise the price of produce, by altering the state of the demand compared with the supply. But during the time of its continuance, it is manifest, from what has been said, that the large proportion of the produce awarded to the labourer would not necessarily occasion an increased demand for labour; and it is equally manifest that a greater quantity of cheaper commodities being given to the labourer would not imply an increased *value* of labour. It would be, as Adam Smith has most justly stated, the goods which had fallen, not the labour which had risen.

It has been our object in this Article to point out to the reader the main characteristic differences which distinguish the new school of Political Economy from that of Adam Smith and Mr. Malthus. For this purpose, we have laid our chief stress on three very fundamental points;—1. The new principle which has been laid down on the subject of value; 2. The new principle

* Upon a former occasion the author had fallen into a similar error. Speaking of a rise in the price of wages and of commodities, he observes, (p. 264.) 'If wages rise 50 per cent., a producer, a farmer for example, would be precisely in the same condition whether he sold his corn for 50 per cent. advance, and gave an additional 50 per cent., as he would be obliged to do, for his hats, shoes, clothes, &c. &c., or sold his corn at its former price, and bought all the commodities which he consumed at the prices he had formerly given for them.' Now we consider it as quite certain, that if the price of labour were to rise 50 per cent., and the price of the produce of such labour were to continue the same, the producer would infallibly be ruined, and would be utterly unable to carry on his business, at whatever price he might buy his shoes and clothes; whereas, if the price of his produce rose proportionally, it would be merely a fall in the value of money, and he might go on as before. It is of the utmost importance to remember that every commodity is mainly exchanged against labour, and that a moderate alteration in the value of labour, compared with produce, would at once destroy all profits, if they were not before very high.

which has been laid down on the subject of demand and supply; and 3. The new principle which has been laid down on the subject of profits, and the competition of capital.

We are inclined, however, to think that these differences may be still further concentrated; and that it will not be incorrect to state, that all the peculiar doctrines of the new system directly and necessarily flow from the first of these new principles; namely, that *the exchangeable value of commodities is determined by the quantity of labour worked up in them*. It follows, directly and necessarily from this principle, that neither the demand compared with the supply, nor the relative abundance and competition of capital, can have more than a mere temporary effect on values and profits.

This draws a strongly marked line of distinction between the two systems in reference to the main object of inquiry in the science of Political Economy, namely, the causes which encourage or discourage the increase of wealth. In both systems it is allowed that these depend mainly on the state of profits. And the grand distinction between the two may be stated shortly to be this:—The new school suppose that the mass of commodities obtained by the same quantity of labour remains always substantially of the same value, and that the variations of profits are determined by the variations in the value of this same quantity of labour: while Adam Smith and Mr. Malthus suppose that the value of the same quantity of labour remains substantially the same, and that the variations of profits are determined by the variations in the value of the commodities produced by this same quantity of labour. In the one case, the varying value of labour is considered as the great moving principle in the progress of wealth; in the other, the varying value of the *produce* of labour. The difference is most distinct and important. And as political economy, according to the first description of it in the present Treatise, ‘is not a science of speculation, but of fact and experiment,’ the specific question is, which of the two views here stated best explains the broad and established facts of which we have had experience.

For our own parts we have no hesitation in saying that the events of the last thirty years, in this country, appear to us to be absolutely inexplicable on the supposition that the mass of commodities produced by the same quantity of labour, remained during that time of the same value;* while they are explained in

* It would imply, that, during the war, the value of labour was low, on account of the food of the labourer being obtained with great facility; and that since the war the value of labour has been high, on account of the food of the labourer being obtained with great difficulty;—positions which it is impossible to maintain.

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the clearest and most obvious manner, by allowing, in conformity with all appearances, that the value of the produce of the same quantity of labour rose during the war, and has fallen since, owing to the state of the demand and supply, and of the relative abundance and competition of capital in the two periods.* And we believe it will be found, that no instance of a rise or fall of profits has ever occurred which may not justly be attributed to a rise or fall in the value of the produce of the same quantity of labour occasioned by these causes.

The reader will be aware that this proposition in no respect impeaches the very great advantages derived from that fall of price which arises from the saving of labour, the use of improved machinery, and the diminution of taxes, or any other outgoings. Such improvements, while they lower the value of any specific quantity of the article produced, have the strongest tendency to raise the value of the produce of the same quantity of labour; and this tendency can only fail to be effectual for short periods, or under particular circumstances.

The frequent fall of price arising from the saving of labour and other outgoings, is almost always beneficial. The frequent fall of price not arising from this cause, but from the state of the demand and supply, and the competition of capital, is often prejudicial. The rapid progress of wealth for a continuance, depends upon the produce of labour being of such a *value* as to occasion its division between the capitalist and labourer in the proportions which are at once the most advantageous to both,† and will increase most rapidly and steadily the quantity and *value* of the capital, and the number of the people.

The system of the new school of political economy has always struck us as bearing a very remarkable resemblance to the system of the French Economists. Their founders were equally men of the most unquestionable genius; of the highest honour and integrity, and of the most simple, modest and amiable manners.

* If the money price of labour had remained the same during the whole period, this rise in the value of corn and commodities in the first twenty years, and fall subsequently, would have been exactly expressed and measured by the rise and fall in the money prices of commodities. But under great changes in the state of the demand and supply of commodities, money rarely retains the same value. Still, it is of some use as a measure. And as the money prices of corn and commodities rose more during the first part of the period, and fell more during the second part than the money price of labour, this fact, which is absolutely incontrovertible, shows at once that the great change of value was in corn and commodities, while labour remained comparatively constant.

† It has been said that the manner in which the produce of labour is divided cannot alter the value. If it do not actually alter its value, it clearly shows that its value is altered. Properly speaking, indeed, it is the value of the produce, determined by the demand and supply, which regulates the division, not the division which regulates the value.

Their systems were equally distinguished for their discordance with common notions, the apparent closeness of their reasonings, and the mathematical precision of their calculations and conclusions founded on their assumed data. These qualities in the systems and their founders, together with the desire so often felt by readers of moderate abilities of being thought to understand what is considered by competent judges as difficult, increased the number of their devoted followers in such a degree, that in France it included almost all the able men who were inclined to attend to such subjects, and in England a very large proportion of them.

The specific error of the French Economists was the having taken so confined a view of wealth and its sources as not to include the results of manufacturing and mercantile industry.

The specific error of the new school in England is the having taken so confined a view of *value* as not to include the results of demand and supply, and of the relative abundance and competition of capital.*

Facts and experience have, in the course of some years, gradually converted the economists of France from the erroneous and inapplicable theory of Quesnay to the juster and more practical theory of Adam Smith; and as we are fully convinced that an error equally fundamental and important is involved in the system of the new school in England as in that of the French economists, we cannot but hope and expect that similar causes will, in time, produce in our own country similar effects in the correction of error and the establishment of truth.

ART. II.—*A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour, as it existed in Europe, but particularly in England, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II. with a Glossary of Military Terms, &c.* By Samuel Rush Meyrick, LL.D. and F.S.A. &c. 3 vols. 4to. London. 1824.

THERE is no branch of antiquarian research more interesting in itself, or more useful for historical illustration, than the study of the armour of the middle ages. The subject awakens every association which belongs to the *olden time* of romance. It is interwoven with all the splendour of chivalry; the din of Paynim battle, the alarums of feudal combats, and the festive but perilous

* The precise cause of the superiority of Adam Smith's and Mr. Malthus's measure of *value*, namely, *the labour which a commodity will command*, over the measure adopted by the new school, namely, *the labour worked up in a commodity*, is, that the former includes the effects of demand and supply, and the competition of capital, and the latter excludes them. It is a satisfactory circumstance that the principles of free trade are fully acknowledged in all the three systems, and that any deviations from them can only be defended on special grounds.

encounter of the courtly joust and tournament. Among those monumental effigies which are frequently our only records of armour, some cross-legged figure in the aisles of our venerable cathedrals will occasionally recall the memory of the heroic enthusiasm and mistaken piety of the crusader, and conduct us in idea through his toilsome march and deadly conflict with the Saracen: at such a moment his contempt of suffering and of danger; his sacrifice of home and kindred; his ready endurance of torture and death, rise at once before us, and forbid us from censuring with severity the madness of his enterprise. Or, if we turn to the rude paintings and illuminated MSS. of the times for armorial costume, the 'well-foughten' fields of honour, the glittering array of steel-clad warriors, the solemn display of judicial battle, the gayer lists for trial of knightly skill and 'ladye love;' the baronial hall, the minstrelsy, the masque, the banquet and the ball, spring up before us in dazzling and fantastic imagery.

But dispelling the illusions of fancy, it is by reducing the inquiry into the changes of armour to the standard of sober reason, that the subject acquires its historical value. It is, in fact, impossible to understand the condition of society in Europe during the middle ages without some acquaintance with the peculiar warfare of the times; and, as the genius of chivalry was wholly personal, and rendered the encounters of nations no more than a multitude of single combats, the inventions of the military art were exhausted in perfecting the construction and the use of individual weapons and defensive harness. All that great game of war which is reducible into the science of tactics, and which with modern armies, as with those of Greece and Rome, is played by a single intelligence pervading mighty masses of physical power, was utterly unknown to the rude chieftains of the feudal hordes. Yet war was their incessant occupation, and the image of war and the chase their only pastime. Since the Homeric age, there has never occurred, perhaps, an era so exclusively military, as that which is comprehended between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries. Almost every order of society mingled in the work of slaughter. Monarchs, nobles, and the inferior proprietors of the soil, found in camps their common theatre of action; and free cities poured forth bands of armed burghers to protect their barvests, or manned their walls with artizans, who enjoyed security within them by no other tenure than their own good swords.

During this long and turbulent period, the influence of the softer sex tempered the passion for arms, and the fierce and brutal spirit of feudal anarchy was gradually calmed and humanized by the progress of romantic sentiment. It is a trite observation, that we are indebted for the polished courtesy of modern so-

ciety to the institutions of chivalry ; but the fact is alone sufficient to invest the examination into these singular ordinances with particular interest ; and, while their peculiarities and the state of manners generally, during the middle ages, can be learned only through their connexion with military usages, these again were sensibly affected by progressive changes in the quality and form of arms. As illustrating, therefore, the civil and military history of the middle ages, as shedding a curious light upon the manners customs, and feelings of society, and as forming, moreover, a complete chronology of costume, a systematic dissertation upon armour, accompanied by a full series of clear and accurate engravings, is in every way a desideratum ; and as we have hitherto remained without any sufficient work of this nature,—for Capt. Grose's Essay, however valuable as far as it goes, is very incomplete,—we had recourse to the volumes before us with much curiosity.

We cannot say that we have risen from their perusal with any extraordinary respect for the judgment and taste of the author, or without considerable disappointment at the style and execution of his costly production. The plan upon which he has conducted his inquiry appears to us extremely inconvenient and ill chosen. The natural divisions of the subject are so strongly marked, that we are at a loss to account for his failing to adopt them ; and the steps of improvement by which defensive armour attained its perfection are so easily to be traced, that we cannot but wonder at his discarding the obvious classification of distinct periods in the art, for artificial lines of separation which had no influence upon its general character. After the settlement of the barbarian conquerors of the western empire in their new possessions, and the foundation of the feudal monarchies of Europe, the earliest species of body armour which they adopted was composed of metal rings or scales, sewn on leather or cloth ; and this was gradually improved into coats of chain and scale mail, and extended into general coverings for the whole frame. Then mail armour came by degrees to be strengthened by detached plates of iron or steel. This mixed harness was again improved ; and the mail disappeared, first from some parts of the body and afterwards from others, until the perfection of defence found the warrior completely cased in steel plates. If villainous saltpetre had never been 'digg'd out of the bowels of the harmless earth,' in this state the art might have remained to our days ; but the invention and murderous improvement of fire-arms slowly wrought their effect upon military science, and brought the vain and cumbersome load of armour into contempt and disuse. As it had progressively increased in weight, quality, and surface over every limb,

limb, as was it now reluctantly thrown aside, piece by piece, until intended, where it had begun, in leather; and even the buff coat of the seventeenth century was at length consigned to monumental costume and the armouries of the curious.

Thus we have four great periods in the history of armour;—the progress of the art until the completion of mail armour; mixed harness of mail and plates; plate armour to the period of its perfection; and, finally, its gradual disuse, and, with few exceptions, the total abandonment of defensive arms. Now this simple and evident classification seems entirely to have escaped Dr. Meyrick's observation; and, in place of it, we have, after an introduction on the armour of the ancients, three ponderous tomes occupied seriatim with all the reigns of our English monarchs from William the Conqueror to Charles II. inclusive, and devoid of all systematic arrangement; which should have reference, not to periods of royalty that vary from fifty years to scarcely the same number of days, but to features in his subject totally independent of these extraneous accidents of history.

While Dr. Meyrick's work is thus defective in general arrangement, its execution is in some other respects equally open to objection in manner and matter. His style is careless and inelegant, his descriptions are often obscure and confused, and worse than those of a small poet, and his language is not always grammatical; the chain of more important inquiry is broken and interrupted by historical common-places and rambling digressions upon insignificant points and frivolous details; his progress is unnecessarily impeded by endless repetitions; and the information which he desires to communicate is over-loaded with long and tiresome extracts from metrical romances, whose substance he might have conveyed by brief references, or compressed into a few sentences.* The sins of omission in the book are likewise formidable. The work is intended to represent the pageant of chivalry, and yet our Lord Chamberlain has left out two of the principal characters—the brother of St. John and the Templar—the dresses of whom were very singular, as being partly military and partly monastic, and should have engaged a considerable share of Dr. Meyrick's attention, because the fraternities of St. John and the Temple were the exemplars of all the chivalric orders in Europe. These

* Were we inclined to be 'critical,' we might notice with some asperity the quotations and translations from the learned languages, which occupy so large a portion of the Introduction, and which are frequently slovenly and incorrect in a very culpable degree. The Glossary, too, which concludes the work, bears many marks of carelessness, and calls for a careful revision. Thus, for instance, we have '*capellum, a scabbard.*' This is proved by a latin quotation, which clearly shows the word to mean a *hilt*! and further illustrated by an extract from an old poem, in which, beyond all question, it signifies a *covering for the head*!

defects

defects materially affect the interest of the work ; and, notwithstanding the natural attractions of the subject, render it so insupportably tedious that we suspect few readers but professed antiquaries will have patience to wade through it. It is really to be regretted that the splendour of a publication so important in its class and unavoidably executed in so expensive a form, should be obscured by all these blemishes in literary excellence ; but our censure must extend in some degree even to the pictorial embellishments. With some exceptions, the outlines of the figures in the plates are spiritless and faulty ; and, in the equestrian specimens in particular, the horses are so miserably drawn that we are almost tempted to believe them copies *from the life* of the wooden chargers on which suits of armour are sometimes exhibited. A more serious complaint may be raised on the obscurity of the drawings which are meant to illustrate the texture of armour, as, for instance, in the varieties of mail. The size to which it was necessary to confine the delineation of the figures, of course rendered it difficult to make them represent these minutiae with clearness ; but there appears no reason why the plates should not have borne their own explanations by fragments of armour placed on an enlarged scale beneath the figures. This fault is a grievous one : for as the author's style is not graphic, he stood in unusual need of the painter's aid.

Having unceremoniously delivered our opinion of Dr. Meyrick's work where it is unfavourable, we have a more grateful office to perform, in offering our testimony to the merits to which it may fairly lay claim. And first with respect to the embellishments, we would direct attention to the illuminated initials of each reign, which are admirably executed in their way, and, for their quaintness and correspondence with the best style of such devices in old MSS. and volumes, exceedingly curious and worth examination. The colours, too, of the plates, though from the nature of the subject somewhat gaudy, are extremely vivid and fine ; and we would refer especially to some of the plates of armour of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as affording lively and gorgeous examples of the brilliant military costume of those ages. But both as regards the plates and the dissertations in the book, Dr. Meyrick's excellence is—accuracy ; and, after all, it must be principally by this humble, this counting-house quality that his work claims to be judged. We have gone through it carefully, and, considering its peculiarities, we may say laboriously ; and except perhaps in two or three points of little moment, we have really been unable to detect him in misconception or deficiency in the learning of his topic. He declares it to have been his main object to establish that chronological

nological truth of costume, with respect to ancient arms and armour, 'which has been so imperfectly regarded, alike by writers, painters, and dramatists of modern times;' and we are convinced that his work is well calculated, in dramatic and scenic representation at least, for the purpose to which he has devoted it. Both the artist and the directors of the theatrical costume will do well to consult his text and his plates. He truly observes that, 'in all the paintings since the time of Charles I. the warriors of whatever age are represented in the military costume of that period;* and yet as great a variety has existed in armour and it is as characteristic of successive eras as other habiliments. The truth is, artists have neither understood the subject themselves, nor been able to find sources of information elsewhere.' The same excuse can certainly no longer be pleaded in their behalf.

Neither, while we are noticing the valuable points in Dr. Meyrick's work, must we omit to acknowledge the curious information which it contains on the judicial combats, jousts, and tournaments of the chivalrous ages. But here, as in the more immediate history of armour, his researches are spread over such an extent, put together with so little method and connexion, and broken into so many abrupt transitions, that his work affords no general views or complete dissertation. Dr. Meyrick's description (in a sort of Appendix, in the third volume) of the state of the modern armouries of Europe is also exceedingly interesting. The account of the collection at the Tower (vol. iii. pp. 126—136) displays his usual knowledge and accuracy; and after reading his exposure of the palpable anachronisms and errors which exist in its arrangement, we are glad to perceive, by a note at p. 133, that a plan for the more judicious display of the beautiful specimens which it contains, has engaged the attention of the illustrious individual at the head of the ordnance:—the last person who should be indifferent to the preservation of our military records, to which his own achievements have given their crowning splendour.

After expressing the conviction at which we have arrived of the

* Dr. Meyrick excepts from this remark the late Mr. West's picture of the battle of Hastings: he might have found a more important example in the seven historical pieces, (in the King's Audience Chamber at Windsor Castle) of the wars of Edward III. by the same distinguished artist; which, in the heraldic and martial costume of the figures, are almost faultless. Perhaps the black armour assigned to the heroic Prince of Wales, and the plumed coronet of the king of Bohemia which lies at his feet, are the only circumstances to which the critical antiquary could object.

We happen to be acquainted with a fact connected with these pictures: their historical accuracy is attributable to the friendly aid of Sir Isaac Heard, who was constantly at the elbow of the artist; and thus they may be regarded as the joint composition of the first painter and herald of our days—a communion of labour, alike creditable to the memory of both.

accuracy

accuracy that Dr. Meyrick has thrown into his subject, we shall at once make some use of his labours, and, with the aid of deductions from other sources of inquiry, offer a few general observations upon the changes of armour during the middle ages. Entirely rejecting, however, the order of royal succession with which he appears to us to have unnecessarily shackled his researches, even as they have reference to the martial usages of England alone, we shall follow the arrangement which we consider natural to the subject; that is, we shall speak successively of mail, of mixed, and of plate armour, and of the gradual disuse of defensive arms. The remarks which we shall thus put together may form a sort of corollary to a former paper in this Journal, in which we traced the progress of military science;* and may serve to supply a blank which we then left in the inquiry, partly for want of room, but principally because the state of the military art under the feudal and chivalrous systems stands distinct alike from the tactical practice of antiquity and of modern times.

The earliest delineation of armour after the Norman subjugation of England, of undoubted authenticity, is on the tapestry of Bayeux, which forms, as is generally known, a curious picture-history of the expedition of the Conqueror. Some researches in the seventeenth volume of the *Archæologia* have always appeared to us conclusive that this interesting work was executed at the command of the Empress Maud, daughter of our first and mother of our second Henry; but Dr. Meyrick, without noticing this supposition, refers to the argument of Mr. Stothard, in a later paper in that collection, as proving beyond doubt that the tapestry is coeval with the reign of the Conqueror himself. How the fact may be, it is of little moment to inquire, at least as connected with the present subject; for Dr. Meyrick gives an account of the state of armour under the reign of Canute the Dane, from an illuminated missal of that monarch in the British Museum, which, except in some trifling particulars, appears to identify the character of the armour of that period and of the Bayeux tapestry; and, whatever be the exact date of the latter, establishes the fidelity of its costume by disproving any striking intermediate changes.

Dr. Meyrick has therefore appropriately taken the authority of the tapestry for his plate of the martial costume of the Normans at the Conquest. We may with him pronounce the body armour of the time to have consisted indifferently either of a tunic, or of a jacket and breeches in one. These garments were both composed of leather or cloth, and covered sometimes with flat iron

rings, sewn horizontally and contiguously, sometimes with small perforated lozenges of steel, called *mascles*, from their resemblance to the meshes of a net. The tunic-shaped garment was that which long retained its title of *hauberk*: the other was probably the *haubergeon*, mentioned by the romancers of those ages. When the *hauberk* was used, pantaloons, or, technically, *chausses*, of the same materials, were worn underneath this mailed frock; and both the *hauberk* and *haubergeon* were furnished with a hood for the head, also of mail, in the same piece. The *haubergeon* appears to have been put on by first drawing it over the thighs, where it sat wide, afterwards thrusting the arms into the sleeves, which hung loosely, and reached not much below the elbows, and lastly, bringing the hood over the head to close with a strap round the forehead. The suit, which had of course an opening at the breast like a shirt, was then drawn together at the neck, also by a strap, and finally covered over the chest by a small piece which buckled fast behind. When the *hauberk* was worn, the *chausses* of mail sometimes reached to the ankles; but the legs were more frequently covered, from the shoes upwards to the knees, with transverse parti-coloured bands, termed *heuse* or *hose*:—hence, says a contemporary chronicler, William the Conqueror used jocularly to call his son Robert, who was short-legged, *Curt-hose*.

The remaining defensive armour of this period was the helmet and the shield. The latter could only vary in shape, and its changes are, throughout the history of armour, not very important, though they occupy a great deal of Dr. Meyrick's attention; but the gradual improvements in the helmet and face armour, constitute in themselves a complete illustration of the progress of the defensive art. The helmet of the eleventh century, which was worn over the mail hood, was conical and convex; and the first step which it acquired towards the protection of the face, was by the nasal piece, which is seen in the Bayeux tapestry:—a broad flat piece of iron projecting before the nose, and in a great measure covering the whole face from a sword cut, though it very imperfectly guarded the countenance from the lance point. The hood, however, drew up over the mouth, and was attached to the nasal. The lance with its streamer, the gonfanon or penon, appears as the general offensive weapon of the Norman cavalier; though the iron mace and the long cutting sword were also in use. The arms of the contemptible feudal infantry scarcely deserve observation, with one exception which has a grateful sound to an English ear. There is no doubt that the Norman conquest introduced the long bow into this country; a weapon which, as the bayonet has done in our times, became

as it were naturalized among the people, and which, in the nervous hands of a bold and free yeomanry, won in later ages the immortal glories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt.

We may appear somewhat minute in our description of the armour of the Norman conquerors of our island. But from the passion of that people for travel and adventure, and their readiness to adopt foreign inventions, their martial costume may reasonably be presumed to elucidate that of Europe in general at the eleventh century; and we have been induced to speak particularly of the costume of this epoch, because the general form of armour was afterwards little changed, until mail was superseded by the complete casing of steel. The haubergeon growing out of fashion, the hauberk, with tight sleeves reaching to and covering the backs of the hands, and drawn tight at the waist, was the usual body harness from the twelfth to the fourteenth century; and the chausses, coming up under the hanging apron and shirts of the mailed tunic, were composed of pantaloons and coverings for the feet in the same piece. The hood of mail was now made separate from the coat. The changes in the shape of armour were therefore not very important for two centuries and a half after the conquest; but the manner in which the substratum, if we may so call it, of cloth or leather, was covered, underwent many variations before the expedient was invented of forming a complete network of interlaced rings, which hung together of themselves without any lining. These variations form rustred, scaled, trellissed, pourpointed, and, what Dr. Meyrick considers may be called, regulated mail.

The first of these kinds of armour, the rustred, belongs to the early part of the twelfth century, and seems to have grown out of the flat ringed mail, being nothing more than a second stratum of rings, about double the usual size, laid over the other, so that two in the upper partially covered one below.—Scaled mail was in use about the same time, as there is a specimen of it in the seal of Alexander I. of Scotland, who began his reign in 1107; but this defence of small overlapping metal plates, sewn on leather or cloth, and disposed like the scales of fish, was precisely the lorica squammata of the ancients.—The trellissed mail, of which there is an example in a seal of a few years' later date, was more curious, or at least more novel in construction. Its texture is clearly determined by an illumination in the Bodleian Library. The outer surface of the mail, instead of scales or rings, presents us with strips of leather, crossing like the trellice work from which it was named by the early Norman writers. These straps, by passing over each other upon a tunic of cloth, left large intervening squares placed angularly, in the centre of each

each of which appeared a round knob or stud of steel. By these studs plates of metal were fastened within under the tunic; while the leathern bands covered the parts of the garment at which the pieces joined.—Of tegulated mail Dr. Meyrick has given both a plate and an initial illumination of great curiosity, from the seal of Richard Fitzhugh, Earl of Chester, Constable of England in 1140. This mail was not much unlike the common scale kind, except that the plates were square; and they were sewn upon the hauberk to cover each other like tiles.—Pourpointed armour was first suggested by the wambais or gambeson (from the Saxon *wambe*, the abdomen), which had its origin in Germany—a sort of doublet or belly garment for defence, composed of many folds of linen or cloth well stuffed with cotton, wool, or hair, and worn sometimes under mail, and sometimes over it, covered with leather. The padded pourpointerie, which was introduced into France in imitation of the gambeson, was, however, of ueter workmanship, and employed like mail to cover all parts of the human frame; its first appearance as an English fashion is traceable to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

But all these descriptions of armour gradually vanished before a memorable and ingenious improvement upon the ringed mail, which seems to have been imported from Asia by the crusaders about the middle of the thirteenth century. This was the interlaced or twisted chain mail, the rings of which were riveted within each other, and therefore required nothing further to hold them together. The custom of setting the rings edgewise on the under garment, instead of flat, had made some approach to this interlacing; but the latter invention would certainly appear to have been Asiatic, and twisted mail is indeed worn by the Orientals to this day. Very few specimens remain of the old European mail; and Dr. Meyrick is correct in his opinion that many suits, which are palmed upon the public as of undoubted antiquity, are of modern eastern manufacture.

The progress of defensive armour had been attended with no change in offensive weapons. The lance and the sword were still the common arms of knighthood; but the battle-axe, once the death-dealing instrument of the Saxon, from the arm of the lion-hearted Plantagenet ‘performed deeds beyond thought’s compass.’ It was the favourite weapon of Richard I. and of the warriors of his time; and the martel and the maule were also among the offensive arms of chivalry. They were both of considerable antiquity among the northern nations; for Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, derived his surname from the use of the former, and the latter was decidedly of Gothic origin. The maule was a ponderous steel mallet, blunt at both ends; the
martel

maul differed from it in having one end sharpened to an edge or point, and was much used as late as the thirteenth century. The battle axe and the steel hammers were tremendous weapons for breaking open skulls, as an old romance quaintly phrases it:

While mail was attaining its perfection of pliability and compactness, the armour for the head was undergoing some interesting changes. Among these the general disuse of the nasal was remarkable: this piece had several inconveniences, of which the facility that it afforded for seizing the knight by the helmet in close encounters, was not the least, and Dr. Meyrick is disposed to attribute its being laid aside to the frequency of such accidents. Stephen, king of England, was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, by a knight who held him down by the nasal after he had been beaten to the earth by a missile. But we should rather refer the disuse of this partial covering for the face to the insufficient protection which it afforded. It was replaced by cheek-pieces which descended from the helmet, and nearly met over the face; and afterwards by a mask of iron (the vizor, or *aventail*) which covered the face, with apertures for breathing and sight. In the plate of Richard Cœur de Lion, taken from his seal, the *aventail* fixed to the helmet, which is cylindrical, (and this had become the usual form,) has the appearance of horizontal bars; but sometimes these were perpendicular, and sometimes the aperture formed an upright cross in the mask. In later times the *aventail* was of mail, attached under the helmet to the hood. An attempt at a moveable vizor is discoverable on a seal of the twelfth century; but it was very long before this contrivance was perfected.

The precise date at which armorial bearings and surcoats were first used, is a much controverted question. It has often been said that armorial bearings were absolutely necessary in the first crusade, for the purpose of distinguishing the leaders of so many different nations as composed the Christian force. But it is justly observed by Mr. Mills, in a note on the military costume of that expedition, appended to the first volume of his history of the Crusades, 'that the armour of the eleventh century did not completely case in the body: the helmets were without vizor or bever, and men might be known by their physiognomies.' He, however, considers armorial bearings emblazoned on surcoats, as unquestionably of older date than the crusades, while Dr. Meyrick cannot find any traces of surcoats being worn in England before the reign of Henry II.; and he states that, though they became general in that of John, they first appear with armorial bearings in the time of his son. Yet, in another place, he describes, after a plate in

in Montfaucon, the shield of Geoffrey Plantagenet, son-in-law of Henry I., as offering one of the earliest specimens of armorial bearings. In the middle of the twelfth century, they clearly appear again on a curious English seal, emblazoned on a gonfalon, or banner, a practice which soon grew universal. The surcoats, which were originally plain garments worn over the armour, were afterwards splendidly emblazoned and richly embroidered; and, until mail was discarded for plate harness, formed with the silken cointise, or scarf, a superb and elegant costume, which was studiously lightened in effect by ornaments of gold and brilliant colours on the helmet and shield.

Having traced mail-harness through its various changes until its latest improvement, our notice of mixed armour will be brief. This union of detached pieces of solid steel with mailed garments, may be considered, in a strict sense, to have lasted in England for about one hundred years, from the close of the thirteenth to that of the fourteenth century; although the partial adoption of plates of steel or iron may be traced, in some instances, as early as the beginning of the former century. Indeed the use of the iron breast-plate under the mail, called the *plastron de fer*, is distinguishable as far back as the battle of the Standard, in 1138; but the invention of steel plates for the elbows does not appear until 1214, of which date is the seal of Alexander II. of Scotland, whose effigy Dr. Meyrick believes to afford the earliest specimen of such protection for the joints. These soon became general; and from this period, the poleyns, or knee-joints, the ailettes, or plates to guard the shoulders, greaves for the shins, cuisses for the thighs, brassarts for the arms, and pectorals for the breast, all of steel, were rapidly adopted over the mail. Their introduction may clearly be laid to the insufficiency of the interlaced mail to protect the body against offensive weapons, whose weight was constantly increasing. Though impervious to a sword-cut, chain-mail afforded no defence against the bruising stroke of the ponderous battle-axe and martel; it did not always resist the shaft of the long or cross-bow; and still less could it repel the thrust of the lance, or of the long pointed sword, the first use of which in Italy, the accurate Muratori has assigned to the early part of the thirteenth century. We do not remember, by the bye, that Dr. Meyrick refers at all to the introduction of this weapon.

The monument in Westminster Abbey, of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, about 1315, of which Dr. Meyrick has a very interesting plate, is, perhaps, the first English effigy of a knight in complete mixed armour; and another, of the equestrian statue of Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, in that city, certainly not of earlier date than 1365; exhibits the same character; with, how-

ever, much nearer approach to plate, both the cuirass and back-piece being of steel over mail. And here we would notice, as a general guide for the chronological comparison of the armour of our island, and of the continent of Europe, a fact which Dr. Meyrick has not sufficiently brought forward—that the progress of the defensive art among our ancestors seems almost invariably to have followed that of the French and Italians, at the distance of from ten to twenty years.

During the wars which filled the chivalrous and glorious reign of our Third Edward, armour underwent many improvements, and passed from the mixed character to the full casing of steel. But we must resist the increased attractions which the subject acquires at this epoch, and be contented to observe that the numerous plates from the monumental effigies of the period which Dr. Meyrick has given, and his remarks upon them, form the most interesting and the best executed part of his inquiry. We must find room for an historical correction, from his account of the battle of Crecy, of a common misconception on the origin of the title of the 'Black Prince,' which the heroic son of Edward acquired for his feats on that glorious day.

From this time the French began to call the young Prince of Wales, *Le Noir*, or the Black; and in a record, 2d of Richard III. n. 12, he is called the Black Prince. Yet this title does not appear to have originated, as generally supposed, from his wearing black armour, nor is there indeed any thing to show he ever wore such, at all.* When, however, he attended at tournaments in France or England, he appeared in a surcoat with a shield, and his horse in a caparison, all black with the white feathers on them, so that it must have been from the covering of his armour that he was so called. Yet in the field of battle, and on all other occasions, his surcoat, or guipon, was emblazoned with the arms of England labelled. The terrible effort of his prowess seems to have given another meaning to his epithet, for Proissart, having described the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, adds, "Thus did Edward the Black Prince, now doubly dyed black by the terror of his arms."—vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

The circumstances which led to the adoption of complete harness of plates are satisfactorily stated by Dr. Meyrick, and we shall give them in his own words: the reader may take the passage, too, as a fair specimen of the slipshod style of the book:

* In the painting of him, discovered on the wall of St. Stephen's chapel, his armour is gilt; and yet Eustace and Mercœur are there represented in black armour. In the illuminated MSS. he also appears in plain steel armour. Thus in the initial letter to this reign, which is taken from the original one of the grant of the duchy of Aquitaine by Edward III. to the Black Prince, the king appears on a throne of marble, ornamented with a frame of gilt, but both his armour, and that of his son, are steel, with gilt knee and elbow caps. The grant is in the British Museum, in the Cotton Library, marked, Nero DVII.

The reason of leaving off the long hauberks, and substituting plate-armour, was the weight of the chain-mail, with its accompanying garments: indeed it was so great, that sometimes the knights were suffocated in it when the heat was excessive; for although the plate-armour was very heavy, it was less so than the coat of mail with the wambais, the plastron, and the surcoat, because there was no need of either of the two former under a cuirass of steel; besides if it was of well-tempered metal, it was neither pierced nor bent by the thrust of the lance, nor pushed into the body of the knight as the mailles used to be, if the wambais, or hoketon, were ever wanting underneath.—p. 24.

Without following Dr. Meyrick through innumerable details of the composition of plate-armour at different periods after its introduction, we shall select for notice two or three of his plates, which best exhibit its character at considerable intervals of time. The first which we shall take, is copied from a monumental effigy of a knight of the Blanchefront family at Alvechurch, in Worcestershire. Its date is precisely at the close of the fourteenth century, when we may consider plate-armour as having just made its way into common use. The throat and neck of this knight are protected by the camail, a tippet of mail joining the base of the helmet all round, and richly covered with silk. His body is cased in the cuirass and back piece, with the hauberk, still of mail, and an exterior military garment terminating in a puckered apron. The fronts of his thighs seem guarded by plates, and both the legs, from the knees downwards, and the arms, are enclosed in steel casings of two hollow half cylinders, opening and shutting round the limbs by hinges and clasps at the sides. The joints are secured by other plates splendidly ornamented, as well as the shield, which is much smaller than in earlier times. The hands are guarded by plated gauntlets divided at the fingers, and the helmet, of the basinet or scull-cap kind, has its moveable vizor.

From the time when armour passed from the mailed to the mixed character, the helmet had been undergoing continual changes until this epoch; the object, always in some degree imperfectly attained, being, of course, security to the face. The helmet, from being cylindrical, was first made conical, closed all round with a grating for breath and sight; then was introduced the moveable vizor in one piece, pierced as usual, and fastened on pivots to the sides of the basinet to raise at pleasure; and at last, early in the fifteenth century, a covering for the face was invented of several overlapping plates which were drawn up from the chin. This was the *bever*, which, as being raised over the mouth, was probably so called, in contradistinction to the common vizor, from the Italian *bevere* to drink. The crest surmounting

ing the helmet, with a flowing scarf, came first into fashion in the thirteenth century, but we think with Dr. Meyrick, that plumes of feathers were not of earlier use than the beginning of the fifteenth century. The story of the Black Prince adopting the plume of ostrich feathers from the helmet of the king of Bohemia, who fell at Crécy, is evidently erroneous. The plume was a device which young Edward assumed from that monarch's banner, not his helmet.

With all its contrivances, face-armour was defective; and therefore the countenance was usually aimed at in charging with the lance. In the tournament and the battle the knight on this account bent down his head in the assault to leave the face as little exposed as possible. Such is the attitude in an illumination introduced into the initial of the reign of Henry IV., and the custom has not escaped the observation of our poet of chivalry, Sir Walter Scott, who has graced the learning of an antiquary with qualities not always found in combination with it, a splendid imagination and unerring taste.

‘He stooped his head, and couched his spear,
And spurred his steed in full career.’

Chandos, ‘that flowre of chivalre,’ received his death-wound in the Spanish war of the Black Prince, by a lance ‘which was thrust into his face under the left eye between the nose and forehead; it entered, as it was thought, into his brain, so that he fell and twice rolled over with the writhing pain: though he did not die on the spot, he never spoke more.’ Such death by the lance point through the head was not uncommon in the wars of chivalry; and that Henry II. of France was thus mortally wounded in a tournament, for which games, too, a helmet of particular strength and construction was in use, proves, that to the latest days of armour, the face still remained vulnerable.

Among some interesting circumstances in the armour of the fifteenth century was the prevalence of religious and other mottos on the frontlet of the helmet, the hilt of the sword, and other parts of offensive and defensive arms; as, for example, that of the famous Talbot in the reign of Henry VI. who had for inscription on the blade of his sword: ‘Sum Talboti pro vincere inimicos suos’—‘I am Talbot’s to conquer his enemies.’—‘A sword,’ says old Fuller, ‘with bad Latin upon it, but good steel within it.’ The cross-hilt of the weapon was often used as a crucifix in the hasty orisons of the warrior, and on this account had the word *Jesus* inscribed on some part of it.

But we must pass through a brilliant series of highly ornamented examples of armour, to the famous suit at the Tower which unquestionably belonged to Henry VII. and may illustrate the perfection

perfection of the art. Nothing can exceed the splendour of this suit, as exhibited in Dr. Meyrick's drawing, covered with engraving and accompanied by a complete harness of steel for the charger on which it is mounted. Another plate of the Emperor Maximilian on horseback, from a rare print, does not yield to it, however, in the elegant form of the armour, the elaborate workmanship of the steel, and the tasteful choice of embellishment. Indeed it is evident from this work that military costume had reached, at the latter part of the fifteenth century, the highest degree of splendour of which it was capable. The disuse of the surcoat, and the transfer of its armorial blazonry, in relief or engraving, to the polished steel, had introduced great variety of decoration. The Italians in particular were famous for this workmanship, and the fashions and the skill of the Milanese armourers were imperfectly copied and emulated in other countries.

In the plate of Henry VII. the pucker'd skirts of the Blanchefront effigy appear no longer in cloth, but in steel. Pauldrons of the same materials cover and give additional protection to the shoulders; the whole frame is impervious to the lance point; and the plumed helmet completes the panoply. Besides the sword, the thin bladed dagger of the times hangs in its sheath at the girdle on the right side. The use of this dagger had become general since the introduction of plate-armour. It was carried by the knight to dispatch his dismounted and recumbent antagonist by its insertion through the interstices of armour which the lance could not penetrate. It was called the misericorde, because the time of its display was the moment when the worsted cavalier cried for mercy.

Among other points of research our limits compel us to pass briefly over horse armour, with the observation that it seems to have been first used, partially and in mail, before the end of the thirteenth century, and kept pace with other improvements in arms until the charger, as in the plate of Henry VII. came to be fully barded with steel over the head, the chest, the back, and the flanks. In the representation of Maximilian, even the legs of the horse are guarded by narrow plates with joints at the knees and fetlocks; but this was not an usual circumstance.

The perfection of armour in the fifteenth century, while small fire-arms were either not yet in general use or had not been rendered very efficacious, had a singular and unexampled influence upon the state of warfare. For once and for once only in the history of mankind, as an elegant modern writer has observed, the art of defence had outstripped that of destruction. In a charge of lancers many fell unhorsed by the shock and might be suffocated or bruised to death by the pressure of their own armour; but the lance's point could not penetrate the cuirass, the arrow and the quarrel of the

cross-bow glanced away from the well rivetted plates, and the stroke of the sword rang harmlessly upon the helmet, the brassards and the cuisses of proof. While infantry were powerless and destitute of physical solidity, and armies were numbered only by their array of cuirassiers, battles which were to decide the fate of nations scarcely differed from tournaments à l'outrance, or with sharp lances. The prostrate warrior yielded himself before the upraised dagger of his foe, his ransom was regulated by his rank, and while the miserable footmen were slaughtered without mercy in the pursuit, whenever they were dragged into the field by their feudal lords, the vanquished knight was spared by the avarice if not by the humanity of his conqueror. Thus may the bearing of Ancient Pistol to his prisoner be received as a touch of the times.

'Boy. He prays you to save his life; he is a gentleman of good house, and for his ransome he will give you two hundred crowns.

'Pistol. Tell him—my fury shall abate, and I

The crowns will take.

As I suck blood, I will some mercy shew.'

Still, however, with all the security against wounds which plate-armour afforded, it was attended with many disadvantages. Its enormous weight crippled the limbs and exhausted the strength; the rays of the sun, in warm climates especially, rendered its heat unsupportable; and under some circumstances, as in the passage of a river or morass, the danger of death was increased by its unwieldiness. The slightest intrenchment or difficulty of ground was sufficient to stop the advance of an army; and so impossible was it to oblige an enemy to fight, that (particularly in the frequent Italian wars) it was necessary to level the ground, like the lists of a tournament, on which it was intended by mutual consent to engage. In the French wars of Henry V. which continued in his son's reign, we find the chivalry dismounting to engage on foot with the lance; but this courageous expedient for coming to close quarters, which had been long an English practice, must have been extremely embarrassing with the ponderous equipment of the fifteenth century.

The indissoluble firmness of the forests of pikes which the Swiss infantry opposed in the middle of that century to the proud array of Charles of Burgundy, gave the first check to the hitherto overwhelming force of the old chivalry, and it is from this epoch, that we date the commencement of the last period of armorial history. But one hundred and fifty years were yet to pass before the mixture of musketeers with pikemen gave a decided superiority to infantry. This is not the place to mark the course of invention and improvement by which fire-arms reached their mar-
derous

defence completion; but experience had scarcely advised the military world of the inefficacy of steel harness to resist the death shot of the arquebuss and musket, when our James I. wittily expressed his pacific admiration of armour: 'He could not,' he said, 'but greatly praise armour, as it not only protected the wearer, but also prevented him from injuring any other person.' The warriors of his times, however, began to discover that it lacked the best part of these qualities. They first laid aside the jambes or steel boots; then the shield was abandoned, and next the covering for the arms. When the cavalry disused the lance, the cuisses were no longer worn to guard against its thrust, and the stout leathern or buff-coat hung down from beneath the body-armour to the knees, and supplied the place of the discarded steel. The helmet was later deprived of its useless vizor, but before the middle of the seventeenth century nothing remained of the ancient harness but the open cap and the breasts and backs of steel, which the heavy cavalry of the continent have more or less worn to our times. In our service these have been but lately revived for the equipment of the finest cavalry in Europe, the British Life-guards, who, unaided by such defences, tore the laurels of Waterloo from the cuirassiers of France.

ART. III.—*History of a Voyage to the China Sea.* By John White, Lieutenant in the United States Navy. Boston. 8vo. 1823.

WE have two reasons for noticing this little volume; the first is, that we know the author to be a respectable man, and worthy of credit; and the second, that it affords us a peep into one of those corners of the globe, of which we possess little or no information; because the barbarous but conceited inhabitants, in imitation of their somewhat more civilized and more conceited neighbours, affect to consider all the world, besides themselves, at best as one-eyed barbarians, and seek neither the means of intercourse nor improvement. The country to which we allude is the southern extremity of that long neck of land which lies between the two gulphs of Siam and Tonquin, and which, on our charts, is called Cambodia, an evident corruption of the Chinese name *Kan-phou-chi*. This *rump*, as it may be termed, of the Chinese empire, has for some time past been governed by the king of Cochin-china, the person whom the French bishop D'Adran, during a rebellion, assisted very materially in the recovery of his kingdom, and whose son, then a boy, he carried to France and presented to Louis XVI. He, with his father, is since dead; and, as is usual with the unsettled governments of the

East; a competition for the throne is likely to produce another rebellion and its invariable concomitant—a famine.

The French Jesuits, who have written largely on Siam and Laos, both situated at the back of Cambodia, do not seem to have passed the mountains, or to have had any intercourse with the latter country; and a Portuguese of that fraternity, of the name of Santa Cruz, who ventured among them, was held in so little respect by the natives, that he quitted the mission in disgust, and abandoned them to their fate. The only account, therefore, of this country, at least that we are acquainted with, is to be found in the narrative of a Chinese, who was sent thither in an official capacity by the Court of Peking, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is slightly noticed by Père Amyot, in the *Mémoires Chinois*,* and has recently been translated by M. Abel-Remusat.* It is a vague and meagre composition; but may so far be considered curious, as showing how very little change or improvement time is able to effect among the people of the East.

The Americans, being in the enjoyment of an unrestricted range for their commercial speculations in every part of the East, on finding that the French had been favourably received in the northern parts of Cochin-china, and boasted of the benefits which were likely to result from it, resolved to try what might be done at the other extremity of this kingdom; and with this view, dispatched two or three of their traders (one of which, the Franklin, was commanded by the author of this volume) to make their way up the Donai River, which falls into a bay close to Cape St. Jacques, and is probably a branch of the great river Cambodia. The latitude of this cape is $10^{\circ} 32' N.$; longitude $160^{\circ} 40' E.$ At the distance of sixty miles from the mouth of the Donai, following the windings of the river, stands the city of Saigon; the intermediate country is a dead flat of alluvial soil, thickly covered to the water's edge with mangroves and other trees, and resembling, in all respects, the sunderbunds of the Ganges.

On entering this river the Franklin was boarded by a number of people whom, from their manners and appearance, Captain White sets down as being in a state of deplorable barbarism. One of them announced himself as a military chief; he was (the Captain says) 'a withered, grey-headed old man, possessing, however, a great deal of vivacity, tinctured with a leaven of savage childishness, which, in spite of his affectation of great state and ceremony, would constantly break out, and afford us infinite amusement.' One of his attendants carried a huge umbrella spread over his head, without which he would not stir a

* *Description du Royaume de Camboge, par un Voyageur Chinois, &c.*

step; another had two little bags strung over his shoulder, containing his areca-nut, betel-leaf, chunnam, and tobacco; a third carried his fan; and the risibility of the Americans was not a little excited on seeing him strutting about the deck, peeping into the cook's coppers, embracing the sailors on the fore-castle, dancing, grinding, and playing many other antic tricks, followed by the whole train of fanners, umbrella-bearers, and chunnam boys, with the most grave deportment and solemn visage. A cotton-shirt, which had once been white, a pair of black trousers, a blue jacket, wooden sandals, and a hat of palm leaves rising into a cone, like that of Mother Goose, constituted the dress of the party, some of their clothing being of silk, others of cotton, but every part of it filthy in the extreme.

'This great personage,' Captain White says, 'soon began to court my favour with the most unwearied pertinacity, hugging me round the neck, attempting to thrust his dirty betel nut into my mouth from his own, and leaping upon me like a dog, by which I was nearly suffocated.' The object of this sudden and violent fit of friendship was as suddenly explained; it was to extort a present, which he concluded would be in proportion to his exertions in fawning, during which every thing that caught his eye, and was moveable, was begged for either by himself or by his attendants: on being refused, he immediately changed his conduct, became sulky, and made signs that the ship could not proceed farther up the river. In conclusion, Captain White found it necessary to propitiate him, by a very considerable present, which, together with a large case bottle of rum, that was speedily emptied by him and his attendants, put the illustrious Heo (for that was his title) into high spirits again; and the ship was permitted to ascend to the village of Cangeo, opposite to which she came to anchor.

'On our approach to the shore, our olfactory nerves were saluted with "the rankest compound of villainous smells, that ever offended nostril;" and the natives of the place, men, women, children, swine, and mangy dogs, equally filthy and miserable in appearance, lined the muddy banks of this Stygian stream to welcome our landing. With this escort, we proceeded immediately to the house of the chief, through a fortuitous assemblage of huts, fish-pots, old boats, pig-styes, &c. which surrounded us in every direction; and, in order that no circumstance of ceremony should be omitted to honour their new guests, a most harmonious concert was immediately struck up, by the swarm of little filthy children, in a state of perfect nudity, (which formed part of our procession,) in which they were joined by their parents, and the swine and dogs before mentioned.'—pp. 42, 43.

On entering the hovel of the chief, which was somewhat better than the rest, and distinguished, among other things, by having two

two large drums at the door, in imitation of a Chinese mandarin's dwelling, the first objects that struck them were two miserable looking wretches with the *cauque*, or walking pillory, round their necks. A coarse screen of split bamboo served as the door to a second apartment, not close enough, however, to hide from view 'the women, children, and pigs behind it, who were amicably partaking together of the contents of a huge wooden tray.' The walls were decorated with rusty swords, matchlocks, gongs, and spears; and in a sort of recess stood a table on which was a little bronze deity, with a censer filled with matches. Before the table, on a raised platform about six feet square, was seated, 'in all the dignity of good behaviour, his head erect, his chest inflated, his arms a-kimbo, and his legs crossed like a tailor's, a venerable looking object with a thin grey beard, which he was stroking most complacently.' This august personage received the strangers with great pomp, and made a long speech, of which they understood nothing: the voice, however, appeared familiar to them; and on a nearer scrutiny, they recognized their recent merry guest, but now their dignified host, the drunken Heo! On descending from his throne, he laid aside his dignity, resumed his natural levity, and was particularly assiduous in cramming his guests with rice and boiled pork, which he tore in pieces with his fingers and thrust into their mouths, to the no little hazard of suffocating them: this was of course meant for civility; but the Americans, who appear to have understood as little of the manners as of the language of this people, warmly resented this outrage on their taste; and a quarrel must have ensued, but for the fortunate intervention of a bottle of rum, (*deus ex machina*), which, as Captain White says, 'ascended into the brain,' and gave him and his countrymen an opportunity of making their escape.

After this the Franklin was several times visited by this ancient chief and his myrmidons, the main object of which was to extort as many presents as possible, not forgetting spirituous liquors, of which they appeared to be excessively fond. Captain White had, from the first, expressed an anxious desire to proceed up the river to Saigon; and several days having now passed away, during which the old man had amused him with the hope of an answer to a dispatch which he pretended to have sent thither, he naturally became impatient, and insisted on proceeding with his ship, or on sending some of his officers in a boat. This brought Heo to confess that no such dispatch had ever been sent, and that, without an order from the king, then at Hué, they could not be permitted to go to Saigon. This daring avowal of his falsehood and duplicity put the Americans out of all patience, and determined them at once to quit the river, and proceed to Turon Bay.

Here

Here they were boarded by a Cochinchinese boat, and informed that the king had left Hué, and was then in the gulph of Tonquin. Thus foiled a second time, they resolved to proceed to Manila; and being disappointed of a cargo there, were preparing to depart for Canton, when another American ship, the *Marmion*, which had also been up the Donai as far as the Franklin, a few days after the departure of the latter, arrived, and informed them that a communication had been opened with the governor of Saigon, and that there did not appear to be any obstacle in the way of proceeding up to that city. The two captains, therefore, determined to try in concert what could be done; especially as the *Marmion* had been assured at Cangeo that cargoes of sugar and other articles might be procured there, provided they were paid for in Spanish dollars. On the 6th September, therefore, they left Manila, and on the 26th anchored once more before the village.

We hear nothing more of Heo and his followers; but they were boarded by another set, pretty much of the same description; who, however, were with less difficulty prevailed upon to forward a dispatch to Saigon, for permission for the ships to proceed thither. In the mean time, the Americans landed, with an intention of exploring the neighbouring country, but were unable to make any progress on account of the mangroves which covered the banks of the river, and whose roots were so interlaced along the swampy surface as to compel them to abandon the attempt. They lost a favourite dog during their excursion, which was not recovered until the third day.

'The most complete metamorphosis had been effected in his character and appearance, by his temporary separation from us; for, from being a lively, playful and bold dog, he had now become dull, morose, and timid, scarcely deigning to notice our caresses; and, from being round and fat, he had become in that short time a mere skeleton. This anecdote, trifling in itself, I should not have mentioned, but for the consequent light it threw on the proneness of these people to superstitious ideas; for they gravely assured us, that the tigers had bewitched the dog, and that he was now endued with supernatural powers, and should no longer be treated as a dog, but as a being of superior intelligence.'—p. 181.

Cangeo is thus described :

'It contains about one hundred huts, built of bamboos and poles; the roofs are thatched with palm leaves, and the floors are of wattles, as before described, raised three or four feet from the earth. Several small creeks intersect the village, over which, bridges of a single plank each are thrown. The interior of the houses is divided into two, and sometimes three apartments. The outer one answers the double purpose of kitchen and parlour, and the inner is the dormitory, common to all the family, where they repose on platforms of plank or split bamboo,

Bamboo, covered with mats, raised a few inches from the flooring, and arranged round the walls. Under the houses are enclosures for pigs, ducks, fowls, &c. who receive their sustenance through the floor, which, being quite open, permits the offals of their meals, &c. to pass through, without the trouble of sweeping. The inmates of these filthy hovels are worthy of their habitations. The women are coarse, dingy, and devoid of decency; the children are pot-bellied, and loathsome from dirt, disease, and consequent deformity. The men appear a shade better; few, however, were seen, being out fishing, which is the principal support of the inhabitants.—pp. 177, 178.

Permission had now arrived for their proceeding up the river, which they did, by help of the tide, to a spacious estuary called by the Portuguese of Macao the *sete-bocas*, or Seven-mouths, from that number of branches falling into it at one spot. The scenery here was 'beautiful, sublime, and romantic, the points of the seven mouths being crowned with lofty and venerable trees, presenting, in the line of each stream, long vistas, fringed on each side with foliage of different shades of verdure, while their polished surfaces reflected, with chastened beauty, the varied tints of the impending forests.' The species of harmony which gave animation to the scenery is, we confess, quite new to us; the only musical marine animals with which we are acquainted being the sea-calves of Canada, which M. de Moutz, who visited that country about two centuries ago, informs us, *sing like night-owls*.

'From the contemplation of this fascinating scene, our attention was diverted to a new and curious phenomenon. Our ears were saluted by a variety of sounds, resembling the deep bass of an organ, accompanied by the hollow guttural chaunt of the bull frog, the heavy chime of a bell, and the tones which imagination would give to an enormous jew's harp. This combination produced a thrilling sensation on the nerves, and, as we fancied, a tremulous motion in the vessel. The excitement of great curiosity was visible on every white face on board, and many were the sage speculations of the sailors on this occasion. Anxious to discover the cause of this gratuitous concert, I went into the cabin, where I found the noise, which I soon ascertained proceeded from the bottom of the vessel, increased to a full and uninterrupted chorus. The perceptions which occurred to me on this occasion were similar to those produced by the torpedo, or electric eel, which I had before felt. But whether these feelings were caused by the concussion of sound, or by actual vibrations in the body of the vessel, I could neither then, or since, determine. In a few moments, the sounds, which had commenced near the stern of the vessel, became general throughout the whole length of the bottom.

'Our linguist informed us, that our admiration was caused by a shoal of fish, of a flat oval form, like a flounder, which, by a certain conformation of the mouth, possesses the power of adhesion to other objects in a wonderful degree, and that they were peculiar to the Seven Mouths.

Mouths. But, whether the noises we heard were produced by any particular construction of the sonoric organs, or by spasmodic vibrations of the body, he was ignorant. Very shortly after leaving the basin, and entering upon the branch through which our course lay, a sensible diminution was perceived in the number of our musical fellow voyagers, and before we had proceeded a mile they were no more heard.—pp. 187, 188.

We may here remark, that, precisely on the same spot, on their return down the river, they were again saluted with a submarine serenade from this invisible band of tuneful Tritons.

The Donai was found to preserve its depth from eight to fifteen fathoms, having seldom less than three to the very banks, to which the ships could stand so close alongside, that Captain White says, 'their yards were interlocked with the trees, the branches of which overhung the decks, that were strewn with their verdure.' Hitherto the country appeared to have no inhabitants but monies, parrots, and other species of chattering birds; on the seventh day of this tedious navigation, however, a few scattered cottages began to make their appearance, together with patches of cultivated ground, groves of cocoa and areka nuts, herds of buffaloes, fishing boats, and a distant forest of masts, all indicating their approach to the city, below which, at the distance of a mile, they dropped anchor.

The huts on the bank near them did not materially raise their ideas of the domestic comfort or general habits of the people; yet the appearance of several boats, of light and airy construction, each managed by a single woman, was to them a novel and a pleasing sight; while great numbers of the native vessels, plying in various directions, gave a somewhat lively interest to the scene. The women's boats are each composed of the single trunk of a tree, and sculled with a single elastic oar: several of them came alongside the Franklin, laden with various choice tropical fruits, and every other article of food. Among the former were plantains, bananas, pine-apples, lemons, limes, guavas, jacks, mangoes, shaddocks, pomegranates, and oranges of various kinds, one of which, of a rich gold colour, Captain White says, was very large, and contained as much juice, of a most delicious flavour, as would fill a moderate sized tumbler. They had, besides, sweet potatoes, yams, and sugar-canes, confectionary of various kinds, and rice cakes of a snowy whiteness. Tea and rice whiskey, or arrack, the common beverage of the country, were also articles of sale; but Captain White, we apprehend, is mistaken in supposing that the inferior kind of tea, used by the poorer people, is named *cha-huê*, 'because it is indigenous to the district of Hué;' the
name

name is '*Cha-huh*,' or 'flower of tea,' and is the coarser leaf of the *camellia tosaensis*, which is also made use of in China.

The Americans took lodgings at the house of one *Pdsquih*, (have they operas at Saigon?) a Tagal, from Luçonia, where they were soon beset by a number of females, anxiously inquiring what merchandize they had for sale, what they were in pursuit of, what the prices were, &c. The greater part of mercantile business is transacted by females, just as it was when the Chinese envoy visited this country. Chinese adventurers were then, as now, the only competitors with whom the Cambodian women had to contend in their trading occupations; and Chinese pedlars, cooks, and confectioners are still to be seen in every bazar and every street.

Having settled the etiquette on appearing before the governor, (always a noisome affair among orientals,) and which, on this occasion, was only to be *three bows* in tender consideration of their being strangers, and unhappily ignorant of the genuine mode of performing the proper ceremony, they lost no time in paying their visit. They landed at the great bazar or market-place, which they observed to be well stocked with a variety of fruits and provisions, exposed for sale mostly by females; hence they 'progressed' along a wide and regular street, having many of its houses built of wood and covered with tiles, but others of a very humble description, and none of them exceeding the height of one story.

'Toiling,' says our author, 'under a scorching sun, through a street strewn with every species of filth; beset by thousands of yelping mangy curs; stunned alike by them and the vociferations of an immense concourse of the wondering natives, whose rude curiosity in touching and handling every part of our dress, and feeling of our hands and faces, we were frequently obliged to chastise with our canes, were among the amenities which were presented us on this our first excursion into the city.'—p. 219.

At the end of this street, however, the scene was changed for one of a more agreeable nature. The route now lay through a covered way, walled with brick, where they got rid both of the biped and quadruped '*canaille*;' at the end of this covered way was a handsome bridge of stone and earth, thrown over a deep and broad moat, which led to one of the gates of the citadel, whose walls of brick and earth, about twenty feet high, and of immense thickness, enclosed a quadrilateral area of three quarters of a mile. Within this enclosure the viceroy and military officers reside, and there are said to be commodious barracks, sufficiently spacious to quarter fifty thousand troops! The royal palace stands in the centre, in the midst of a beautiful grove of about eight acres; it is built of brick, and about one hundred and sixty feet

feet square, enclosed with verandas. The apartments for the ladies and domestic officers are behind this, in which, it would seem, they are constantly shut up; for on the strangers observing them peeping through some trellis work, they were immediately driven back by a person who appeared to have the special charge of them. The roofs of these buildings are covered with glazed tiles, and ornamented with dragons and other monsters, similar to those of China. The viceroy's house was about eighty feet square, and also covered with tiles. Here, on a platform raised about three feet from the ground,—

'was seated, in the Asiatic style, cross-legged, and stroking his thin white beard, the acting governor (officiating in the viceroy's absence); a meagre, wrinkled, cautious looking old man, whose countenance, though relenting into a dubious smile, indicated any thing but fair dealing and sincerity. On the platforms, on each side, were seated, their different degrees of rank indicated by their proximity to the august representative of the sovereign, mandarins and officers of state of various dignity. Files of soldiers, with their two-handed swords, and shields covered with indurated buffalo hides, highly varnished, and studded with iron knobs, were drawn up in various parts of the hall. We walked directly up in front till we arrived at the entrance of the central vista, between the ranges of platforms on each side of the throne, when we doffed our beavers, and made three respectful bows in the European style, which salutation was returned by the governor by a slow and profound inclination of the head.'—pp. 222, 223.

The Americans wished at once to have the business of the port duties, and of the *presents*, (without which there is nothing to be done,) settled, but the great man declined entering upon any kind of business, and dismissed them with a little tea and sweetmeats.

On their return, they passed a large *bungalo*, under which were arranged about two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, of various calibres and fashions, many of them brass, chiefly of European manufacture, generally mounted on ship-carriages in different stages of decay; among them was a train of a dozen pieces of field-artillery, each marked with *fleurs de lis*, and bearing the name of Louis XIV. This enclosure was entered by four gates, with square buildings, having tiled roofs over them. In one quarter of the area was a cemetery, containing several 'barbarously splendid mausoleums, in the Chinese style;' many of them exhibiting specimens of no bad sculpture, as was also the case with regard to the bridges, 'which were decorated with various military and religious *bas reliefs*.' The magazines of naval and military stores, arms, provisions, &c. consisted of six buildings, enclosed with paling. Pleasant walks in various directions intersect this enclosure, and being planted on each side

side with the palmaria, not only afford shelter, but, in the season of flowering, impregnate the air to a great distance with their odoriferous perfume. Several elephants of an enormous size were observed; their attendants blow into a hollow pipe of wood, which is said to produce a noise similar to that of blowing into the bung-hole of an empty cask, to give notice of their approach; for they will not take the trouble to turn aside for any trifling impediment, such as old women with their stalls in the bazar, who, on hearing the horn, generally pack up and scamper away with their wares. These animals have a duty to perform which is quite new to us. Saigon, being built of wood, is subject to frequent fires. On such occasions the viceroy, mounted on an elephant, leads forward the whole troop who, setting their heads against the houses next to those on fire, speedily level them to the ground, and thus prevent the flames from spreading. This feat they had an opportunity of seeing performed in great perfection.

On the banks of a deep creek was situated the naval arsenal, where, during the rebellion, the French built for the king two frigates. Captain White, who tells us that 'the ship timber and planks excelled any thing he had ever seen,' measured one of the latter, which was of teak, and found it to be 109 feet long, above four inches thick, and perfectly square to the top, where it was two feet wide. He has seen trees, he adds, in the country that would make main masts for ships of the line, clear of knots. In the arsenal were 150 galleys, of most beautiful construction, hauled up under sheds, from forty to a hundred feet in length, and some of them mounting sixteen guns, three-pounders; others four or six guns, from four to twelve-pounders, all of brass, and exquisitely finished. Besides these were about forty other galleys afloat, prepared for an expedition up the river.

On the western part of the city was a canal, just finished, twenty-three English miles in length, eighty feet wide, and twelve feet deep, cut through immense forests and morasses, and completed in the short space of six weeks. It connects the Donai with the great river of Cambodia. 'Twenty-six thousand men were employed, night and day, by turns, in this stupendous undertaking, and seven thousand lives sacrificed by fatigue, and consequent disease.' The banks were planted with the palmaria, which is also common in the streets of the suburbs; and they passed an immense cemetery, surrounded with rows of the same tree, 'resembling,' says Captain White, 'if the comparison be not too daring, the Boulevards at Paris.'

Close to the city, and near the bank of the river, was a long
range

range of buildings of ~~handsome~~ construction, these were the magazines of rice, which is a royal monopoly, and can only be exported by special permission, on pain of death. A number of temples, similar to the Chinese pagodas, and dedicated to Boudh, and his subordinate deities, are scattered over the city. The streets generally intersect each other at right angles, and some of them are described as very spacious. The houses are of brick, covered with tiles, but the greater part are of wood, thatched with palm leaves, or rice-straw. Captain White informs us, on the authority of a missionary, confirmed by that of the viceroy, that Saigon contains one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, of whom about ten thousand are Chinese.

We confess we were not prepared for such a display as this city and the interior of the royal and military enclosure present; and had always felt inclined to suspect our old acquaintance, the Chinese traveller, of seeing, like the extatic Tilburina, *what was not yet in sight*, when he talked of the capital being twenty *lee* (six miles) in circuit—of its great gates and deep moats—of its boulevards planted with spreading trees—of its bridges, with statues of the gods in menacing attitudes, fifty-four in number, at the end of each—of elephants sculptured in stone, gigantic heads of Boudh, &c. We now judge somewhat more favourably of him, especially as it appears from Captain White's narrative, that nothing could be more correctly described than the branching river, and the forests (composed of ancient trees, climbing plants and creepers) which, as he says, 'cover the plains on either side, forming one continued darkened impenetrable wood, where no voice is heard but that of birds and beasts, and not an inch of cultivated ground is visible.'

But the works and buildings of Saigon, considerable as they are, dwindle into nothing when compared with those at Hué, the capital and constant residence of the king. For the last twenty years he is said to have lavished immense sums, and sacrificed the lives of thousands, in the construction of ramparts and fortifications: yet, says Captain White, whom has he to fear? This is a question which we cannot readily answer; but his Cambodian Majesty is scarcely wasting his revenue in military preparations against the kites and crows. To be frank, we suspect that we are in danger, under the guidance of our author, of underrating both the understanding and the power of this singular people. Certainly, as the Greek philosopher said of the geometrical problems traced on a foreign strand, 'these are not the productions of barbarians!' Still, however, as we have nothing positive to advance in support of our opinion, we must be content to take Captain White's statements as we find them, till the

visit of some more experienced traveller shall enable us to speak with greater decision.

The following account of this unapproachable city (for Lord Macartney also sued in vain for permission to visit it) was furnished by M. Vannier, a Frenchman, admiral to the king.

‘It is certainly a stupendous object, and would be esteemed so even in Europe. It is situated upon a barred river, accessible to large vessels at high water only. It is surrounded by a ditch nine miles in circumference, and about one hundred feet broad; its walls are of brick, laid in a cement, of which sugar is a principal ingredient, and are sixty feet high; the pillars of the gates, which are of stone, are seventy feet high; over the arches, which are of the same materials, are towers from ninety to one hundred feet high, to which access is had by a handsome flight of stairs, on each side of the gate way inside the walls. The fortress is of a quadrilateral form, and built on the plan of Strasburg in Germany. It has twenty-four bastions, each mounting thirty-six guns, and the distance between each bastion is twelve hundred Cochin Chinese perches, of fifteen feet each; the smallest guns are eighteen pounders, and the largest are sixty-eight pounders, cast in the king’s own foundery. The whole number of guns to be mounted, when the works are completed, is twelve hundred. The casements within the fort are bomb proof.’—pp. 263, 264.

Captain White finds no fault with the climate; ‘it is as fine,’ he says, ‘as that of any other country within the torrid zone; the periodical winds passing over and refreshing every part of it.’ We doubt, however, the ‘fineness’ of the great belt of forest which extends from the city to the sea. Saigon itself, being situated at the foot of the hilly country which divides Cambodia from Siam, may be healthy: the thermometer, in the month of October, ranged from 80° to 85° in the shade, and the rains were heavy and almost constant. The produce of the country is various and valuable: from the mountains the natives procure gold, silver, copper, and iron; and from the forests, a great variety of valuable woods for building, for perfumes, and for dying. They have rice of six different kinds, sugar, pepper, sago, cassia, cinnamon, areka, betel, tobacco, cotton, raw silk, indigo, and many other articles, well adapted for a foreign market. Antelopes of various kinds, deer and hares are brought from the hills; peacocks, pheasants and partridges are plentiful, and water-fowls of all kinds swarm in the creeks and rivers. Elephants, rhinoceroses, and tygers abound in the woods, and are hunted for their ivory, horns and skins. The horn of the rhinoceros is a royal monopoly, and is greatly affected by the Chinese: the test of its goodness is the strength of the noise heard when the concave root is applied to the ear, as shells are by our children to hear if ‘the tide be coming in.’ One of the large striped tygers was presented to
 Captain

Captain White by the viceroy; it was a beautiful female, five feet long and three feet high. He kept her on board till, by *bad weather*, (for which we are truly thankful,) he lost the 'live stock of puppies and kids provided for her,' when they were under the necessity of shooting the royal beast, of whom he relates the following anecdote:—

'In Saigon, where dogs are "dog cheap," we used to give the tygress one every day. They were thrown alive into her cage, when, after playing with her victim for a while, as a cat does with a mouse, her eyes would begin to glisten, and her tail to vibrate, which were the immediate precursors of death to the devoted little prisoner, which was invariably seized by the back of the neck, the incisors of the sanguinary beast perforating the jugular arteries, while she would traverse the cage, which she lashed with her tail, and suck the blood of her prey, which hung suspended from her mouth.

'One day, a puppy, not at all remarkable, or distinguishable in appearance, from the common herd, was thrown in, who immediately, on perceiving his situation, set up a dismal yell and attacked the tygress with great fury, snapping at her nose, from which he drew some blood. The tygress appeared to be amused with the puny rage of the puppy, and with as good-humoured an expression of countenance, as so ferocious an animal could be supposed to assume, she affected to treat it all as play; and sometimes spreading herself at full length on her side, at others, crouching in the manner of the fabled sphinx, she would ward off with her paw, the incensed little animal, till he was finally exhausted. She then proceeded to caress him, endeavouring by many little arts to inspire him with confidence, in which she finally succeeded, and in a short time they lay down together and slept. From this time they were inseparable; the tygress appearing to feel for the puppy all the solicitude of a mother, and the dog, in return, treating her with the greatest affection; and a small aperture was left open in the cage, by which he had free ingress and egress. Experiments were subsequently made, by presenting a strange dog at the bars of the cage, when the tygress would manifest great eagerness to get at it; her adopted child was then thrown in, on which she would eagerly pounce; but immediately discovering the cheat, she would caress it with great tenderness. The natives made several unsuccessful attempts to steal this dog from us.'—pp. 255—257.

Neither our Chinese author nor Captain White gives a very flattering account of the manners and character of the people:—the upper ranks, and particularly those in public employments, are quite as well skilled in all the tricks which their situations afford them the opportunity of practising, as their prototypes in China, though perhaps they perform them in a more clumsy and barefaced style. It appears, indeed, that they imitate the Chinese, not only in the approved mode of practising on the purses and patience of their visitors, but in their dress and man-

ners, and, as we collect from the work before us, look up to them as the *beau ideal* of all that is tasteful and accomplished, even to the immeasurable length of their nails. In one respect, indeed, they differ from them; they permit their women to go abroad. A lady of high rank, Captain White says, visited the Franklin; and he seems to think, generally speaking, that there is no restriction on the ladies of Saigon.

Many of the young females are handsome, before their teeth, tongue, gums, and lips are stained with that detestable masticatory compound of lime, betel and areka; but from this practice and their general dirty habits, at thirty they are objects of disgust, at forty, absolutely hideous. Like the Japanese ladies, they wear a number of loose robes one over the other, the undermost being the longest; and as they are always of different colours they give the appearance of the wearer being girded with a number of various coloured belts; their hats are of bamboo, and resemble a large inverted saucer.

These are of the superior casts; the middling and lower order of females are, as we have said, the principal merchants, and were so when our Chinese traveller was there: for he observes, that when his countrymen go thither to trade, the first thing they do is to take a Cambodian woman into their service and give her the management of their commercial concerns. We can scarcely credit him, however, when he adds, that the women possess so little decency that they may be daily seen in groups sometimes to the number of a thousand, swimming about in the river in a perfect state of nudity from head to foot, even those of the highest condition. 'The Chinese,' says he, with somewhat of naivetté, 'take great pleasure in seeing their sports in the water, and I have heard say, that love-adventures sometimes take place among these bathers.' Captain White is silent on this subject, and also on another, of which, indeed, he might not easily have gained information, supposing it to exist. When girls arrive at the age of ten or eleven years, it is necessary, the Chinese says, that they should undergo a ceremony which is called *khin-thou*, and which is no other than being shut up at night with a priest of Boudh, until which she is not deemed to be marriageable. If we did not know the corrupt practices of the priests of *Fo* and *Tao-tse*, and the gross superstitions of their ignorant followers, we should be apt to discredit this part of the account; but we believe there is nothing too vicious for men of their depraved habits. Females among all the oriental nations being considered as marketable commodities, and generally disposed of to those who are willing to bid highest for them, we should not be surprised if the processions with music and banners to the houses of the young ladies

to

to be initiated, which take place on this occasion, were meant to announce their fitness for the marriage state—a sort of ceremony of *bringing them out*. The honeymoon is observed for eight days, during which the young couple are shut up in the house, with lights burning day and night. Though those who are not so fortunate as to procure husbands are not required to be very strict in observing the rules of chastity, yet after marriage, any offence against it is punished at the husband's pleasure; and Captain White says, the usual mode is to tie the offending parties back to back, and throw them from a bridge into the river.

Our author does not seem to have entered much into the habits of the natives, during his four months' residence, or to have extended his inquiries beyond the sphere of his immediate connection with them: even this, however, was more than enough, he says, to convince him that, from the highest to the lowest, they are totally destitute of every feeling of truth and honour. From such a people the Americans had not to expect much mercantile punctuality or integrity, but they could not have anticipated the vexatious delays, evasions, and tricks which were hourly practised upon them. Their object was to procure cargoes of sugar; but the moment this was discovered, the article rose at least a hundred per cent. in the market, as did every other article which they inquired after. On complaining to the governor of this imposition, he inveighed with great acrimony against the sugar-holders, and desired them not to be in a hurry, as these unreasonable people must at last come to their terms; the following day they discovered that 'the old rogue was the principal sugar-holder in the district.' As it was still, however, their interest to be on civil terms with this 'old rogue,' the Americans invited him to their lodgings. On observing a double-barrelled gun, he expressed great admiration at the workmanship, and wished to borrow it for a shooting excursion on the following day; but 'his excellency' forgot to return it, and Captain White never saw it more. His excellency, moreover, hinted at the port duties payable on the ships, and which they were ready to pay; but he refused to take the Spanish dollar at the rate in current copper money which it would purchase in the market. They therefore offered to pay him in the copper coin of the country which they would themselves purchase and to which, after some demur, he appeared to accede. But they were little aware of the trouble they were thus bringing upon themselves, and the way in which their purpose would be defeated.

This copper money is precisely the same as that used in Japan, but somewhat larger, with a hole in the middle, like that

of China; six or seven hundred being about equivalent to a Spanish dollar. Having purchased a part of the coin, Captain White says, 'the united efforts of four of us could enable us to count, assort, and new string, *only* the value of fifteen hundred dollars in more than a week.' When they had at length collected a part of this portion which was to be received on account, 'the Marmion's launch was freighted with it, and dispatched for the custom-house; and it was, as may be supposed, a matter of curiosity, to see a stout long-boat of a ship of nearly four hundred tons, deeply laden with coin, amounting in value to only seven hundred and fifty Spanish dollars, and weighing nearly two and a half tons!'

On arriving at the custom-house the officers were not in attendance; though due notice had been given; when they came it was nearly dark, and on being asked for a receipt, 'they affected to laugh, and told us that it was too late to do any business that night, but that in the morning they would count and examine it.' What was now to be done? they could not trust the money with such people, and the tide had ebbed out of the creek; the only alternative was to let it remain in the custom-house, which was entirely open in front, and send for an armed guard from each ship. The only disturbance this guard met with during the night was from an enormous serpent, at least (as they thought) fifteen feet long, which came out of the river and crawled into the custom-house, gliding between the *stacks* of money, when they lost sight of it, nor could the strictest search with the lamp enable them again to discover it. The sailors insisted that it must have been either the devil in his primitive disguise, or a real serpent trained by the rascally natives to frighten them from their posts, and compel them to leave the treasure unguarded.

At mid-day the officers attended, and began the operation of counting, practising every art, says Captain White, to vex and annoy us, rejecting every piece that had the least flaw in it, so that having finished about a hundred dollars there appeared to be a loss of about *ten per cent.* 'Suspecting the fellows in attendance to have secreted some of the money, we insisted on searching them; and when it was actually found to be the case they were not the least disconcerted at the discovery, but laughed in our faces in the most provoking manner.' When they sought redress from the governor, he told them he could not interfere in the custom-house department, but kindly advised them to make up their dispute with the officers by a sum of money, which would induce them to dispense with counting, or to pay, as he had originally proposed to them, in Spanish dollars at a discount
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on the market price, and to satisfy the custom-house officers for the trouble they had been at. 'In short,' continues the captain, 'we were under the necessity of succumbing to these harpies.'

This affair brought upon them a host of enemies, who took occasion to wreak their vengeance on the strangers by personal ill-treatment. On the same evening, while sitting in the veranda, they were assailed by a shower of stones; they immediately ran to the quarter from which it proceeded, but all was quiet, not a person to be seen, though the moon shone bright. Their landlady came out to know what was the matter, and while talking with her another shower from invisible hands fell upon them, and bruised several of them; they again sallied forth, searching every place where a person might be supposed to conceal himself, but without success. They had scarcely returned to the veranda when a third volley was discharged, which fairly drove them into the house; and this annoyance was repeated almost every evening afterwards, and sometimes in mid-day; 'but no search, inquiry, or offer of reward for the detection of the offenders could elicit any information, neither could we ever divine the cause of it.' In truth the American captains and their crews appear to be no conjurers. They could not, with all their pains, discover a Cambodian in the disguise of an alligator; and here they are puzzling themselves to as little purpose. We think we can assist them to unravel the mystery. The governor's house stood in an enclosure directly opposite to their lodgings, and 'the stones came from the direction of the governor's house.' Now as they hesitated to purchase sugar, of which he was a large holder, at a hundred per cent. above the common market price, and to pay him the duties in dollars, so that he might pocket the discount, we think they might have given a shrewd guess at whose instance they were thus continually pelted. We complained to him, says Captain White, of this disgraceful treatment; he answered that *he* was frequently molested in the same manner; and this was all the satisfaction they could obtain.

The Americans now resolved to try, in their turn, what a *fetch of wit* on their part might do to induce the Cambodians to lower their prices. They paid the whole of the duties on the ships, filled their water-casks, bent some of their sails, sent on board all their packages, and made apparent preparations for their immediate departure. A week passed without effect—the sugar-merchants showing 'the same dogged indifference' as before; and on asking the linguists if they thought these people would suffer them to depart without cargoes, they were not a little mortified to be answered with great coolness, 'that the Cochinchinese were too well versed in deception to be blinded by the

shallow artifice we had adopted, and that they were willing to try which could hold out the longest.¹

Thus fairly outwitted, and having remained from September to the end of January, they were obliged at last to take the sugar at the price of the holders, the whole of which, after all, was not equal to half a cargo for each of the two ships. The duties and the presents for the governor, mandarins, secretaries, &c. amounted to two thousand seven hundred and eight dollars for the Franklin alone, 'nearly half the amount of the net invoice of sugar taken on board!' 'I shall, I think,' says Captain White, 'be readily believed when I state that few tears were shed by us on our departure from a place where we had encountered so much trouble and vexation—and which I consider as the least desirable country on earth for mercantile adventurers.'

Here then, we take for granted, terminates all American speculation on a successful trade with Cochinchina. The French appear to be equally disgusted. In 1819 two officers only remained in the service of the king, since which one has returned in a frigate which made an unsuccessful voyage, partly political and partly commercial, to Turon Bay; the other, M. Vannier, the king's admiral at Hué, had requested, as Captain White was informed, permission to quit the country, but without success.

The impression left upon our minds by the perusal of this 'Voyage' is, that of all the nations in the east, the Cochinchinese Cambodians stand the lowest in the moral scale. The Malay, when actuated by fierce passions, is utterly regardless of human life, but he possesses a manly courage, intelligence, ingenuity and industry. The Hindoo, careless of truth, and the victim of superstition, is nevertheless orderly in all his habits, cleanly, abstemious, sober, and attentive to the duties which his religion prescribes. The Chinese, with all their pride, craft and fraud, are a quiet and industrious people, ceremonious and civil, never openly outraging the decencies of life;—but it does not appear that the Cambodians possess one redeeming virtue, one amiable quality, as a set-off against their grovelling and disgusting vices.

ART. IV.—*Voyages dans la Grande-Bretagne, entrepris relativement aux Services Publics de la Guerre, de la Marine, et des Ponts et Chaussées, depuis 1816. Troisième Partie, FORGE COMMERCIALE.* Par Charles Dupin. 2 tom. Paris. 1824.

WE have had occasion more than once to introduce M. Dupin to the notice of our readers, and, in one instance, to find serious fault with him for a statement, as uncalled for as it was unfounded,

unfounded, which charged the British government with cruel and inhuman conduct towards French prisoners of war. In general, however, we must do him the justice to say that, in the thankless task which he has undertaken, of comparing the institutions of Great Britain, and her naval, military, commercial and manufacturing strength, or capacity, with those of France respectively, he has exhibited more candour, and arrived at a greater degree of accuracy, than might have been expected from the pen of a Frenchman, always jealous of a nation which he is pleased to call, *par excellence*, his rival. In the volumes before us, we meet with, what indeed was scarcely to be avoided, a repetition of many passages contained in the former ones, together with a good deal of detail not particularly interesting to the English reader—but we also find considerable portions of new matter of a contrary description.

M. Dupin is in the habit of announcing his labours in a preliminary discourse, which is read either before the Academy of Sciences or the Institute, two learned bodies, who are supposed to combine all the science and philosophy of France. That some little *fanfaronnades* should appear in these discourses, to qualify and soften down the unacceptable eulogy which they pronounce on the wisdom, energy and prosperity of a rival nation, is natural enough, and might therefore be expected—*hæc sunt solatia, hæc fœmenta dolorum*. It does not appear, however, that the Academy received his last eulogy on Great Britain in that uncourteous manner which his former discourse experienced from the Institute. Impressed with the value of 'the noble patience of his auditors,' he lays hold of the circumstance of their forbearance as an argument to prove the superior liberality and generosity of the French nation; for, says he, in a sort of triumphant tone, 'an Englishman would not have dared to pronounce a panegyric on the works of France *au sein de la Société de Londres*.' The Royal Society of London, however, allowed a Frenchman, as M. Dupin very well knows, to lay claim, without the slightest foundation, to the invention of Seppings's system of naval architecture, on the part of several of his countrymen! though we long ago incontestibly proved† that neither in theory nor in practice could any of those attempts of Bouguer, Gobert and Groignard be of the least service in giving additional strength to ships, and that none of them bore the slightest resemblance to the system of diagonal braces and riders, first introduced by Sir Robert Seppings, and successfully made use of in all our ships of war.

There is nothing new, however, in Frenchmen laying claims to

* See Q. R. No. XXIV.

the inventions and discoveries of others; and we were prepared to find M. Dupin seeking *his solatium*, in a recurrence to this authentic practice, for the mortification which he occasionally appears to feel at the humiliating contrast he is compelled to draw between the power and the prosperity of England and France. The 'soothing unction' is—that we are only the imitators, while *they* are the inventors. There is an old proverb, which says that the French invented the ruffle, but the English added the shirt; and M. Dupin's examples are pretty much of this kind. Thus, for instance, 'le pont du Strand,' which he tells us the English have surnamed 'Waterloo,' is broadly asserted to have been built in imitation of the bridge of Neuilly; and to have had its new name imposed on it in imitation of the French, 'who, in the days of their triumphs, designated the bridges and the streets with which they embellished their capital, by the names of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Wagram, of Rivoli, of Marengo, of Frejus, of Fontenoi, &c.' Thus, again, the first canal constructed in England, that of the Duke of Bridgewater, between Manchester and Liverpool, is asserted to be a mere imitation of the canal of Briare, 'the first example of so beautiful a conception, set by Frenchmen.' We are pretty certain that Brindley never saw nor heard of the 'canal of Briare.'

The leading object of M. Dupin, in the present portion of his labours, is to develop the great principles upon which the commercial power, involving the wealth and strength of Great Britain, is rooted; with the view, and a laudable one it unquestionably is, of stimulating his countrymen to tread in her steps, by calling into action the same principles, and adopting the same measures, which have been productive of such happy consequences in the British islands. And the better to enable them to set about this grand reformation, he thinks it necessary, not only to describe the lines and connections of all the great roads and canals which intersect the kingdom, but to enter into a minute detail of the preparatory proceedings requisite to obtain the sanction of the legislature for the construction of new ones, or the enlargement, alteration or repair of the old ones. He traces the progress of the bills through both houses of parliament; the subsequent proceedings of forming joint-stock companies, committees of management, the process of valuing private property which may be invaded, and other particulars which, though, as we have said, of little interest to the English reader, may neither be unacceptable nor useless to his countrymen, provided they ever arrive at that point of improvement which will admit of similar proceedings being carried into practice in France.

We make this proviso, because, at present, we have great doubts

doubts whether France be in a condition to undertake works of the kind which M. Dupin has described. The public mind in that country is not yet sufficiently enlightened: nor do we perceive that the government has yet shown a disposition to introduce or encourage any rational and liberal system of education. In this respect the Revolution, so far from conferring any benefit, has plunged them in deeper ignorance than before; we mean, of course, as to the generality of the nation. Our author speaks strongly, and we believe justly, on the neglect of education of the lower orders in France, and recommends schools to be established on the Bell and Lancaster system. 'Let us hope,' he says, 'that these schools, in which instruction is so rapid, and in which youth is so well accustomed to discipline, to obedience, to reflection, will be propagated more and more in our "Belle France"'—but 'alas!' he adds, 'since the period in which I conceived this hope, so bewitching to the heart of the good citizen, deplorable prejudices have repelled with rage, and by every means, one of the fittest methods to secure to Frenchmen the superiority of knowledge and intellect—a superiority which can alone preserve them in the first rank among civilized nations.' Louis XVIII. may issue his ordinances for the restitution of the Jesuits, and the endowing of Scotch colleges, but such institutions contribute nothing towards the intellectual improvement of the great mass of the people. France, besides, labours under a want which is not likely soon to be supplied. She has none of that highly respectable and useful class of society which is composed of country gentlemen—men living on their own estates, and contributing to the comforts and the mental improvement of the neighbouring peasantry; of course she has no unpaid magistracy to take a lead in encouraging works of public utility, and to plan and superintend such as are calculated for the general improvement of the country. The public credit, though rapidly improving, is not yet sufficiently established, nor has it taken that steady shape, to enable either the government or individuals to undertake large and extensive works, especially such as trench on the interests of private property, for which indemnification is to be granted. In such cases, M. Dupin admits, every one endeavours to get, and every one is ready to give, far beyond the real value. 'It seems,' he adds, 'as if money extracted from the treasury of the state, was considered as *autant de pris sur l'ennemi!*' Private property is besides so very much divided in France, as to cause a general want of great capitalists, without the assistance of whom no works of magnitude can be undertaken with any chance of success. On this point M. Dupin seems to be wholly mistaken. He says—

'On se plaint en France que les fortunes sont trop petites; on croit qu'en

en Angleterre toutes les lois ont pour but de favoriser la grande propriété. Eh bien ! sur le sujet qui nous occupe, les lois anglaises ont tout fait, au contraire, en faveur de la petite propriété. Non-seulement tout individu qui possède un capital de 2,500 fr. peut devenir actionnaire d'un pont, d'un canal, ou d'un bassin ; mais, quand il n'aurait que la moitié, que le quart, et même que le huitième de ce petit capital, il pourrait encore devenir propriétaire d'une portion de ces travaux publics. Cette admirable loi semble conçue pour la France. En l'adoptant, sachons proportionner le taux des actions à la modicité de nos fortunes, ainsi qu'à la valeur de l'argent plus grande chez nous que chez les Anglais. Qu'avec 300 fr., qu'avec 200 fr. seulement, on puisse être membre d'une C^{ie}. de travaux publics. Formons des associations de 500, de 1,000, de 2,000 petits capitalistes, et d'un plus grand nombre si nous le pouvons. Ayons aussi pour ce genre d'industrie, notre *petit-grand-livre*, comme nous l'avons pour les placemens sur nos fonds publics. Alors nous intéresserons à la bonne construction, au parfait entretien de nos voies commerciales, les grandes, les moyennes et les petites fortunes.—tom. i. p. 85.

It is true, a man in England may hold a single share of £50, or half the sum, in a canal or turnpike-road ; but M. Dupin deceives himself if he supposes that any great undertaking is ever set afloat by associations of little proprietors. No, it must originate with, and every preparatory step be taken for carrying it into execution by, large proprietors, extensive manufacturers, wealthy merchants and bankers, a few of whom, perhaps half the number, become responsible for the funds of the whole concern, in the first instance, and afterwards distribute a certain number of shares among their friends and customers, who again send them to market, where, like any other article of sale, they bear a profit or loss according to their real or estimated value. At the moment we write this, we are informed that one million of money has been subscribed by *nineteen* persons, to be laid out in excavating a new dock on the side of the Thames, at St. Catherine's. Until France, therefore, has its large landed proprietors, its opulent manufacturers, merchants and bankers, spread over the country, M. Dupin's scheme of a '*petit-grand-livre*,' he may be assured, will never succeed—will never be tried.

There are many other obstacles which stand in the way of the commercial career of France rivalling that of England, which M. Dupin seems to flatter himself may be done by treading closely in her steps. Without mentioning the scarcity of coal and iron in that country—two articles to the abundance of which England is not a little indebted for her manufacturing and commercial prosperity—we may class among the obstacles that will retard her progress, the almost total absence of that enterprize and energy in speculation, which forms so distinguishing a feature in the mercantile

mercantile pursuits of England. While the spirit of adventure animates the natives of the latter, and sends them to the remotest corners of the earth, the only foreign traffic pursued by Frenchmen with any thing like eagerness and activity, is the detestable traffic in slaves, to which they are allured by the prospect of enormous profits—a trade which, though avowedly illegal and declared to be so by the proper authorities, subjects those who carry it on to little or no risk, being protected by their flag against any interference on the part of other governments, and winked at by their own. It was this general want of enterprize which, in earlier periods of foreign navigation, left the French far behind all the other nations of Europe in maritime discovery. While Portugal, Holland, Denmark and England were sending out expeditions to explore the unknown regions of the globe, France lay quietly upon her oars, and took no part; nor has she, at any subsequent period, contributed in such a way to the extension and improvement of geographical knowledge, as to give her any title to a place in the gratitude of mankind.

There is a still further obstacle to general improvement in France, at which M. Dupin occasionally glances—the fear on the part of government of entrusting too much power to individuals, or combinations of individuals. The executive is yet too jealous to allow to associations of its subjects any share of influence, which might attach to them were they permitted to take the lead in matters of high concern and importance. It is still more jealous of admitting foreigners to join in speculations of enterprize or improvement, however obviously they might appear calculated to promote the public utility. An instance of this kind occurred a few years ago. It was suggested, as an easy and most important improvement, to water Paris by means of pipes, in the same way as London is watered; and the ingenious Brunel went over to concert measures, and lay down a plan for the undertaking, carrying with him authority, on the part of the English projectors, to say that any amount of capital which might be required, was ready to be advanced; but when it was further stated that the iron pipes could only be supplied from the same country as the capital, the idea was so revolting, and at the same time so alarming to the Duc de Richelieu, that he at once put a stop to the proceeding; observing that Paris must continue to be supplied by water-carts and fountains, as heretofore, rather than run the risk of overturning the government, by receiving funds and iron-pipes from England.

These and various other impediments which we could name, and of many of which M. Dupin is fully aware, oppose so effectual a barrier to the progress of improvement in France, as to leave, in our

our opinion, very little hope that the picture which he has drawn of future prosperity can, in the present state of things, be realized. He has, however, sketched for his countrymen no unfaithful copy of the great features of the original which he viewed in Great Britain; he has traced the outlines with a bold and skilful pencil, and filled in the several parts with a masterly hand, and coloured the whole in deep and vivid tints. He has in fact performed his task ably and manfully; but as it is a work exclusively written for France; and as a detailed account of engineer reports, parliamentary papers, turnpike road bills, piers, jetties, cranes, and iron rail-ways, would not much benefit our readers, we shall content ourselves by noticing a few comparisons and contrasts between the natural and artificial features of the two countries, chiefly taken from the author's own picture.

The first sentence of M. Dupin's *Avant-propos* contains rather a whimsical truism; it is, that those nations who are removed to a distance (meaning, from the sea) have nothing to fear from the fleets of England; and that a still greater number of people have nothing to fear from her armies; but *all*, he goes on to say, feel momentarily the action and influence of her commerce. He then launches into a brilliant display of her foreign possessions, and of the active intercourse which she maintains with every nation and people on the globe: the result of all which is, that 'an island which, in the Oceanic archipelago, would hardly be reckoned of the third order, causes the effect of its industry and the weight of its power to be felt at every extremity of the four parts of the world, at the same time that she is peopling and civilizing a fifth part, which will follow her laws, speak her language, and receive her customs and her commerce, together with her arts and her intelligence.' And yet M. Dupin contents himself with repeating (what might be said with some propriety, perhaps, ages ago) that this 'third-rate island' is *separated* from the rest of the world by the opposing sea; whereas he ought rather to say, that it makes use of the sea as its great turnpike-road to *connect* it with every shore of the known world, and over which its natives are enabled to travel with greater ease and celerity than even over the best roads that Mr. M'Adam ever made. 'We ought never to forget,' as Mr. Canning said, 'that at all periods the field of our native glory is that sea which disjoins other countries from each other, but which unites them all to England.'

M. Dupin refers the source and origin of our greatness and commercial prosperity to the administration of Lord Chatham, who, in his estimation, would have been a minister without an equal, in the age in which he lived, 'if he had been as honest towards the foreigner, as he was towards his fellow-citizens;' in
other

other words, if he would have suffered himself to be the dupe of a foreign policy. His views in war are stated to have been purely 'industriel.' 'With him,' M. Dupin says, 'war had victory for its means, conquest as a circumstance, calculation as an auxiliary, and commerce for its principal object.' It certainly was in the midst of the seven years war that those immense improvements in land and water-carriage, which are at the present day, the pride of this country and the admiration of every other, were set on foot. In 1756, England had not a single line of artificial inland navigation, and her few roads were ill laid out, and kept in little order. The internal navigations now exceed a *thousand leagues* in length, on a portion of territory which is not equal to a fourth part of France. The roads which formerly existed have been reconstructed with more art, and kept in order with more care; new ones have been opened for the benefit of commerce, which, together, are stated by M. Dupin to form a system of roads, whose total length exceeds, at the present time, *forty-six thousand leagues* in the southern part of this island (England) alone.

If we look to the capital, M. Dupin says, we shall there find, that, in order to distribute water necessary for the subsistence and comfort of its inhabitants, and for the conveyance of gas, which produces a light so brilliant and so pure, 'as if in anticipation of the Aurora,' the system of pipes in their various ramifications stretches out into a line exceeding *four hundred leagues* in extent beneath the pavement of London.

'While these prodigies are carrying on,' continues M. Dupin, 'harbours and basins are excavated to hold their shipping; piers, jetties; light-houses, newly established, increase the security of the coasts, and afford shelter to all the anchorages, over more than *six hundred leagues* of coast; and, in consequence of these works, at this moment, twenty-two thousand three hundred merchant-ships, manned by one hundred and sixty thousand men, and capable of carrying two million of tons of merchandize, are barely sufficient for the transport from coast to coast, for the maritime exportation of the surplus internal circulation, and for the importation of foreign products necessary for the maintenance of this immense circulation.'

'It is thus,' he adds, 'that England was flourishing within, while her sacrifices without appeared to us to be accelerating her ruin, and preparing her fall; but such is her vital force, and such her commercial industry with which she wars against all nations, that she has overturned all her rivals, from the extremity of the new world, to the very centre of the old!'

Having bestowed a much larger share of admiration and praise on the Commissioners of Paving, Commissioners of Sewers, and other municipal authorities in the capital of England, than they

they are likely to receive, meritorious as they are, from their fellow-citizens, M. Dupin proceeds to contrast the state of the streets in a British city, with those in one of France. In England, he observes, 'as much care is bestowed in rendering the public streets free, commodious and safe, before the dwellings of simple individuals, as before the public monuments. No cumbrous wares are suffered to be displayed on the outside of the shops; no permanent erection is allowed to obstruct the streets or the squares; every inhabitant has the power of seizing such objects, of informing against the owner of them, and he receives, for his trouble, half of a penalty amounting from fifty to 120 francs.' 'But,' he continues, 'if we take a view, in the very capital of France, of the greatest commercial streets,—those of Saint Denis, of Saint Martin, and of the Lombards,—all of them far too narrow to admit of an active circulation, it will be observed, that a third part, at least, of their width is occupied by projecting stalls, by chests and casks placed on the outside of the shops; and by carts which discharge their loads in the street, instead of depositing them at once in the warehouses; which would be at the same time both convenient and economical. These details, so much neglected in France, can only be attended to with effect by a municipal administration, well organized, like that of England.'

The side pavements of flag-stones which the French call 'trottoirs,' and which are so carefully attended to in almost all the cities and towns of England, and almost unknown in France, even in the capital, are strongly and deservedly commended. 'How admirable,' says our author, 'is it, that in a country where the rich are charged with making the laws, they never, when so making them, forget the well-being of the poor!'

M. Dupin next adverts to the numerous common sewers which traverse the principal streets of an English city, and receive, by means of those ramifying drains, executed at the expense of the proprietor of each house, every thing that the waters can carry off by that conveyance, and thus promote and preserve that perfect cleanliness on which the general health so much depends. In France, on the contrary, even in Paris, there is a lamentable deficiency in this respect; as little regard being had to cleanliness and convenience, either within doors or without, as was the case, and still partly is, in the 'guid auld town of Edinbro.' In England, M. Dupin observes, it is not permitted to throw any filth into the street; 'thus its cities never present the hideous aspect of those of the south of Europe, where impurities of every kind are heaped upon the public ways, and left to putrefaction, which is hastened by a burning climate; and which causes endemic and mortal

mortal diseases.' There can be no doubt that this, together with the dryness of the atmosphere, materially assisted by the coal-smoke, mainly contributes to make London, what M. Dupin says it is, of all the capitals in Europe, that in which the average duration of life is by far the longest.

Another great convenience enjoyed by the inhabitants of an English city, but unknown elsewhere, arises, the author observes, from the fronts of their houses being separated from the street by trottoirs, or broad pavements, and by the sunken areas, guarded by iron railings, which not only prevent the walls of the buildings from being daubed with dirt, and covered with the splashing of mud, but also protect the foot-passengers from the rush of carriages; to which may be added the absence of those frequent and dangerous interruptions in the foot-way leading to the numerous *portes cochères* before the great houses in Paris. He admits, however, that there are but few streets in Paris wide enough for those conveniences which are so general in London.

The parliamentary and the public turnpike-roads of Great Britain occupy a considerable portion of these volumes. M. Dupin here again contrasts the conduct of the British government with that of France: the former, not only granting the inhabitants a credit and funds, but leaving them to carry on themselves those works in which they are so materially interested; whilst in the latter the government obliges the inhabitants to pour their funds into its own treasury, to enable it to execute, after its own manner, and when it shall seem good in its own eyes, that which concerns only the governed.

'How very far are we from participating in the spirit of the administration and the parliament of Great Britain! We, who scarcely confide to the zeal of the inhabitants, the repair of a village foot-path!—We, who, before a basket of pebbles can be thrown upon the smallest departmental road, require imperatively that the future expense of this basketful shall be carried to the budget of the "Arrondissement," then to that of the "Département," then submitted to the Grand Council of Bridges and Highways, sitting in a bureau at Paris, at the distance of two hundred leagues from the situation of the work!'

Our author justly ridicules these '*lenteurs savantes d'une comptabilité profonde*,' these '*formalités bureaucratiques*,' which must be encountered before a public work of any description can be undertaken in France; the consequences of which are, that, with a strong corps of engineers *des ponts et chaussées* scattered over every part of the country, the few new works which are commenced proceed with all imaginable leisure, and the old ones are suffered gradually to decay. Matters of this kind, he says, are very differently managed in England. There houses, ships,

carriages, and machines are kept constantly in the best condition, and have an appearance of freshness, neatness, nay, of brilliancy, which is only adopted partially, and that even by a small number of people, on the continent. It is remarkable, he adds, that the most economical nations, and those the most enlightened as to their pecuniary interests, such as the Dutch, the Swedes, and the English, adopt, with common consent, the system of constant repair; while the Italians, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, &c., the worst calculators, and the most improvident, wait generally till an edifice falls into ruin before they think of beginning to repair it.

It is the same in England, he observes, with regard to the roads; they are habitually kept solid, smooth, and easy, equally economical for the transport of commerce, and the convenience and expedition of travelling.—That this is not the case in France is not, however, to be charged altogether to those ‘*lenteurs officielles*,’ but, in some measure, to the want of money. ‘Even in the midst of profound peace,’ says M. Dupin, ‘scarcely can the government be prevailed upon to assign, for the maintenance of our roads, the *third part* of the sums which are furnished by the inhabitants of England alone—a country that does not equal in surface a *third part* of France!’

M. Dupin observes, that the English dislike level or horizontal roads; and that roads perfectly straight displease them still more. Undoubtedly, it is with us a prevailing opinion, that a dead flat road tires a horse much more than occasional inequalities: the change in the speed, and also in the position of the muscles, is supposed to be advantageous to the animal; and no one, we think, will contend that a winding road is not far more agreeable to the traveller, than those long-drawn, fatiguing avenues so common in France, the extremity of which appears always to recede as he advances. ‘Why do we,’ says our author, ‘neglect those innocent pleasures in the midst of our plains?’—He is equally out of humour with the unnecessary width of their roads, so disproportioned to the wants of circulation.

In speaking of country-seats, in which ‘the luxury of our architecture and sculpture seems to rival the luxury of nature herself,’ he remarks, that ‘the English, instead of studying to make a show and parade, at the greatest possible distance, of the beauties of art, study to conceal them.’

‘The Englishman looks with an eye of pity on those long and mournful alleys which shew to us, for a fourth part of a league, the façade of a building, before which is displayed an ostentatious arrangement of plantations laid out with the compasses; whilst to the right and to the left of these rows of huge uniform trees, the mournful eye perceives only fields stripped of their shade, and the desolating spectacle of the most hideous

hideous nakedness. On the contrary, one of those roads which the English call *promenades*, conducts one, in the midst of shrubbery and a carpet of green turf, towards a British habitation. As you approach, you discover at intervals the different parts of the rural edifice; but you do not see the whole building till you arrive at the point of sight from which the eye is able to embrace the whole with sufficient detail, that no beauty should be weakened or lost by the effect of distance.'—vol. i. p. 121.

M. Dupin is enchanted with these delightful *promenades*, which, he informs his countrymen, are called by us 'ride roads.'—But he shall speak for himself.

'Veut-on jouir délicieusement de ces promenades parfaites? Il faut visiter la campagne dans les beaux jours d'automne ou d'été, sous un ciel qui, même en la saison des fruits, conserve aux fleurs, comme à la verdure, la fraîcheur de leur printemps et la suavité de leur premier parfum. Tantôt à l'abri d'un épais ombrage, tantôt sur le bord d'un coteau dont le penchant se marie avec la plaine, en déployant un magnifique amphithéâtre de guérets et de jardins, de prairies et de forêts, lorsqu'assis sur un char découvert et léger et mollement élastique, on se sent entraîné d'une extrême vitesse par des coursiers, qu'Olympie eût enviés pour l'arène de ses jeux, et lorsqu'on est transporté, sans la moindre secousse fatigante, sur une autre arène préparée encore avec plus de soins, polie encore avec plus d'art que le sol de l'hippodrome; alors, mille sensations diverses et pourtant harmonieuses, du repos dans le mouvement et de la sécurité dans une course où l'on semble ne plus toucher à la terre, font qu'un doux frémissement de volupté pure, pénétre à la fois toutes nos facultés; et c'est à l'instant même où la beauté de la nature sourit de toutes ses grâces à notre imagination qu'elle ravit d'enthousiasme. Ah! je conçois que les plus riches habitans des trois royaumes désertent avec empressement les capitales les plus éblouissantes et les plus fastueuses, pour venir goûter, dans le silence et la paix, des plaisirs si pleins de charme et d'innocence.

'En rappelant ces plaisirs à ma pensée, je sens qu'ils me séduisent encore d'un attrait irrésistible; et pourtant, lorsque je les goûtais, il leur manquait à mes yeux un enchantement qui manquait aux jardins mêmes d'Armide, pour Renaudé pris d'amour: c'est le bonheur qu'on éprouve à la vue des beautés de la terre natale, à cette vue qui rappelle aussitôt les nobles souvenirs de la patrie, et les doux souvenirs de nos jeunes années. Aspects sublimes de l'Angleterre et de la Calédonie, je n'éprouvais donc pas à vous contempler, ce qui doit donner sur vos patriotiques habitans, le plus de puissance à votre charme!'—vol. i. p. 119.

On the profile of our roads, their curvature, and their construction on the principles of M'Adam and Telford, it is not necessary for us to dilate. The information collected by our author on the subject, however, may be turned to good account in France; but that 'fine verdant turf' which he, and indeed all foreigners, so much admire in England, is a luxury which can never be had in that country.

The same system, our author observes, prevails in England, with regard to the making and management of canals, as of roads; that is to say, it is left in the hands of private associations; the British government not only permits individuals to execute these great works by such companies; it eagerly goes before the zeal and the means of the national industry, and affords it the aid of public credit. 'In France, a totally different course is pursued—there the government undertakes every thing and finishes nothing. What is begun under one reign is abandoned in the next; that which one minister attempts to execute, his successor leaves to moulder into ruins.' M. Dupin thinks, however, that they are about to commence a new system, and to break those thousand chains of the Consulate and the Empire, which, far more than under any other government, before or since the revolution, fettered the people of France.

‘Depuis 1800, époque à laquelle tous les pouvoirs ont été concentrés dans Paris, les administrations départementales et municipales, n'ont pas conservé le droit de prendre la moindre décision essentielle. Non-seulement pour des ouvrages neufs, d'une médiocre valeur et d'une importance toute locale, mais pour les plus légères réparations, il faut rédiger des projets, calculer des devis, les adresser au ministère, attendre une approbation tardive, chercher un entrepreneur; traiter; et faire ensuite approuver l'adjudication ou la soumission. Que résulte-t-il de ces délais nombreux et prolongés? Les dégradations augmentent, les frais indispensables croissent de plus en plus, jusqu'à dépasser les moyens de subvenir aux dépenses. Alors arrivent, la chute des ponts et des écluses, l'interruption totale de la navigation et du commerce, la diminution du revenu des canaux; alors, enfin, ce peu de revenu qu'on touche encore ne sert plus qu'à couvrir incomplètement des frais qu'il eût été facile d'éviter. On obvierait à ces inconvénients, en concédant à des associations particulières, la construction, l'entretien et la propriété des canaux: ce qu'on commence à faire.’—vol. i. p. 81.

M. Dupin takes a comparative view of what he calls the *canalized* portions of the two countries, and arrives at this conclusion—that, in England, the portion canalized exceeds one half of the whole territory; whilst in France it does not equal one-fifth. That in the part 'canalized' over the same extent of country, the opening of canals is four times less in France than in England; 'so that,' he observes, 'in comparing the whole of France with the whole of England, we have not even, in proportion to the extent of the two countries, the twentieth part of the canals possessed by our rival.' And he adds, what is still more humiliating for *la grande nation*, 'in England, with a sky less serene, a climate less warm, a soil less fertile, the earth nourishes, at a mean rate, 8,107 inhabitants on a square *myriamètre*; whilst, on an equal extent of surface, France only supports 5,680.'

A con-

A considerable portion of M. Dupin's work is occupied by detailed accounts of the canals which communicate with the four great basins of the Thames, the Humber, the Mersey, and the Severn, and with each other, and the different manufacturing districts of England; all of which we must pass over, and take a cursory glance at his description of our bridges, which is particularly defective: Those of Westminster and Blackfriars are dispatched in half a page; and half of this is taken up with an idle story which he tells us has been seriously stated by *travellers*, namely, that the balustrade of the former was made nearly inaccessible, with a view of preventing the English (who are liable to a malady which drives them to suicide) from throwing themselves into the River. M. Dupin should have said—'stated by *one traveller*,' and he a Frenchman, who, in addition to what our author has taken from him, assures his countrymen, that 'the people of London are so addicted to self-murder, that all the avenues leading to the Thames are blocked up, to prevent as much as possible this fatal result of the national malady'—nay, that 'he was told by a friend, that the banks of the river, and particularly near the bridges, were lined with skulls,' (sculls.) That a sensible man, like M. Dupin, should condescend to repeat so idle a story, which is even beneath the dignity of Joe Miller, we confess, surprises us. He is too industrious in collecting information, and too observant of what passes in the world, not to know that the number of suicides in Paris, with half the population, exceeds that of London, as five to three; and that five times as many unfortunate wretches, at the very lowest calculation, throw themselves into the Seine, the popular mode of self-destruction, as into the Thames.

The bridge of Waterloo, for the tenth time, is stated to have been stolen from the bridge of Neuilly, though the curves of the arches are wholly different; but the balustrades and the roadways are both horizontal, and all the arches are of the same size: and these are points of resemblance quite sufficient to constitute a similarity amounting to a plagiarism in the eyes of a Frenchman. But then Mr. Rennie has made a grievous mistake in placing a bridge of this kind where it never ought to have been; that is to say, where the continuation of the road on each side is not perfectly level with the road over the bridge: another fault (not indeed of the bridge) is, that its height overpowers the beautiful façade of Somerset House. Full credit, however, is given by M. Dupin to the manner in which the bridge is constructed, who always speaks of Mr. Rennie with respect and admiration.

To the solidity and probable permanency of Waterloo bridge, M. Dupin bears strong testimony in observing that 'in the revolutions which empires experience, men will one day inquire, where

once stood the New Phenicia, the Western Tyre, which covered the sea with its ships?'—'The Strand bridge,' says he, 'will remain to reply to generations the most remote—'

'Here stood a wealthy, industrious, and powerful city. The traveller, at sight of it, will suppose that a great prince had been desirous, by many years of labour, to shed a lustre on the end of his reign, and to consecrate the glory of his actions by this imposing structure. But if tradition should inform him, that six years were sufficient for the commencement and termination of this work; if he should learn, that a simple company of merchants built this mass, worthy of the Sesostries and the Cæsars, he will admire still more that nation where undertakings of this nature can be the fruit of the efforts of a few tradesmen and capitalists. Then, if lastly he shall have reflected on the causes of the prosperity of empires, he will acknowledge that such a people must have possessed wise laws, powerful institutions, and liberty prudently secured to them: they are imprinted in the grandeur and utility of the monuments erected by simple citizens.'—vol. i. p. 259.*

ART. V.—*Memoir descriptive of the Resources, Inhabitants, and Hydrography of Sicily and its Islands, interspersed with Antiquarian and other Notices.* By Captain W. H. Smyth, R. N. London. 1824. 4to. pp. 370.

CAPTAIN Smyth is an experienced navy-officer who has for many years, we believe, been employed by the Admiralty to survey various parts of the Mediterranean coasts, of which the charts were hitherto defective. The circumstances, however, under which his book is brought out will be best told in his own words:—

'The lords commissioners of the Admiralty having determined in their laudable zeal for promoting nautical science, to present to the public an atlas containing my survey of Sicily and the adjacent islands, I obtained permission from their lordships to publish the following memoir containing the substance of those remarks which my long residence in those parts, and the station I filled, enabled me to make; and, as an encouragement, their lordships, with a marked liberality and condescen-

* We copy this with peculiar pleasure, on account of the consolation which, we trust, it will afford to Mrs. Barbauld. That venerable Sybil (see No. XIV. of this Journal) took up her parable against England in 1811, and prophesied that her last hour was come; that 'her baseless wealth was dissolved in air;' that 'the golden tide of commerce had deserted her shore;' and that she would soon

be only known

By the gray ruin, and the mouldering stone.'

'Some ingenious American, fired by fancy, will then,' she vaticinates, 'make a pilgrimage from the Blue Mountains to this country,' (provided he can find it,) 'in the hope of tracing out the ancient bounds of its capital, by the assistance of a few scattered hamlets.' Mrs. Barbauld will now discover that 'this high-souled youth from the Ontario' will not need, as she tremblingly anticipates, to hazard his neck, 'in climbing some broken stair to ascertain the spot on which London once stood,' since the Strand Bridge will favour his guesses, and abridge his archeological labours in a surprising manner.

sion,

sion, have been pleased to subscribe for 100 copies. In executing this task I have rather aimed at giving general information, than a mere set of sailing directions, because the charts being constructed trigonometrically and the various dangers distinctly pointed out, an inspection of them will be less liable to misconception than verbose instructions.—*Introduction.*

Leaving, therefore, the nautical observations to the attention of those whose business it will be to ascertain experimentally their truth and accuracy, we shall consider the 'Memoir' as an essay on Sicily addressed principally to the general reader, and embracing the usual topics of a volume of Sicilian travels. It does not, indeed, provide us with so many credible stories of children wearing three heads, or of women littering thirty babies at a birth as the learned Fazzello—nor is it interlarded with critical emendations of Greek texts, and operose corrections of Cluverius, like D'Orville—nor is it so sprightly and picturesque as Brydone—though not so dull as Swinburne—neither does it display the mature scholarship, nor impart to the reader the classical ardour of Hughes; yet as a *practically useful work*, it may take precedence of them all, on the principle, that he who wore a civic crown ranked above those who were otherwise his betters—and even as a *literary work* it has a certain value of its own, arising from the scientific observations it contains, calculated to correct the exaggerations of poets and poetical travellers, whose assertions will often find much difficulty in maintaining their ground against this modern Archytas, this—

Maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ
Mensorem.

And though Captain Smyth may think this very limited commendation of a book which evidently aspires to a character for scholarship, yet we cannot help considering that those parts of it which are most learned are least praiseworthy. We care little about Archias and Ducetius—or whether Deucalion and Pyrrha did or did not found Catania:—all such matters, together with anecdotes about Typhæus or his Cyclops, we are content to leave to Lempriere and the minute mythologists of our grammar-schools.

Still, however, if Captain Smyth enters upon these topics more frequently and with an air of more authority than necessary, he errs with great names: 'If we consider Jupiter's politics,' says Shuckford with the utmost gravity, 'we must allow him to have been a man of as great natural wisdom and sagacity as perhaps any age ever produced.*' And afraid (as well he might be) that this is not sufficiently specific, he next tells us, 'that Jupiter had a genius for business as well as for speculation, and knew how both to project what was proper to be agreed upon and to give

* Connection of Sacred and Profane History, v. ii. p. 86.

his schemes a full effect among the people; and in order hereto he married the lady who had the province of forming the reasonings of the Cretans, and this was undoubtedly a wise step.¹ See. We could have dispensed with sundry passages in the 'Memoir of Sicily' a little too much after this fashion, and would willingly have received in exchange for such solemn trifling, those coincidences between the manners and customs of ancient and modern times which our author's long connection with Sicily might have enabled him to remark, a country wearing throughout a singular air of antiquity, whilst the treatment of such a subject would have called forth classical learning of a far more attractive kind than that which relates to half-fabulous heroes, or wholly fabulous demi-gods.

It is true, that Captain Smyth has touched upon this topic; but in most of his remarks he has already been anticipated;—and in those which are new we have generally to regret a want of distinctness and detail. 'The Rogation ceremony corresponds in many respects with the rites of Terminus; for while the former consisted of prayers for a blessing on the fruits of the earth, the purpose of the latter was to fix beyond dispute the boundaries of their land that so they might enjoy without contention, in the fruits of the opening spring, the reward of the labour they had bestowed on the earth.' Yet we are not furnished with a single fact that enables us to trace the resemblance for ourselves. So again, 'The grand jubilee is but another name for the Secular Games, while the Martinalia is a palpable substitute for the Lesser Dionysia, by which St. Martin has succeeded to the devotion heretofore lavished on the jolly Bacchus.' It may be so; but we naturally ask,

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit?—

We should have been glad to hear more particulars of the following curious fact, 'that the festival instituted on occasion of the surrender of Nicias to Gylippus has been preserved through all changes of fortune, government, and religion, and is still celebrated (though now in honour of a saint) at Syracuse, in May, when two olive trees are borne in triumph into the city, and during the fortnight they are allowed to remain there, debtors can roam about, free from molestation.'—p. 179.

The Sicilians still, it seems, by amulets, carefully protect themselves and their herds from persons possessing the evil eye—never marry in the ill-omened month of May—cast nuts and almonds on the happy pair at the bridal feast—strew flour or ashes at the threshold of their friend or foe, on New Year's eve—think it lucky to have a palpitation in the right eye—are fearful of spilling salt—and, like the Romans, do not respect the profession

fession of a 'camifer,' or executioner—(p. 65.)—this last circumstance might have been safely omitted. We are not Romans; but in England, and we suppose elsewhere, Jack Ketch is not popular. In the useful arts, as in fishing, traces of the olden time are detected, both by Captain Smyth and Mr. Hughes. The thunny is driven successively through four chambers of 'a net in the shape of a parallelogram 1500 feet long, by 300 feet wide, and from 40 to 100 deep;' in the last chamber or 'corpo,' he is transfixed by suitable instruments; the whole agreeably to the account of Oppian, (lib. iii. 640.) The sword-fish is harpooned, his approach, like that of the thunny-shoals, being indicated by a man on the look out at the mast-head, the *Olpis* of Theocritus.* That practice too, (also described in the *Haliutica*, lib. iv. 641.) of attracting the fish to the boats at night, by means of a perpetual blaze kept up in an iron crate fixed at the prow, is still followed with success.

There may be persons who look upon such investigations as puerile and beneath the notice of a man of letters. We do not, however, profess to be of that number; on the contrary, we hold, that one point of resemblance between the living and the dead (trifling though it be in itself) properly established, derives a value from affording us some grounds for believing that the like resemblance exists in many other more important points which we cannot determine for want of evidence; and that thus we are enabled to collect the face and expression of the father of glorious memory, in the features of his surviving descendants. For this reason we read with more delight that simple fact in the *Travels* of Mr. Hughes, that whilst his party were regaling themselves in the *Ear* of Dionysius, the peasants brought them *beans* which they had roasted over a fire kindled for the purpose, to eat with their wine, after the manner of the times of Theocritus;† than we should have felt by the perusal of pages of fabulous, or even authentic, history.

But we must proceed to graver matters. Our countrymen, especially such as are imbued with Grecian literature, giving way to the natural feelings of freemen, are apt to mourn over the fortunes of Sicily which subjected her to the dominion of Rome. (See Hughes's *Travels*, i. 65. Smyth, p. 118.) We doubt, however, whether this pity is not misplaced, or at least extravagant. The truth is, that the provincial policy of the Romans has been much misrepresented; and as this is a subject closely connected with the right understanding of many ancient authors, both sacred

* Idyll. iii. 25.

† τὸν πταλαστικὸν ὄνιον ἀπὸ κρηττοῦς ἀφῆλιν,
πρὸς πυρὶ κηλόμενον, κομίζον δὲ τις ἐν πυρὶ φρεζῆν.

and profane, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity which a review of a work on Sicily affords for saying a few words upon it.

Sicily was the first in point of time, as well as the most important in point of value, of all the Roman provinces; it was the granary of the republic; and by its geographical position, its commodious harbours, and abundant supplies, was of infinite assistance to Italy in bringing to a successful issue its Carthaginian wars.* For these reasons it was manifestly the interest of Rome to attach that province as closely as possible by every means of kindness and conciliation, and she succeeded in so doing; hence whatever resources she had in Sicily, Cicero tells us, were counted on with certainty. Corn was always paid to the day—her wants were even anticipated—her laws implicitly obeyed—her tax-gatherers almost welcomed. Nor is it improbable, that the treatment of Sicily regulated in some measure the system subsequently pursued in the management of the provinces in general.

The religion, the laws, and the property of the country were *de jure* inviolate; the municipal magistrates were not changed;† private litigations between man and man were settled before native judges, unless the parties chose to appeal. In an affair between two Sicilians of different cities, judges were appointed by the prætor, or Roman governor, not through favour but by lot. All contentions between an individual and the people were submitted to the senate of some one town agreed upon by the parties after mutual challenge. In disputes between a Roman and Sicilian, where the Roman was plaintiff, a Sicilian judge was appointed; where the Sicilian was plaintiff, a Roman. For weightier matters, especially for all state-offences, assizes were annually held at particular towns convenient for the purpose—(at Lilybæum, Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse). At these assizes the prætor presided, assisted by certain officers who accompanied him from Rome, and subject to the check of a council composed of twenty persons chosen by ballot from the most respectable of the inhabitants of the district.‡ To this court, and to this only (except in the case of free cities, which had special privileges) was committed the power of life and death. In order to expedite business in these judicial circuits of the prætor, as well as for the more easy conveyance of troops and merchandise, roads were established—the Via Valeria extending from Messina to Lilybæum, whilst mention is made in the Itinerary of

* Cic. in Verr. 2.

† In medals and inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, mention is constantly made of the posts and offices, the senate, people, and decrees, of provincial towns.

‡ In Verr. 2. § 13. 45. 17. See Middleton on the Roman Senate, v. lii. p. 415.

Antonine,

Antonine, of *mansiones*, or posts, between Catania and Agrigentum. Of taxes, the heaviest levied upon this island was that upon corn, which, however, continued under the Romans precisely the same as it had been under Hiero, the most popular of the tyrants, and was regulated by the laws which he had enacted, (not without the willing acquiescence of the people,) to the minutest circumstance of valuation, time, and place of payment. The censors or tithe valuers were Sicilians, and their qualifications for the office were scrutinized with great jealousy by their countrymen who elected them. A new rate was made every fifth year, and a legal remedy applied if it was made unfairly.* So careful were the Romans to guard against the corruption of the officers in the provinces, that they were forbidden to make in them any purchase whatever; even a slave was not permitted to be bought except to fill up the place of one that was dead.† In case of abuses, from which it might be expected that delegated authority would not be always exempt, an appeal was open to a tribunal at Rome, in which the assessors of the prætor were at first of the equestrian but afterwards unfortunately of the senatorian class; where the guilty governor might be sentenced (as he often was) to exile, and a fine equalling the double of his plunder, levied upon his estate.

Nor is this all; the spirit of the Roman government was so far from aiming at the oppression of the provinces, that a remarkable delicacy is observable even in its language when applied to them: far from showing a disposition to remind the inhabitants of their subjection, it constantly addressed them under titles of confidence and friendship—from enemies they were become ‘*Socii*’—they were become ‘*Romani*’—they were placed under the guardianship, the ‘*tutela*,’ of the Roman people.‡

Of course, in all we have said, we have confined ourselves to the *policy* of Rome: that extreme violations of that policy were perpetually occurring *in fact*, we cannot for a moment deny; indeed, the very speeches which have furnished us with many of the above particulars, give but a melancholy proof of this truth. Still, however, those abuses were neither so aggravated as not to bear a favourable comparison with such as the provinces had been accustomed to experience from their own governments; nor so frequent, as, upon the whole, to render the nations averse from submitting to Rome. The republics of Sicily were incapable of preserving their own liberties, and speedily fell into the

* For these particulars see the speeches against Verres, *passim*, especially in *Verr. 2.*

† Cic. in *Verr. Orat. de Signis*, 6.

‡ See Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, v. i. p. 65. a work containing a most masterly account of the government of the Romans, both foreign and domestic.

hands

hands of tyrants, from whom they were no sooner rescued, than by others they were again enslaved. By Aristotle* we are told, that Dionysius the First contrived to possess himself of all the property of Syracuse in five years, and that having borrowed of the citizens, he gave orders that they should bring into his treasury all the money they were worth, and then discharged his debt by issuing a new coinage which passed for double its former price. So again, from an incidental remark of Cicero, (*Brut.* 75.) it appears, that the re-establishment of private property after the expulsion of the tyrants (to such spoliation had it been subject) gave rise to legal oratory in Sicily. The case was the same with Judea. After the death of Herod and the accession of Archelaus, the Jews sent an embassy to Augustus to lay before him the evils they had suffered under a king of their own. And what were those evils? precisely such as were suffered by Sicily under Verres; they had been spoiled of their property—heavy taxes had been levied, and perquisites were expected by the officers who levied them—the administration of justice was corrupt and venal—the chastity of their women was assailed—so that, to sum up all, they entreated ‘to be delivered from such a government, and be ruled by officers deputed from Syria.’† And accordingly, when this prayer had been granted, we find them still boasting (so leniently had the authority of Rome been hitherto exercised) that they ‘had never been in bondage to any man.’

In Asia Minor the same feelings subsisted. When Agrippa visited that province, the Jews of Ionia made heavy complaints before him of the oppression which they sustained from the Greeks. Their cause is pleaded by one Nicolaus, who contents himself with claiming for his clients that protection which the Roman provincial laws, if well administered, amply afforded. ‘The happiness,’ says he, ‘which the whole human race is now enjoying through you, we measure by this circumstance, that each nation is permitted to exercise its own rights’ (*οἰκεῖα*); and he concludes, ‘we ask for nothing more than that you would see we be not deprived of those privileges which yourselves have conceded to us.’—*Antiq.* lib. xvi. c. 2.

Rhodes furnishes another example of the popularity of the Roman government. In a very spirited speech addressed by the deputies of that island to the senate of Rome, given in the 37th book of Livy, we hear them praying that they may not be annexed to the kingdom of Eumenes but to Rome; ‘that so they might protect their liberties by the arms of the republic since they could not by their own.’ Gibbon, who had a correct view

* *Polit.* 5. 11.

† *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. xvii. c. 13. § 2.

of the generous relationship which subsisted between Rome and the provinces, is not so full upon this subject as its importance and interest might seem to demand. He justly observes, however, that the number of voluntary monuments erected in the latter, argued a disposition on the part of the provincials very friendly to the sovereign state. 'When Pliny was entrusted with Bithynia and Pontus, he found the cities within his jurisdiction striving with each other in every useful and ornamental work.' At Nicodemia the inhabitants were building a new forum and an aquæduct—at Nice, a gymnasium and costly theatre. These are not symptoms of an oppressed country. True it is, that Strabo (lib. vi.) speaks of the coast of Sicily from Pachynum to Lilybæum as in his time entirely deserted; and as exhibiting, with the exception of Camarina, Agrigentum, and Lilybæum, vestiges only of its once flourishing towns; but it is manifest, that he refers the causes and indeed the first epoch of this depopulation, to a period previous to the establishment of Roman power in that province; and that Winkleman is, therefore, not justified in adducing that fact in proof of the barbarising effects of Roman misrule. Indeed, allowing the constitutions of the Sicilian cities to have been so balanced as to present insurmountable obstacles to the ambition of any individual who might have aimed at subverting them, still those cities would have been (as they ever were) divided against themselves; and the country at large would have consequently suffered all the miseries of a civil war, and by its weakness have invited the aggression of every powerful neighbour. Rome, on the other hand, effectually silenced the bickerings of the rival cities, and threw around them all a protection which no enemy, however mighty, would dare to insult; and grievous indeed must the abuses of that government have been, which should more than counterbalance the blessings of a deliverance from intestine war and foreign invasion. We crave the further attention of our readers to this point, whilst we turn for a moment to that far-famed pacific speech which Agrippa delivered to the turbulent Jews, as we find it recorded in Josephus; it may serve to throw fresh light on the provincial government of the Romans. 'Admitting,' says he, 'that the agents of Rome are insufferable, still the people have done you no wrong, nor yet Cæsar, and against those it is, that you are disposed to declare war, *for no officer is sent hither by them with orders to behave ill*, nor can they possibly watch all men in their employ from the east to the west; or even hear at such a distance every thing which happens amongst us. Surely it would be absurd to quarrel with many on account of a single individual, and for a trifling grievance to oppose a people of such power, ignorant as they are of the grounds of our

our complaints. Besides, it will not be long before our wrongs will be redressed, for the same procurator does not always remain amongst us; and it is reasonable to expect that those who shall succeed him will be men of greater moderation.*

Here, in truth, was the defective part of the Roman system; the general principle of the government was wise, simple, and beneficent; but, for reasons which we could easily assign, were there room for such a digression, there was wanted at home a vigilance of inquiry into the conduct of the servants of the state at a distance; of this defect and its consequences, a very amusing proof is afforded by Cicero in his oration for Plancius; which we have less scruple in producing, as it bears more immediately upon the subject of Sicily. That great orator, whose vanity 'was at least equal to his other powers,' had been sent out as quæstor of Lilybæum; at the expiration of his office, which he flattered himself he had discharged with extraordinary merit, he returns to Italy, and lands at Puteoli, imagining, as he honestly says, that all Rome had been doing nothing but talking of his quæstorship. He comes ashore: 'Ah!' cries a friend who meets him, 'when did you leave Rome? any news?' 'I come from the provinces,' was the answer. 'From Africa, as I take it,' returned the other. 'No,' it was pettishly replied, 'from Sicily.' 'How!' said a by-stander, who affected to be more knowing—'how! are you not aware that he is quæstor of *Syracuse*?' 'On this,' adds Cicero, 'I ceased to think about what might be *heard* of me, only determining to take measures to be *seen*; so that from that moment I resolved to keep close to the Forum, and to live perpetually under the eyes of the citizens of Rome.'

We would that these abuses, partly arising from despotic and partly from delegated authority, whatever they were, had expired with the Romans; but Sicilian history, whether Roman, Saracenic, or Norman, is but a history of suffering, and well may we address that beautiful island in the feeling language of the poet,

Oh tu! cui feo la sorte
Dono infelice di bellezza, ond' hai
Funesta dote d' infiniti guai,
Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte?

Captain Smyth enters but little upon the field of Sicilian grievances; and indeed, we think his book suffers in general considerably by a fear (laudable, perhaps, in itself) of speaking out, and giving offence to parties amongst whom he has lived. We, however, have no such reasons for concealment, and the temperate notice of evil practices sometimes leads to their correction;

* Bell. Jud. 2. c. 15. § 4.

more especially as we are unwilling to think that the government can countenance them, any farther than as it may neglect to correct them, calculated as they manifestly are to diminish its credit and impair its revenue. Besides, it is a subject upon which an Englishman may at any rate be considered to speak disinterestedly; since England, at a period when the seizure of Sicily would have been a popular act (however unwarrantable) both at home and in that island, contented herself with giving it a constitution, which, unlike those extravagant systems since promulgated, would have secured authority to the king and liberty to the people; which separated the legislative, executive, and judicial powers; vesting the first in a parliament composed of lords and commons; the second in the king and his ministers; the last in independent judges; which set due limits to the prerogative, by not permitting the sovereign to take cognizance of bills in progress, or to interfere in any way with the freedom of debate or the purity of election—which endeavoured to render the peerage respectable, by making titles unalienable and strictly hereditary; and by forbidding the elevation to the peerage of such as were not already in possession of a fief to which a title had belonged, and whose annual income was not 6,000 ounces* at least—which assigned a due weight to the commons, by fixing the qualifications of members for districts (into twenty-three of which Sicily was distributed) at 300 ounces per annum; and of members for towns at half that sum; an exception being made in favour of professors of universities, whose learning was accepted in lieu of house and land; which required that the electors† should be possessed of property to the annual amount of 18 ounces, and (what was most important of all) which reserved for the commons the right of originating every tax.

Such is the outline of the short-lived constitution given to Sicily by the British; and every lover of good order and rational liberty will regret, that by its abolition room has been made for the introduction of Jeremy Bentham's wild extravagancies into that island; whose writings, in spite of the opposition of the church, were, four years ago, secretly circulated. But so it is. The *royal touch* might at once cure the patient; and when that is withheld, in comes some miserable quack and kills him. True it is, that in the actual application of that constitution to the country, all the difficulties were experienced which usually attend the working of new machinery. A debate, according to Mr. Hughes's graphic ac-

* The Sicilian ounce is equal to about 12s. 6d. English.

† The privilege of voting was extended to those who were in life-possession of a public office worth 50 ounces per annum, as well as to a consul, or master of a corporation or trade with a revenue of 9 ounces.

count,

count, was apt to exhibit all the evolutions of an ancient pancratic contest; and when an honourable member was said to be *on the floor*, the expression was to be understood in a pugilistic rather than in a parliamentary sense. Doubtless, it would have been desirable, that for a few sessions a *powerful* speaker should be chosen to fill the chair; a descendant of Eryx, if such were to be found in the island. But these lively sallies of party-spirit would soon have subsided into the regular elements of political warfare; in process of time, volventibus annis, whig and tory leaders and followers would have sprung up, and it might not have been too much to expect, that under the fostering influence of its poetical climate and classical associations, Sicily might at length have listened to the Doric accents of a Hume himself, whilst he descanted on the church or the revenue in choice Sicilian. But we must turn from this splendid vision to the contemplation of dull realities. To the great mass of any people, *the form* of their government is a matter of little comparative consequence, provided justice be administered with an even hand. In Sicily, as indeed Captain Smyth allows, it is notoriously venal, the contending parties obtaining private access to the judges, and bidding as at an auction. We have been informed of 500 ounces having been thus spent to obtain 2000. It was some time ago understood to be in contemplation of the Neapolitan government to restrain this flagrant abuse in its legal officers, by compelling them to make returns in writing of the grounds of their decisions; but we know not whether this wholesome measure has been adopted. Of criminal law the miseries are yet more grievous; the witnesses having been examined by the judges and a case against the prisoner made out, it is drawn up in form and sent to his counsel; the counsel reads the charge to the accused, and having with his assistance taken such exceptions against it as may seem fit, he returns the instrument to the court; sentence is then passed, and thus the culprit may be convicted without having been confronted with one of the parties who accuse him. Still, however, life is very rarely forfeited; but personal liberty is wholly set at nought; years may roll away before the trial comes on, and years before the sentence is consummated. That grand principle of the English Magna Charta, 'nulli differemus justitiam,' is wholly unknown. Mr. Hughes witnessed two executions at Palermo, in 1813, 'for crimes committed and condemned, the one eleven, the other fifteen years before.' The manner in which the guilty are dispatched is thus related by Captain Smyth.

'On the fatal day,' (it was in the year 1815 he witnessed this scene,) 'the prisoner, a youth who had poisoned his father, mother, and an orphan girl, was led forth by the gate of St. George, in a melancholy procession,

procession, headed by the two executioners distinguished by a party-coloured dress of red and yellow, intended to mark the degradation of the office; behind them marched the criminal in a black pitched vestment, and bareheaded, accompanied by the white brotherhood, the priests, and the officers of justice. On being assisted up the ladder, the scene was truly horrible, for one of the motley wretches sat upon the gallows; and when the assistant had leaped off with the victim, nimbly glided down the rope, and all three remained swinging together.—p. 89.

Nor is the system of combinations and monopolies against which trade has to struggle in Sicily, the least of its misfortunes; instead of leaving the various articles of produce to find their value by the relative proportion of supply and demand, the *senates* of the different districts assemble on a stated day, to fix a graduated scale of prices called the *meta*, for corn, wine, oil, &c. and to contract with the farmers for the supply of their towns. It is impossible to imagine a finer field for roguery than this; and much indeed is it to be wished, that the near relationship which heretofore subsisted between the *meta* and the *carcer* were again established. What more easy, and we fear we may add, more usual, than for the *senates* to close the ports, glut the markets, lower the price; and having struck the necessary bargains, again to permit exportation, and profit by the increased value of the article? Or, should the farmer happen to have on hand a stock of damaged wheat, what more natural than that he should be permitted to monopolise the supply of the town, in consideration of a bonus to the Senator? Or, supposing the existence of a private law, forbidding the juice of the grape to be transported into one district from another, (as was the case at Syracuse,) what more convenient, than for the senate of that place to raise the *meta* of juice to an extravagant height, and thus compel the wine-merchant to take it at such valuation, or pay a fine for permission to purchase it elsewhere? Fortunately, the rents for the most part consist of half the crop, and are paid in kind; a circumstance which, by identifying the interest (at least, in many instances) of the senate and farmer, may serve in some measure to mitigate the evils of the *meta*. This miserable process of combination and mutual impoverishment (for so it must turn out) operates through all classes. Thus, a foreigner may touch at Catania, and, going into a shop, inquire the price of almonds. The first object of the dealer will be to sift slyly into the quantity required; and if he finds it considerable, he communicates with all the almond-sellers in the town, and unites with them to extort from the unsuspecting stranger an exorbitant price.* So again, the fishmongers, taking the hint from the senate,

* Captain White (p. 365.) will see by this that the artifice which so annoyed him and his companions at Saigon, is not confined, as he innocently seems to imagine, to the natives of the eastern world.

league themselves against the wretched fishermen to deprive them of the hard-earned fruits of their toil; and the latter, being the poorer party of the two, have seldom any choice but submission. To talk of commercial confidence and good faith in such a state of things, would be an abuse of terms. It is sufficient to attend a Sicilian auction, to be convinced of the distrust which prevails between man and man. The auctioneer might be partial; the sale, therefore, is by candle; for the candle, say the Sicilians, can have no favourites. A purchaser might deny his own words, in case of a bad bargain; he is compelled, therefore, to make the bidding in writing, and sign it with his name, that there may be afterwards no room for equivocation; the banditore, meanwhile, having nothing to do but proclaim each advance in the bidding. A like want of confidence is exhibited in that silly law of the insurance offices, mentioned by Captain Smyth.

‘When small vessels are surprised on any part of the coast by fresh winds and are unable to haul up on the beach, they are anchored and abandoned; for, by an absurd regulation, Sicilian underwriters are not liable to pay any portion of the loss for a vessel stranded, if it appears a man was on board, as they assert that a person under the influence of terror might cut his cable; when, therefore, bad weather is approaching, they have only to moor with their best ground tackle and repair on shore, leaving the vessel to the mercy of the winds, waves, and saints,’ —p. 96.

The demand of the ‘caparra,’ or pledge, in every money engagement, however trifling, is only a badge of mutual distrust which Sicily wears in common with a great part of the continent. Neither does religion, as it is taught in Sicily, tend to ‘make those crooked paths straight;’ but a well endowed church, served, however, by a subaltern clergy of extreme poverty, promotes but too manifestly by its example, a system of concealment, imposture, and trick, labouring to attach the multitude to its interest by pagan mummeries, (we speak to the letter,) ready to catch at the plunder which even a conscience-struck thief may chance to elinquinsh,* and trafficking in the souls of dead men, without a blush at proclaiming the name of the individual released from pain, or the paltry sum for which it was effected.† Through abuses

* On each side the door of the cathedral at Palermo is a stone box, inscribed ‘per i mali ablati.’

† The following is a printed bull which was hanging in the church of the Madonna di Trapani, near that town, in the year 1819, and probably hangs there still.

PIUS VI.

Le pene che soffrono nel purgatorio le sante anime, per lo parere dei padri della santa chiesa, sono piu grave di quelle che han sofferto i santi martyri, e ancor maggior d’ogni humana imaginazione (cosi un di loro scrisse); *Pœna purgatorii gravior est quam quicquid unquam passi sunt sancti martyres, aut quicquid gravior homo pos-*

abuses like these it is, that infidelity is so apt to seize upon all whom superstition spares. It was probably because Ricupero lived in a country where he was expected to believe in the Virgin Mary's civil letter to the citizens of Messina, that he was induced to raise his flimsy objections against the History of Moses.

In spite, however, of a system alike unfriendly to the morals and to the resources of Sicily, it exhibits less appearance of a misgoverned country in its surface, at least, and we will even add, in its people, than, under all the circumstances, might be expected. We are told, that of old, 'when a king of Naples inclosed the gardens of Onofria, where the best manna in Calabria descends, no man might gather it without paying tribute, the manna ceased till the tribute was taken off, and then came again;' and that 'in Epirus, when Lysimachus laid an impost upon Tragasæan salt, it vanished till he left it free.' Political economists would not think these events altogether miraculous. Still, however, the natural causes which might have brought them about, do not affect Sicily so deeply as might be imagined. 'Thy glory,' says Ulysses to Penelope, when he compliments her upon the wisdom of her government, 'thy glory is great as that of a king who rules a numerous and gallant race of men, with equity; whose territory produces wheat and barley; whose trees are laden with fruit; whose sheep bring forth thousands; and whose sea teems with fish.*' With fish the Sicilian seas still teem: upwards of two hundred species are enumerated by Captain Smyth, of which the most remarkable are the scomber-thynnus, or thunny; the xiphias-gladius, or sword-fish; the mugil-cephalus, or mullet; and the anchovy. Nor are the fruits of the earth less abundant: 'the usual produce of wheat is from ten to sixteen fold, and in most favourable years twenty-eight;' and trains of mules are often met moving in picturesque cavalcade to the various caricatori on the coast, laden with the surplus grain for exportation.

'Of grapes there are nineteen different species, the most esteemed of which are the zibebbo, the carniola, the greek, the muscatel, the canicula, the dry and the winter grape.' The wine trade, however, is chiefly in the hands of British merchants, whose capital enables them to traffic to great advantage with the needy

sit excogitare! Ecciti la vostra compassione questa verità, o Christiani, alleggerire i gravi tormenti di quelle anime penanti colle vostre buone opere; e giacchè in loro prò il Padre ha concesso questa santa bolla, non trascurate di contribuire per questa importante opera da tanto loro vantaggio. Ed a voi N. M. che avete dato due reali d'argento limosina stabilita da noi Alfonso Airoldi arcivescovo d' Eraclea, commissario generale apostolico della S. S. Convocata in questo regno di Sicilia, &c. per l' anima di Alberto Mariando, ed avete ricevuto questa santa bolla, si conferma la sopradetta indulgenza. Data in Palermo, Luglio, 1803.

* Od. xix. 114.

proprietors, ready in general to forestal a future crop for a present supply—and whose gains, we will add, whatever they are, are abundantly graced by the friendly manner in which the traveller is received and entertained under their hospitable roofs. 'The currant vine is cultivated in the islands of Lipari, nearly in the same manner as the grape, and the fruit is gathered toward the latter end of August, when it is exposed to the sun for seven or eight days, sprinkled with a lie that absorbs the acidity, and is then packed up for exportation.'

The olive grows in great plenty, 'and much common oil is made in all parts of the island;' but the fruit being often left to be blown from the tree by a strong wind, instead of being plucked at the seasonable moment; often again suffered to ferment before the juice is extracted; and the baskets in which it is inclosed when placed under the strettojo or press, not being annually changed, the oil is apt to prove pungent and rancid.

The figs, which are delicious when fresh, are prevented from taking their place in the market through similar neglect, and, after undergoing the usual process of drying, are commonly found tough and dirty.

The almond, requiring less attention, is more successfully cultivated. Orange and lemon trees cover the valleys with their golden harvest, 'Hesperian fables true.' Manna is derived from the northern parts of Sicily in considerable quantities. 'In July and August horizontal incisions are made in the bark of the *fraxinus ornus*, from whence a frothy, glutinous, light-coloured liquor exudes, and is received on the leaves of the dry prickly pear, (the most useful of Sicilian plants,) where, by the warmth of the sun, it quickly condenses into a stalactitic mass,' is then taken to the stores in baskets, and packed in boxes for foreign sale.

Sicily also supplies considerable quantities of liquorice. 'The roots of the plant (*glycyrrhiza glabra*) are cut into slips and bruised; then thrown into a cauldron and boiled for several hours to soften and moisten them; they are afterwards placed on a strainer through which the juice trickles into a trough: this liquor is again boiled till it condenses to a thick black paste, when it is packed up in bay-leaves for exportation.'

Pistacio nuts, saffron and sumach are also grown for foreign markets; and Sicily derives still greater profit from that vegetable salt, the *barilla*. The *salsola-kali*, having been sown in February or March, is cut in October; it is then 'placed in convenient heaps on grates over cavities, where, when dry or nearly so, it is set on fire, and the lixivious ashes falling through and adhering together, are taken out in as large lumps as possible;' the smaller pieces and the dust are of less value.

The

The present population of Sicily, Captain Smyth estimates, after patient inquiry and access to public returns, at about 1,800,000; and finds that, since the year 1812, it has been rapidly increasing. Still what a falling off is here! Dionysius, we are informed, induced 60,000 citizens of Syracuse to assist him in constructing the walls of Epipolæ: now supposing him to have taken one out of each family, and each family to have consisted of four members, the amount would have been 300,000; 'and whoever is acquainted with the manners and customs of antiquity,' says Mr. Hughes, 'as described by the best historians, will not think it too much if he quadruple the number, to comprise all the sojourners and slaves residing within the walls.' This calculation, however, rests upon the accuracy of a fact recorded by Diodorus, long after it was said to have occurred; and is scarcely to be reconciled with the more sober statement of Thucydides, that 'Syracuse was a city not less than Athens.'

A word on the *character* of the modern Sicilian, (to complete our range through those points by which Ulysses distinguishes a prosperous state,)—it will be found to be the natural result of the circumstances in which he is placed. A Sicilian is more apt to defend himself by cunning than courage, and is so dependent on the help of others that he knows not how to trust to himself: he calls on Jupiter when he ought to put his shoulder to the wheel, and sheds tears when he should show spirit. He yields to difficulties which he might readily conquer, and is guided by accidents which he might himself controul. He makes splendid professions when he trusts their sincerity will not be tried—and is at once mean and ostentatious. His house is a palace, himself an excellency, his errand-boy an ambassador: and yet his palace-windows may be without glass; his excellency without a whole coat; and his boy without a dinner, unless he steals it. He is prodigiously ceremonious, and listens to a king's proclamation about an order—the riband—the St. George 'trafigendo un dragone enorme'—with as much gravity as he would attend to a declaration of war. He is ignorant, not from want of capacity, which is quick and lively, but from sheer indolence; if he is a peasant, unable to tell you the name of the river that glides past him, or the flower that he treads on every day—if a noble, at a loss, perhaps, whether England or France lie south or north of him—if a man of letters, possessed perhaps of half a dozen broken pipkins, of which he has got up an explanation to enlighten or amaze the traveller, and enamoured of some unintelligible coin that indicates nothing.* He has

* The subject of the architectural antiquities of Sicily, we are glad to find, is likely to receive some new lights from the labours of Mr. Angell and Mr. Harris, (the latter gentleman

has little regard for truth, as might be supposed, when in his religion he sees falsehood consecrated; and when, from the absence of commerce, he is not taught by self-interest that truth is profitable. It has been observed by a great moralist that there are 'few ways of spending time more innocently than in gaining money,' and we apprehend, it will be ever found that where there is much merchandize there will be strict veracity. He naturally gambles and intrigues for mere lack of employment; tables of hazard supplying to the upper classes that excitement which honourable ambition affords elsewhere; and lotteries and morra furnishing occupation to those who ought to be busied with the lathe or the loom. Such is the Sicilian; the creature of evil times—and yet there are some brighter traits in his character too. He ardently loves his country, and is grateful to those whom he reckons its benefactors. His feelings are warm, often venting themselves in expressions of great natural eloquence, and always accompanied by gestures the most striking and significant. He is sprightly and sociable—loves a procession and a raree-show—and forgets all his grievances in the sweet delirium of a Saint's day or a Carnival. Though left pretty much to do what seemeth good in his own sight, provided always he reverence the government and church, he seldom

gentleman unfortunately since dead,) who, in the spring of 1823, acting upon a hint of Sir W. Gell, excavated a few feet about the ruins of the far-famed Temples of Selinunte, and made some discoveries of cornices and sculptured metopes, which they were presented however from prosecuting by the intervention (*pro singulari sua humanitate*, Bentley would have said) of the Sicilian government. To their examination of the opposite hill, which had hitherto almost escaped notice, the like impediments do not seem to have been offered, probably because the search was considered fruitless. Here, however, they ascertained the site and proportions of three other temples, and dug up many metopes sculptured in high relief, of a date perhaps half a century antecedent to part of the *Ægina* marbles, and at least a century and a half before any application of sculptures to metopes (hitherto supposed the first) in the Temple of Theseus. We have seen the following description of one of these pieces. 'The subject,' says Mr. Angell, 'is the death of Medusa and the birth of Pegasus. Perseus, supported by the presence of Minerva, and armed with the helmet of Pluto and adamant sword of Mercury, with his left hand on the crown of the head of Medusa, his look averted from the object of his horror, forces her on one knee; while with his right hand, directed by the goddess, he thrusts the point of the sword into the throat of the Gorgon. The new-born Pegasus, a winged foal, springs immediately from her blood; Medusa with solicitude clasps him with her left arm and presses him to her side. The Gorgon herself is a horrid figure, above the human size; her breasts loose and hanging; her "iron hands" shapeless; her large round head and face rise from her shoulders without neck; all her features are monstrous; her projecting ears are close to the eyes, which are large, staring, and painted red; her nose is flat and spreading; and her mouth, extending the whole width of the face, is armed on each side with two immense tusks, between which the protruded tongue hangs over the chin. Her hair is in abundance and flows down in front over the shoulders, without any indication of its change into serpents, but seeming rather to express, in its luxuriant beauty, the charm by which she enchanted her admirers before her metamorphosis.

'The ægis and drapery of Minerva are painted, as are the girdle and drapery round the waist of Perseus: the eyes and eye-brows of all the figures are also painted.'

commits

commits acts of great atrocity, and rarely sheds blood except in moments of ungovernable passion.

But we must proceed—we have already hinted at the *sober views* which Captain Smyth gives us of this island of fiction.

Scylla. 'As the breadth across this celebrated strait has been so often disputed, I particularly state that the Faro tower is exactly 6047 English yards from that classical bug-bear the rock of Scylla;' (Homer says an arrow's flight,) 'which by poetical fiction has been depicted in such terrific colours. But the flight of poetry can seldom bear to be shackled by homely truth; and if we are to receive the fine imagery that places the summit of this rock in clouds brooding (over) eternal mists and tempests; that represents it as inaccessible to a man provided with twenty hands and twenty feet; and immerses its base among ravenous sea-dogs; why not also receive the whole circle of mythological dog-mas of Homer, who, though so frequently dragged forth as an authority in history, theology, surgery, and geography, ought in justice to be read only as a poet. In the writings of so exquisite a bard we must not expect to find all his representations chiefly confined to a mere accurate narration of facts. Moderns of intelligence in visiting this spot, have gratified their imaginations, already heated by such descriptions as the escape of the Argonauts and the disasters of Ulysses, with fancying it the scourge of seamen, and that in a gale its "caverns roar like dogs," but I, as a sailor, never perceived any difference between the surges here and on any other coast, yet I have frequently watched it close in bad weather. It is now, as I presume it ever was, a common rock of bold approach, a little worn at its base, (and surmounted by a castle,) with a sandy bay on each side.'—p. 107.

There, Homer! 'Mark how a plain tale sets you down!'

Charybdis. We suppose a greater number of serious charges was never preferred against any luckless whirlpool, than against this. Let Captain Smyth be again heard, whose authority upon a point of Mediterranean hydrography, we scruple not to say, is at least equal to that of Ulysses.

'Outside the tongue of land, or Braccio di S. Rainiere, that forms the harbour of Messina, lies the galosaro or celebrated vortex of Charybdis, which has, with more reason than Scylla, been clothed with terrors by the writers of antiquity. To the undecked boats of the Rhegians, Locrians, Zancleans, and Greeks, it must have been formidable; for even in the present day, small-craft are sometimes endangered by it, and I have seen several men of war and even a 74 gun-ship whirled round on its surface; but by using due caution, there is generally very little danger or inconvenience to be apprehended. It appears to be an agitated water, of from seventy to ninety fathoms in depth, circling in quick eddies. 'It is owing probably to the meeting of the harbour and lateral currents with the main one, the latter being forced over in this direction by the opposite point of Pezzo. This agrees in some measure with the relation of Thucydides, who calls it a violent reciprocation of the Tyrrhene and Sicilian seas, and he is the only writer of remote antiquity

antiquity that I remember to have read, who has assigned this danger its true situation, and not exaggerated its effects. Many wonderful stories are told respecting this vortex, particularly some said to have been related by the celebrated diver Colas, who lost his life here. I have never found reason, however, during my examination of this spot, to believe any of them.'—p. 124.

Etna. The altitude of this 'pillar of heaven and eternal nurse of snows,' Captain Smyth estimates at 10,874 feet, which gives about 150 miles for the radius of vision. The present crater, which has been stated, absurdly enough, on the authority of Pliny, to be twenty stadia or two miles and a half in circumference, (and by some travellers to be nearer four,) our author describes as 'an oval, stretching from E. and by N. to W. and by S., with a conjugate diameter of 493 yards; the transverse he was prevented from ascertaining by a dense cloud that arose before his operations were completed.'

The following is an account of its interior :

'From the edge of the crater, the interior, through successive strata of volcanic substances, is incrustated with various coloured efflorescences of ammonia, sulphur, and martial vitriolic salts, to the depth of about a hundred yards on the east, but considerably less on the west side. The efflorescences of a beautiful orange yellow are the most predominant. The bottom of the crater is plain, and tolerably hard, though, from being composed of loose cinders, the feet sink in some places; near the centre, are two mounds of scorix and ashes, each with a large aperture at the summit, and several fissures around, from whence, at intervals, issue volumes of thick smoke, with a rumbling noise and hissing sound. There is, also, a light thin vapour, occasionally oozing from the bottom and sides of the huge amphitheatre in every direction. I endeavoured to look into the principal chasm, but the rapid ejection of the cinders, and the strong sulphureous vapours that exuded, prevented me from attaining my object; and, indeed, I could not but feel apprehensive that a nearer approach, where the footing was so frail, might prove too hazardous; besides which, the heat and smoke had increased to such a degree, that it was high time to regain the summit.'

Captain Smyth accordingly ascends, and makes some remarks on the exterior of the cone.

'When on a sudden the ground trembled under our feet, a harsh rumbling with sonorous thunder was heard, and volumes of heavy smoke rolled over the side of the crater, while a lighter one ascended vertically, with the electric fluid escaping from it in frequent flashes in every direction. The shortness of the time that had elapsed since I was in the crater, rendered me thankful for so providential an escape; but even from the spot on which we stood it was necessary to remove with the utmost expedition, and before we could effect our retreat, we were overtaken by a disagreeable, cold, humid cloud that annoyed and retarded our progress.'—p. 152.

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We will here correct Captain Smyth upon one point in which he errs with almost every traveller in Sicily, and indeed with the Sicilians themselves. He seems to consider (p. 149.) that the ascent of *Ætna* is not practicable in winter. In defiance of the difficulties started by the people of Catania and repeated by the Nicolosi guide, we gained the summit of *Ætna* on the 27th January, 1819.* That it is a work of severe labour at such a season cannot be denied, the snow extending ten or twelve miles down the mountain, and mules being consequently so far useless. But the labour is not such as need deter a stout pedestrian from undertaking it; and splendid indeed is the reward which awaits him when he seems to descry at once from that proud pinnacle 'all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them.'

'Such is the nature of the climate at Syracuse,' says Cicero, (who would fain insinuate that Verres had changed it for the worse,) 'that there is no day in the year, wherein the sun is not visible at one time or other.' For the truth of all this, every classical traveller could vouch; and, of course, be prepared to deny all pretensions in scholarship to a plain man who might assure them that he had been very wet or very cold in Italy or Sicily. The thing is manifestly impossible—there is an innubilis æther over both these countries! What, however, says Captain Smyth? 'In the year 1814, there were one hundred and twenty-one overcast and cloudy days, on eighty-three of which rain fell—thirty-six misty days—and one hundred and fifty-nine fine bright days.'—p. 4. 'To count,' observes Johnson, 'is a modern practice; the ancient method was to guess, and when numbers are guessed, they are always augmented.'

The last chapter of the present volume is occupied with an account of the *Æolian* or *Lipari* islands; scenes which, owing to the untoward circumstances usually attending sea-voyages, have seldom been visited; but which Captain Smyth had every facility for exploring, and of which he gives a very minute and pleasing description. Nearly all these islands are inhabited; (*Lipari*, the largest, containing upwards of 12,000 souls;) and the

* We have stated this fact for the benefit of future travellers in Sicily, whose wanderings may fall out in the winter months. If they wish in earnest to ascend *Ætna*, we charge them not to be discomposed by the 'è impossibile, Signori,' of every Sicilian they may meet; and we further advise them to signify to their guide that they shall graduate his pay by the altitude to which he leads them. With these provisos, we venture to predict, that they will reach the summit. It is singular enough, that it was on the 28th of January that Swinburne relinquished all thoughts of gaining the summit, in compliance with the idle counsel of his conductor. Possibly when the spring is further advanced, and the snow is beginning to melt, the ascent may not be feasible; in January the surface of the snow is hard, (at least early in the morning) and will support the foot.

smaller

smaller ones appear to be chiefly governed by the moral influence of popular and patriarchal priests. In Lampedusa, it seems, a Mr. Fernandez, an English gentleman, settled ten or twelve years ago, on a commercial speculation; and when Captain Smyth last visited the island he 'found his family living in almost deserted solitude, without the slightest protection from rovers, or, what is worse, from infected vessels putting in there, which has ever been a common practice.' The other inhabitants were twelve or fourteen Maltese peasants scattered about in different caves. What strange beings are Englishmen! We should have imagined, had the supposition been consistent with the date of Mr. Fernandez' exile, that he might be some good whig, who had withdrawn from the impolicy and misery of his country, to take refuge under the genial shadow of a Neapolitan monarchy, and judge for himself how grievously 'our Bohemia differs from your Sicilia.' This, however, does not appear.

These islands are in general cultivated with care, and yield grapes, currants, figs, prickly pears, cotton, olives and pulse; while, at the same time, they carry on a considerable trade in bitumen, pumice, nitre, pozzolana, cinabar, coral and fish.

Stromboli is the only one still active as a volcano—volcano, properly so called, which threw up flames, smoke, and red-hot stones when D'Orville visited it in the seventeenth century, now only emitting sulphureous and heated vapour from a crater a mile and a quarter in circumference, and nearly a quarter of a mile deep.

'The crater of Stromboli,' says Captain Smyth, who climbed to a summit which commanded a view of it, and there waited the approach of night, 'is about one-third of the way down the side of the mountain, and is continually burning, with frequent explosions and a constant ejection of fiery matter—it is of a circular form and about 170 yards in diameter, with a yellow efflorescence adhering to its sides as to those of *Ætna*. When the smoke cleared away, we perceived an undulating ignited substance which at short intervals rose and fell in great agitation, and when swollen to the utmost height burst with a violent explosion, and a discharge of red-hot stones in a semi-fluid state, accompanied with showers of ashes and sand, and a strong sulphureous smell. The masses are usually thrown up from the height of sixty or seventy to three hundred feet; but some, the descent of which I computed to occupy from nine to twelve seconds, must have ascended above a thousand. In the moderate ejections the stones in their ascent gradually diverged, like a grand pyrotechnical exhibition, and fell into the abyss again, except on the side next the sea, where they rolled down in quick succession, after bounding from the declivity to a considerable distance in the water; a few fell near us, into which, while in a fluid state, we thrust small pieces of money as memorials for friends.'

friends. I enjoyed this superb sight till near ten o'clock, and as it was uncommonly dark, our situation was the more dreadful and grand: for every explosion showed the abrupt precipice beneath, and the foam of the furious waves beating against the rocks, so far below us as to be unheard; while the detonations of the volcano shook the very ground we sat on. At length the night getting very cold I determined to descend; . . . and in about an hour we entered the cottage of one of my guides, the hospitable Saverio.'—p. 256.

This part of the work is the most novel, and therefore the most agreeable of the whole; but we cannot afford room for longer extracts, more especially as Captain Smyth (which our readers will by this time have discovered) is somewhat wordy; we shall conclude therefore with saying, that to officers on the Sicilian station we doubt not the present Memoir will be of very considerable value; as independently of the close description afforded in the course of the narrative, of the entire coast of Sicily, its rocks, shallows, soundings, creeks and caricatori, it contains an Appendix of more than forty pages, embracing bearings and other particulars of practical importance to navigators of those seas—whilst the height of the principal mountains, now ascertained for the first time—the population of every town and village given in a statistical table on the best authorities—the comparative salubrity of each—the commerce of the most considerable—the produce of the districts bordering on the coasts, and the general resources of the island, are so many topics of common interest, and are handled in the present work by one from whose science and opportunities, if more might reasonably have been expected, something has unquestionably been added to the stock of useful knowledge. Nor may it be out of place to mention, that admirers of the fine arts will be gratified by several very spirited engravings, (the plates by Daniell) which adorn this volume. For such *classical* recollections, as a tour in Sicily is calculated to awake, we certainly can refer our friends with greater satisfaction, to that part of Mr. Hughes's first volume of Travels, which treats upon Sicily. But whilst we admit the superior scholarship of one who is a scholar by 'vocation,' we bear testimony with unfeigned pleasure to the respectable share of ancient lore here exhibited by a member of a profession which opposes many and serious obstacles to its attainment;—by one, who must have pursued literature out of pure love for it, not in learned leisure or 'under the shelter of academic bowers,' but at intervals and in active life,

inter arma,
Sive jactatam religarat udo
Littore navim.

ART.

- ART. VI.—1. *An Act for Consolidating and Amending the Laws relating to the Building, Repairing, and Regulating of Certain Gaols and Houses of Correction in England and Wales.* 4 G. IV. c. 64. 10th July, 1823.
2. *First, Second, and Third Reports from the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses.*
3. *Report from the Committee on the State of the Gaols of the City of London, &c.*
4. *First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Reports of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline.*
5. *Roscoe on Penal Jurisprudence.* London. 1819.
6. *Roscoe's Additional Observations on Penal Jurisprudence, &c.* London. 1823.
7. *Speech of G. Holford, Esq. on the Motion made by him in the House of Commons, June, 1814, for Leave to bring in a Bill for the better Management of the Prisons belonging to the City of London.*
- Speech of G. Holford, Esq. in the House of Commons, June 22d, 1815, on the Bill to amend the Laws relative to the Transportation of Offenders, containing Provisions respecting the Confinement of Offenders in the Hulks.*
- Speech of G. Holford, Esq. in Support of an Amendment, to withhold from the Visiting Justices of Prisons the Power of authorizing the Employment without their own Consent of Prisoners committed for Trial.* London. 1824.
- Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons of this Country, &c.* By G. Holford, Esq. M.P. London. 1821.
- A Short Vindication of the General Penitentiary at Millbank, &c.* By G. Holford, Esq. M.P. London. 1822.
8. *An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present System of Prison Discipline.* By T. F. Buxton, Esq. M.P. London. 1818.
9. *Correspondence on Prison Labour.* By Sir J. C. Hippenesley. London. 1823.
10. *Thoughts on Prison Labour, &c. &c.* By a Student of the Inner Temple. London. 1824.
11. *Rules and Regulations of the General Penitentiary, Millbank.* 1822.
12. *Report on the Penitentiary at Millbank.* 1823.

WE have placed at the head of our paper rather a long list of documents and publications of different dates, and very unequal importance, but all relating more or less intimately to a great subject,

subject, which has for many years occupied the serious attention of the legislature, and which is well worthy of the consideration of every thinking and well disposed man. Prison discipline, indeed, like the criminal law, is a matter of universal interest; and what Blackstone, borrowing from Foster, has said of the latter, is equally true, perhaps more strikingly true, of the former; 'no rank or elevation in life, no uprightness of heart, no prudence or circumspection of conduct should tempt a man to conclude that he may not at some time or other be deeply interested in these researches. The infirmities of the best among us, the vices and ungovernable passions of others, the instability of all human affairs, and the numberless unforeseen events which the compass of a day may bring forth,' should prevent any one from being secure that he himself, or those in whom he is most deeply concerned, may not at some period or other become the inmates of a prison, and subject to its regulations. This is a motive which all may feel; but no reflecting man needs any thing so painful to excite his interest in the question; for the rapid increase of population, and the pressure of the demand for employment on the one hand, with the vast accumulation and exposure of wealth, and the progress of luxury and civilization on the other, have unavoidably so multiplied criminals, that the proper disposal of them is become one of the most serious problems in our legislation. The far larger proportion of these unhappy beings must expiate their offences in prison; while they remain there, the expense which they entail on the community, is enormous, and if they are discharged unreformed or unimpressed, the case of society seems hopeless under so great and spreading an evil.

We do not at present propose any thing more than a cursory review of this momentous subject, many parts of which can only be properly discussed at a length which our narrow limits preclude; but we are desirous to lay down a few principles, and to state as succinctly as we can what has been done, and what is doing in this country to provide against the evil.

The law of England from the earliest times has recognized three classes of persons at the least, as liable to imprisonment, the debtor, the accused criminal, and the convict. It is obvious that the imprisonment of each of these proceeds on different principles—we imprison him, whom we suspect of a crime, *solely* to secure his appearance at the day of trial: as the law most wisely and justly presumes him, although suspected, to be really innocent, this imprisonment must always carry with it some appearance of harshness, and be considered justifiable only through necessity; and the law accordingly never has recourse to it where any adequate substitute can be provided; even in cases of the most direct charge,
and

and under the imputation of the heaviest crimes, it lodges a power with its highest officers of estimating and accepting such substitute.* We imprison the convict for punishment; and the debtor in execution partly for punishment of the fraud which he is presumed or proved to have committed on his creditor, and partly as a mode of compelling him to produce or render available for the discharge of his debts that property which cannot be directly reached.

Though, however, the objects which the law has in view, in these three cases of imprisonment, are thus various, and though the duties which are incurred in consequence toward the unhappy subjects of it, will naturally have proportionate varieties, yet in some respects they will be entirely the same; certain things are proper, certain things necessary in every prison, and for every prisoner.

In the first place a main requisite is security; an insecure prison is a solecism in terms; on this point it would not be necessary to say a word, if all people were as well agreed in respect of the means as of the end. The ancient practice certainly was to rely more upon fetters and manacles, than the walls of the prison or the vigilance of the gaoler; the Prison Bill enacts that 'no prisoner shall be put in irons by the keeper of any prison except in cases of urgent and absolute necessity, and the particulars of every such case shall be forthwith entered in the keeper's journal, and notice forthwith given thereof to one of the visiting justices; and the keeper shall not continue the use of irons on any prisoner longer than four days, without an order in writing from a visiting justice specifying the cause thereof.'—s. x. Reg. 12. No one can doubt the propriety of such a regulation—we are satisfied that fettering the debtor or the accused criminal as a matter of course was always illegal; how far it stood within the protection of the law in the case of the convict seems to us not so clear. The common argument, that it is unlawful to exceed the terms of a sentence, and that a sentence of imprisonment says nothing of fetters, proves nothing; the sentence says nothing of many other prison privations, the legality of which cannot be doubted; it is general in its terms, and includes every circumstance which goes to make up the idea of legal imprisonment, so that the question always comes round to what is legal imprisonment. Waiving however a legal discussion which the statute just cited renders unnecessary, we agree with the warmest opposers of the practice that it was always inexpedient to iron even the convict, unless his own refractoriness made it neces-

* 'It is agreed that the Court of King's Bench, or any judge thereof in time of vacation, may bail for any crime whatsoever, be it treason, murder, or any other offence, according to the circumstances of the case.'—4 *Black. Com.* p. 299.

shary as a punishment, or his desperation as a safeguard. Observation too will warrant us in going a step farther and expressing an opinion, that the frequent necessity for the use of fetters almost amounts to proof of some mismanagement in the prison in which it shall exist. It is not the least merit in the Prison Bill, that by the restrictions imposed on the use of them, greater care and more skilful management become necessary on the part of governors of prisons to supply their place.

The next thing is one which every prisoner under any circumstances has a right to require at the hands of the country, a prison healthy and clean; it can never be contended that it forms by implication any part even of the punishment of the convict that his health is to be injured, or his body polluted by filth; much less can the debtor, or the accused criminal, persons not unfrequently more unfortunate than culpable, be exposed with any justice to such aggravations of imprisonment.

Air and exercise, food and clothes such as are necessary for the sustentation of health, together with medicine and attendance when sick, stand upon the same principle; except in that short and awful interval which precedes execution, and which is spent in preparation for it, there can be no time or circumstance under which any prisoner may not demand all those things which are ordinarily necessary for the preservation of life. We are aware that in some of these last particulars, we may be thought to push the claims of the prisoner farther than justice requires; there are those who deny in the whole any claim of right which he can set up to food, clothing or lodging, and others who, admitting the abstract right, would yet practically reduce the quantity and quality below the scale implied in our preceding remarks. Not many years have passed since the regulations of many prisons corresponded with these opinions; either no regular allowance was made of food, clothing, fuel or bedding, or an allowance confessedly inadequate to preserve a healthy state of being. It is unnecessary now, and would therefore be invidious to produce from the evidence before Parliamentary Committees, or from other authentic sources, proof of practices in this respect as irreconcilable with all true notions of prison government, as with humanity and justice. The law, for the sake of the public, withdraws an individual from society, and deprives him of the ordinary means of procuring the necessities of life; can the law suffer him to perish with cold, rot in filth, or starve with hunger? It is idle to say that he may pursue his own trade or any trade in prison; he may have been a labourer in husbandry, his craft may be one which he cannot exercise in a prison, or it may be of a nature, which is necessarily prohibited within the walls, or he may be unable to find a market for what he produces—unless
therefore

therefore it be legal to starve him, he must be fed and clothed. With respect to the quantity or quality of the supplies, health can be the only general criterion; nothing is to be allowed to fancy on the one hand, nor to an unfeeling and unwise parsimony on the other. It is especially fallacious to regulate these articles by any comparison with the condition of other persons in other places, and under other circumstances. The specious topic of declamation against prison dietaries, that honest people fare worse than convicted criminals, has more than once been noticed and received its proper answer in the sensible pamphlets of Mr. Holford, which stand at the head of this paper.

‘There are, (says he) I fear, numbers of persons in this country who wear clothes which are insufficient to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, or who are lodged in close and ill-ventilated apartments, or who inhabit damp and unwholesome situations, or are employed at noxious trades, or work at unseasonable hours, or are subject to other hardships or privations of the like nature; but I have never heard it contended that these evils, from which it is not in our power to relieve other classes of the community, are on that account to be imposed upon prisoners. The food of persons confined for offences in a prison, as well as their clothing, lodging and employment, must be regulated with a due regard to their health, (it not being intended to inflict sickness or disease as a part of their punishment,) and the dietary of a prison ~~is~~ comes therefore a *medical question* connected with the circumstances of their particular situation, and not a question of comparison between them and persons in other places or conditions of life.’—*Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons of this Country, &c.* 51

It is a more difficult question, whether, in particular instances, the introduction of more generous food or greater comforts should be allowed according to other considerations than those of health; in other words, whether the ability of the party to purchase, or his industry and good behaviour should procure him luxuries denied to his fellow-prisoners in general. There is long practice, and high authority in favour of the affirmative; with regard to debtors, it is, we believe, universally allowed to them to procure from without any food or liquor, subject only to certain prohibitions and regulations; and as to prisoners who labour, it has long been the custom, in some of our best regulated prisons, to stimulate industry by allowing a portion of the profits earned by the prisoner to be spent by him in this way. This, according to the First Report of the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses, was the practice of the Southwell House of Correction;† and Mr. Buxton states that of the Bury Jail in the following words:

* The same argument is pursued by the same author, in the *Short Viatication of the General Penitentiary at Millbank, &c.* p. 6.

† See Rev. J. T. Becher's Evidence, p. 33.

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‘That part of the money which is received in prison may be thus expended. One of the porters goes round twice a week, and writes down those things which the prisoners wish to purchase. This list, sometimes amounting to 200 articles, is submitted to the governor, who puts his pen through those which he deems improper. He then orders the others, and the prisoners receive them at cost price, and have weights, scales and measures to satisfy them as to the quantity.’—*Inquiry*, &c. p. 81.

On the other hand, by the regulations of the Penitentiary House at Gloucester, as established by Sir George Paul, ‘the prisoners did not become entitled to any portion of their earnings; nor did their daily fare depend in any degree on the quantity of work which they respectively performed: they lived by a fixed dietary, from which beer and all fermented liquors were excluded.’ It was his opinion, and he was no slight authority on such a subject, that to give a portion of their earnings to prisoners, or better food in case of their labouring, was not productive of any benefit to them. *First Report*, pp. 17. 25.

The Prison Bill steers a middle course, allowing the introduction of food, not extravagant or luxurious, to debtors, or accused criminals, who receive no allowance from the county; and prohibiting it in the case of convicts, except under the permission of the visiting justices, or the regulations of the quarter-sessions.—s. x. reg. 14 and 15.

There can be no doubt that, by a system such as that of the Bury Jail, a more active industry may be produced among certain prisoners than they might otherwise be induced to exert; but we are satisfied that this must often be purchased by more than commensurate sacrifices. In the first place, it is impossible to confine this indirect species of reward to mere industry or orderly behaviour, as the indulgence must be regulated in a great measure by the amount of the earnings; and, supposing an equal inclination to labour in any two individuals, yet if one has more skill than the other, or has had the good fortune to learn a more lucrative trade, or if the other has learned only a trade which he cannot or may not practise within the walls of a prison, the comforts of the two, with equal merit, will become decidedly unequal. Mr. Holford, in the pamphlet before cited, asserts ‘that the prisoners whose labour is most productive in the Penitentiary at Millbank, are not those whose behaviour entitles them to most consideration, or of whose eventual restoration with credit to society the chaplain entertains the most favourable expectation.’ p. 53. It is obvious, indeed, that a system of this sort must be unfavourable in many respects to the reformation of the prisoners; its tendency being to confirm in the habit of looking to immediate self-indulgence as the

motive for action, men who have already found that motive too strong for their prudence or their conscience.

Such a system seems to us to be founded upon a short-sighted and mistaken view of the object of imprisonment; its advocates cannot be better represented than by Mr. Buxton, who says all that can be said for it in the ardent and ingenious manner which characterizes his work. He concludes thus: 'if the prisoner wishes for meat or any other indulgence, let him purchase it. Let superior food be the *direct* consequence of superior exertion. I must repeat, that I am much deceived if a man will not work more cheerfully and more industriously if he finds the product of his morning's labour in his dinner and in his supper, than if he waits five years for it.' p. 125. The excellent Howard found one great evil of our prisons to be a total want of employment, and he described in very fascinating colours the appearance which those presented in which the prisoners were fully employed. Undoubtedly a salutary change was produced—the giving all prisoners an opportunity of working, and compelling some to work, were among the most efficient causes of the great improvement which has taken place in our prisons; but it is to mistake the means for the end, when prisons are estimated by the cheerful activity of the labourers, and the quantity of productive labour within their walls. A prison ought to be a place of terror to those without, of punishment to those within; let us reform criminals if we can—it is a great and glorious object, uncertain in the result, but imperative in the obligation. Punishment, however, is certain; and it is one mode of punishment, severely felt by those who have led a life of self-indulgence, but unattended with any cruelty, to tie them down to a coarse, uniform diet.

Two exceptions may here be urged: we may be asked whether we would extend the rule to persons of the higher ranks of life, and convicted of offences such as libel, provocations to duels, &c., which ordinarily are understood to carry with them less of moral turpitude. We confess that we can see no reason for not carrying the rule so far; the health of the party must of course always be the first object, and it would be for the medical attendant to see that no change of habit was made so violent in its nature as to affect it; but rank or education ought not to lighten punishment; if they make the feelings more susceptible to an equal infliction, it must be remembered also that the moral restraint and social obligation were stronger, and that the violation of them merits a severer suffering.

The case of debtors also may be pressed on us; but, health being secured, we cannot say that there appears to us any injustice in subjecting them also to the mortification of their appetite. Every debtor

debtor in execution either can or cannot pay his creditor; if he can, and will not, preferring to spend in self-indulgence the substance which in truth belongs to his creditor rather than to himself, it is well that he should be prevented from gratifying so unjust a desire; if he cannot, then he is supposed to be in a state of destitution, and the prison allowance must be a desirable relief to him.

Waiving therefore many minor, yet important considerations, such as the difficulty of preserving uniform discipline, or, consistent details in a prison, in which the prisoners are allowed a different scale of diet, varying according to their own fancies, we come to these conclusions—that all have a right to be fed, and that all should be confined to the same prison allowance, qualifying the rule in individual cases according to the directions of the medical officer of the prison; and, if any other variation be allowed, we should prefer the indulgence being granted as the reward of orderly behaviour, to the regulating it by the amount of the prisoner's earning.

It is time to pass on;—the prisoner, of whatever description, has further claims to be protected from the corruption of bad society, and to be afforded an opportunity of performing uninterrupted his religious duties. These are sacred and irresistible claims; no matter in what state of mind he enters within the prison walls, he has a right to have the full, unbroken benefit of, perhaps the first sobering shock which he ever experienced in his reckless course. No one can tell what the effect of that might have been, if it had been allowed its full force; every one knows what its effect will be, if he be greeted on his arrival by companions as abandoned as himself. No matter that he brings with him an ample portion of corruption to the general mass; however bad he is, unrestrained communication with others, even less depraved, can only make him worse; even to instruct the ignorant in vice is to harden and debase the heart of the instructor. If, on the other hand, he enters the prison an inexperienced and young offender, he has not merely a claim to be able to retire from pollution which may disgust him; but he has that kind of claim which a child has on his parent, or a pupil on his tutor, not to be exposed to be corrupted by it. He has a claim, not merely to be able one day in the week to attend public worship; but, when he is deserted by all other friends, he requires the more intimate and constant attendance of a spiritual guide. In cases of this sort the need sounds the right; but it will be in vain that he receives the advice or exhortation, if he receives it under the eye and liable to the sneering interruptions of profligate fellow-prisoners. No prison is perfect in its regulations, that does not protect the feelings, as well as the persons and properties of the prisoners from each other. Mr. Hol-

Sord has well observed: 'that it is sport to men hardened in a long course of iniquity to turn the signs of repentance and remorse into ridicule, and to disturb the good resolutions and wound the feelings of those of their comrades, round whose hearts the callus of vice is not yet completely formed.'^{*}

Upon the head of religious instruction and attendance, the Prison Bill has made a most important improvement in our criminal law. The duties of the chaplain are marked out with fullness and precision; the inmates of a jail require, and they will henceforward receive, even more minute and constant attendance than the poor of the most favoured parishes. The chaplain is very properly made one of the most responsible and important officers of the prison; his salary is regulated, not extravagantly and yet liberally, with reference to the number of prisoners; a pension is provided for him in case of sickness, age, or infirmity; and the situation may be now made to present, if the magistracy are disposed to act in hearty accordance with the legislature, which we do not doubt, an ample and not undesirable field for the exertion of zeal and talent in the Christiana ministry.

We have now stated, though not so concisely as we could have wished, the claims which prisoners of every description seem to us to have on the country; on the other hand, the rights which the country has over the inmates of its prisons will vary in many respects of course with the causes which place them there; but there are certain general powers which it may justly exercise in all cases. It has a right to general order and decency within the prison; and for this purpose it may enforce proper discipline on every individual, and reasonably punish the breach of it. For the same purpose, it may regulate the prison hours, and the mode of employment of all the prisoners, even of those whom it has no power of compelling to labour; restricting it to such kind of work as may be fittingly and wholesomely carried on within the walls, directing the sale of the produce and apportioning the earnings in such manner as may best accord with the regulations of the place; it has a right to restrain the intercourse of the prisoners with each other, and to exercise an entire controul over the visits of friends from without.

This last is a matter of great importance, and some difficulty; on the one hand, to deny even to the convicted prisoner all intercourse with his family and friends is not merely a measure of great severity, requiring some clear advantage as its justification, but, in our opinion, is to throw away a powerful mean, under proper regulations, of encouragement and moral improvement;—on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that great injury is done to the disci-

* Speech on the Bill containing Provisions as to Offenders in the Hulks, p. 17.
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pline of the prison, and to the public, by an indiscriminate admission of visitors. A prison whose gates are perpetually admitting idle spectators will necessarily lose half its terrors. Those salutary ideas of leathomeousness and misery which men associate with a jail, and which naturally tend to the prevention of crime, cannot fail to be much weakened by a sight of the cleanliness and order, the decent apparel and seeming comfort, which are found within the walls; men commonly judge from what they see, and make little account of what they do not see, the solitude and wearisomeness, the hard fare and hard labour of the prisoners. They will therefore leave the prison, believing that the sufferings of confinement have been exaggerated; and what they believe they may act upon; at least they will eagerly circulate the statement.

A late report of the Inspectors of the Auburn State Prison to the Legislature of New York is now lying before us; and they are so impressed with these considerations, that they state themselves to have doubled the usual fee on admission for the purpose of discouraging visitors; and they declare, with sufficient plainness, their opinion that it would be better to exclude them entirely, if it were not for the prejudice against the Penitentiary system, which a measure of such apparent harshness and suspicious concealment might excite in the public mind. We cannot coincide with this opinion; and least of all should we assent to its being acted upon in a Penitentiary. Where the term of imprisonment is short, and the object is to break a stubborn and reckless spirit, this or any other measure of temporary severity may be useful; but in a system which calculates on the gradual reformation of a prisoner in the course of a long confinement by a mixture of severity and kindness, nothing can be more desirable than that occasional intercourse should be kept up between him and his family. At the same time that it is the most innocent reward that can be devised for good behaviour, it is no more than a natural step in the plan, which seeks ultimately to restore him to society—to re-unite the broken links which bound him to his friends; to prevent his entire despair of re-admission into their circle; to keep alive his interest in their affections, and to make them not unwilling to receive him on his enlargement.

The notion of a fee on admission is rather strange to our feelings, but we take for granted that that is not the only requisite. The regulations of the Prison Bill, as we understand them, (it is not the merit of the Bill to speak with peculiar clearness,) put the matter on the right footing; prisoners only committed for trial are to receive visits at proper times and under proper restrictions, settled by the governor, or visiting justices; and convicts only under such rules and regulations as may be determined on at the quarter-sessions.

In this part of our subject one more topic remains to be discussed, but of great importance, the employment of the prisoners. It is obvious that this can have reference only to those who are confined upon suspicion, or for punishment of crimes; but with regard to each of these classes great difference of opinion prevails, both as to the principle and the mode of enforcing it. The law and common sense agree in making a wide distinction between prison employment and hard labour, and as the latter can only be imposed upon a prisoner by the sentence of a court of justice, it of course can never apply but to the case of convicts. The former is undoubtedly desirable for all prisoners, and every proper and rational inducement should be held out to them to engage in it, inducements which experience warrants us in saying will scarcely ever fail of success. It is a question, however, to which late circumstances have attached some consequence, whether there is any legal power, directly or indirectly, to compel persons, either untried, or sentenced simply to imprisonment, to labour. The general practice, we believe, varies much in this respect between these two classes; in a great, perhaps the greater number of prisons, in which the reformation of the prisoner is attempted, a convict sentenced to imprisonment only is directly or indirectly compelled to work, as a *part of prison discipline*; but in scarcely any is the same rule observed with regard to persons only committed for trial. It would be as difficult perhaps to find a direct authority in law for compelling the convict to work, as the untried prisoner; but many of the reasons which apply with great cogency against compulsion on the latter, certainly do not exist in respect of the former. Where a man has been proved guilty of a crime against society, for which it is thought necessary to punish him by seclusion, society has a right to subject him to such discipline as may be thought likely to make him harmless to her interests when he shall be restored to liberty: this would warrant direct compulsion. And as to the indirect compulsion of withholding sustenance from him if he refuses to earn it by labour, there can be no injustice in this, for he can have no *positive claim* to maintenance; it is true that he has been withdrawn from his trade, or occupation, but that is a necessary part of the punishment of his crime, the forfeiture of the means of resorting to his former mode of earning a livelihood.

But with a man committed only on suspicion, whom the law still presumes to be innocent, and deprives of liberty *only* because it sees no other mode of securing his appearance at the day of trial, all the reason is in favour of his immunity from every other privation or interference. Direct compulsion, we believe, has never been attempted; the only ground on which it could be put would be

be the enforcement of discipline; and undoubtedly that must be preserved, even by severe measures, if necessary, over every prisoner. We are not, therefore, disposed to deny, that for riot or disorderly behaviour an unconvicted criminal may, from the necessity of the case, be treated as a convict; in whatever character he comes, he is bound so far to submit to the laws of the place, as not to interfere with the peace and good order of others. But this is an argument which will never justify the compulsory labour of a peaceable and orderly, but slothful or even obstinate prisoner.

If this be so as to direct compulsion, is any better plea to be offered for the indirect compulsion of bread and water diet, or absolute refusal of sustenance? We are aware that this involves a question of great importance, which may be said to have already received an answer from the Judges of the court of King's Bench. Our readers are aware that we allude to the case of the King against the Justices of the North Riding.* We hope we shall not be accused of disrespect to men, whom we so highly respect as the Judges of the King's Bench, when we venture to doubt, whether that case was so fully considered as it might have been; undoubtedly it would have been heard with greater advantage if it had been argued on both sides, and not disposed of summarily upon an ex-parte application for a mandamus. According to the report, at the close of the motion, the Counsel furnished the Court with three statutes, (the earliest being 19 Charles II. c. iv.) as being the only statutes bearing on the case; and the judgment proceeds on the consideration of those statutes, and certain assumed principles of the common law. Now, without examining whether all the inferences negatively drawn from those statutes were correct, we would observe, that a very important statute on the question was passed in the 14th of Elizabeth: it is c. v. and intituled 'for the Punishment of Vagabondes, and relief of the Poore and Impotent.' The earlier clauses provide for the apprehension and punishment of vagabonds, sturdy beggars, &c. and for the maintenance and settlement of the aged and impotent poor: it is indeed one of the earlier laws of settlement. The twenty-third section empowers three justices of the peace, in such convenient places within their shires as they shall think meet, to place and settle to work the rogues and vagabonds *that shall be disposed to work*, there to be holden to work 'to get their livings, and be sustained *only* upon their labour and travail.' But how were those to be supported who were committed because they would not work, during their imprisonment and

* This case will be found reported in the second volume of Barnewall and Cresswell's Reports, p. 286, to which report our remarks apply. It will be seen that our observations were written before the notice of Mr. Peel's declaratory bill, but it may be satisfactory still to see the grounds on which the bill rests.

previously to their trial? The preamble to the thirty-eighth section, which provides for them, is curious, and as follows: 'Whereas, by reason of this acte the common gaoles of every shire within this realme are lyke to be greatlye pestered with a more number of prisoners than heretofore hath byn, for that the said vacabondes, and other lewde persons before recited shall uppon their apprehention be committed to the comon gaole of the same shier where they are so taken and apprehended, and that in moste shires of this realme the common gaoles are in such townes where there bee a great number of poore people *more than they are well able to sustaine with their relief*, and in some shires the assizes are kept farre distant from the place where the comon gaoles are; by reason whereof the said prisoners are lyke to famyshe for want of sustenance, *yf they be not therefore provided*'—it then goes on to enact, that the justices at sessions shall fix a rate on every parish, to be collected by the churchwardens, paid to the high-constables, and by them at sessions handed over to certain officers appointed by the justices, who are to distribute it weekly for the relief of these untried prisoners. Now, when we consider the period at which this act was made, the then existing state of our prisons, and the persons to whom the money was to be paid, it seems to us not too much to say, that here is a legislative provision made for prisoners, not dependent on their readiness to work, but with a clear understanding of their ability and refusal to work; because, if they were either unable, or willing, they would have been provided for in different ways under the other clauses of the act. This section of the act we believe is still in force.

Neither do we think the argument from the common law more fortunate. One of the most acute judges who ever sate on the English bench asks, 'What right has a prisoner, to whom work is offered, and who is able to do it, but will not, to have any food at the expense of the county?' and reasons on the analogy of the poor laws. With great deference, we must be allowed to say that the analogy seems to us wholly fallacious. The pauper at liberty has his own occupation, or is bound to choose one, and has no right to the public money, unless he will labour in the one or the other: but the prisoner committed for trial is an *innocent* man, whom for the benefit of society the law has removed from his occupation, and taken from the spot in which, or the connections among whom, or the implements by which it was his choice to earn his bread. As the number of occupations without a prison is infinite, and that of those within necessarily few, it is probable that he really cannot exercise the new craft, to which he is set, *profitably*; he is to be there for a few months, weeks, or days; he has not time to learn it; it will be useless to him, and useless to the county, that

that he should learn it; it may even tend to unfit him for that former occupation to which he intends and has a right to return. These and many more considerations might be urged, but we do not rely on any of them; it seems to us that there is no reply to a short answer of this kind—'You have taken me from my chisel and plane, or my trowel, with which I am content to earn my bread; you have no right to oblige me to learn another trade, or to labour even in that *here*, and you have no right to starve me.' We do not of course dispute the propriety or legality of his imprisonment, but to *him* the legality makes no difference, the law acts upon him against his will, and is bound to take charge of him, and restore him unharmed to society after his trial, if acquitted, or give him up a living sacrifice to punishment, if convicted.

We call the man an *innocent man*: no considerate reader will smile at that epithet: if legal maxims mean any thing, he is innocent, and he is entitled in all respects, consistent with personal restraint, to be treated as such. Accused criminals must be *all* treated as innocent, or *all* as guilty, and when that alternative is put, the wisdom and justice of the legal presumption of innocence, and its strict accordance with the whole genius of English law, become most apparent. It is seriously to be regretted that some wider distinction cannot be made between accused and convicted prisoners. There is such a force in the association of ideas with names, that it would be well if the former could acquire some new appellation implying no guilt; it would be well, if they could be confined in some separate building not termed a prison, and not inferring disgrace from a residence in it. These may seem visionary wishes: but there is surely a monstrous and unhappy confusion in the ideas of those who can so destroy all distinctions, as to apply to persons who may be in fact innocent, and whom the law presumes to be so, the hardest, most odious, and irksome labour, which can be imposed on convicted prisoners.

With respect to hard labour as a useful mode of punishment and correction there cannot well, we think, be much difference of opinion; and without adopting all the rigour of the French code,* few will in theory deny that it ought to be severe and irksome, a real punishment, not a mere employment. When, however, this subject first attracted the public attention, the benevolent individuals in different counties who took the largest share in directing the measure, seldom ventured (to use Sir George Paul's words)†

* Les hommes condamnés aux travaux forcés seront employés aux travaux les plus pénibles; ils traîneront à leurs pieds un boulet, ou seront attachés deux à deux avec une chaîne, lorsque la nature du travail auquel ils seront employés, le permettra.—Code Pénal, c. 1. s. 15.

† First Report of Committee on Penitentiary Houses, p. 47.

‘to turn their eyes from income and profit to a country rate, every house of correction was to become a busy manufactory, and to maintain itself.’ Much as we are advocates for industry in prisoners, and economy of public money, we think both may be purchased too dearly; and we are not sorry, we confess, that in almost every place in which the manufactory-system has been tried, it has proved if not a failing concern on the whole, yet certainly far less profitable than was expected. We do not, of course, mean to condemn all profitable labour of the prisoners, but we are anxious that it should never be the primary object; in truth the best economy is in that system which produces the fewest recommitments, and prevents the most crimes. At all events, wherever the prisoners are employed with a view to profit, one rule we deem quite indispensable,—it is, that the keeper, he who is to regulate the discipline, and watch over the behaviour of the prisoners, should not be permitted in any way, directly or indirectly, to share in the produce of their labour. Wherever he is, his interest and his duty are set in opposition to each other in a thousand supposable and probable cases; it is enough to say, that his eye will in all probability be fixed on the skill and activity, rather than the orderly behaviour of his prisoners. Mr. Holford has on this point expressed himself very sensibly.

‘There are many occasions on which work, which is to produce profit, will run counter to discipline and moral improvement. It will often be found convenient to the taskmaster to bring together, for purposes of manufacture, prisoners who ought not on other accounts to be permitted to associate with each other, and it is often very much against his interest that a prisoner, from whom others are to receive instruction, or on whose exertions in some particular branch of manufacture they may depend for materials, or who is to put the finishing hand to the work on which they are employed, should be taken away from them to be placed in strict confinement for some fault committed within the prison. It is for the benefit of the concern in regard to profit, to overlook much, to forgive much, and to grant much indulgence to a skilful manufacturer; and there is danger that many an offence or irregularity will be suffered to pass without notice in such a prison, lest work should stand still, or a constant customer be disappointed. If the skill of the manufacturer may thus create an improper influence in his favour, it may, on the other hand, sometimes operate as improperly to his prejudice, and prolong his imprisonment by rendering him too useful to be parted with, and thus delaying an application for his pardon on the score of merit. And there is one point upon which the real and pecuniary interests of a prison must always be at variance—its real interests require that the prisoners employed as wardsmen or cooks, or in the performance of other services in the prison, should be selected from the most orderly and trust-worthy prisoners; whereas the taskmaster would

would always wish to see placed in such situations those of whom he can make the least, not the best men, but the worst workmen.*

From these objections what is strictly termed hard labour is entirely free, and in this part of our subject it is impossible to pass over in silence the Tread-wheel, an invention which has certainly been exposed to most unfounded attacks, and perhaps been praised far beyond its real merits, but which we do not hesitate to pronounce a most important instrument of prison discipline. The fifth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline has just been put into our hands, and useful and excellent as it is in general, it is in no part more sensible, instructive, or moderate than in what it communicates on this subject. As might be expected, a great deal of ignorance prevails on the subject; and although almost every tread-wheel varies practically in the quantity of labour which it imposes, and consequently in great measure in the effect which it is calculated to produce, the machine is praised or blamed as if it were one thing, the same in every prison. Now when it is considered that the labour of the tread-wheel is by ascending steps, and that the amount of ascent made must depend on the number of hours employed, the velocity of the wheel, (which, when there is no fly-regulator, will also vary with the number of men on it at the same time,) the distance from step to step, and the proportion of those out of each gang, who are on the wheel at one time, to those who are off, it is obvious that what may be very true of one wheel may be entirely false of another. Thus, to select a few instances out of many which have been ascertained: at Lewes each prisoner works at the rate of 6,600 feet in ascent per day; at Ipswich, 7,450; at St. Albans, 8,000; at Bury, 8,950; at Cambridge, 10,175; at Durham, 12,000; at Brixton, Guildford, and Reading the summer rate exceeds 18,000; while at Warwick the summer rate will be 17,000 feet in ten hours, if the present resolution be adhered to; which upon reflection, we are quite sure, it never will, as no strength could long endure such labour. In addition to these immense differences, those of the dietaries must also be taken into the account, before any particular tread-wheels can be fairly condemned or praised.

From these considerations it will appear, that unless in the very nature of the punishment there be something degrading or unhealthy, it is idle to declaim against the tread-wheel simply as too severe and oppressive a punishment. Now, however it may mortify and humiliate, we are at a loss to understand how it can be said to degrade in the offensive sense, in which it is here used; and upon the point of health, the most satisfactory assurances are received from

* Thoughts on the Criminal Prisons, &c. p. 62.

the prisons in every part of the kingdom; * the publication of which we last alluded contains reports from thirty-six tread-wheels, in not one of which has the slightest injury appeared to be produced by this labour, though in some it is sufficiently severe, and the general tendency of the returns is to show that it is decidedly beneficial to the health of the prisoners. Common sense would lead us to the same conclusion; for there is nothing unnatural or painful in the position of the body on the wheel; and the simple act of ascending stairs, which we all know to be very wearisome, we also know to be in itself productive of no ill effect. The tread-wheel may undoubtedly be made an instrument of oppression and cruelty; but what kind of hard labour can be devised entirely free from this objection? The real question therefore is, whether it is an instrument in itself more likely to be abused than any other. We think quite the contrary, because there is none in which the quantity of labour performed can be calculated with such mathematical precision, and so easily reduced or increased as circumstances may require. Indeed this is one of its great and peculiar excellencies as a mode of punishment, that by an instrument of simple mechanism attached to the wheel, the governor may know every hour and every day the number of steps made by every prisoner, and a register may be kept for the weekly or monthly inspection of the visiting justices. Assuming then, as we have a right to do, that it will be used with discretion and humanity, we will state what we conceive to be its disadvantages and advantages. In the first place, it is inapplicable to prisoners under long confinements; there is in it at once so much irksomeness, sameness, and real fatigue, that, after subduing a stubborn spirit, we should be afraid, with long continuance, it might go on almost to stupify the intellect; for while the body labours, the mind is wholly unemployed. But even if this be thought an overstrained apprehension, it must be admitted that it not only teaches no trade or occupation by which a livelihood may afterwards be earned, but must in some measure render the parties less fit for manual labour by disuse of those parts and muscles of the body which are employed in handicraft trades. Making these deductions, of which the latter is capable of an answer when we limit the use of the tread-wheel to confinements of

* Sir J. C. Hippeley is angry with Mr. Peel for sending to inquire as to the effect of the tread-wheel 'only in those prisons wherein tread-wheels have been established'—it seems to us that it would have been extraordinary if he had sent elsewhere. He had already received from Sir John such information as his theory and reasoning, with limited experience, could afford; it was natural then, we think, to turn to the prisons where the 'gigantic and most complicated machine' was actually at work, to see whether the fact bore out the reasoning. If the result had been doubtful, and a committee been appointed, probably Sir John might have been requested to attend, but the general concurrence of the answers made that unnecessary.

a short duration, in which a trade could not be learned, nor the body lose its aptness for one to which it had been accustomed, the advantages seem to be, that the tread-wheel is labour indeed, dreaded in the prospect, irksome in endurance, and remembered with disgust; that, it has never failed to subdue the most turbulent spirit; that, requiring no instruction, every man who can walk may be set upon it from the moment that his sentence is pronounced; that he cannot avoid his portion of labour, the wheel turning by weight and not by exertion; that the occupation is so unceasing, that conversation between the prisoners is much restrained; that it may without injury be employed for many hours in the day, and with a very little expense, in the open air; that it affords great advantages for inspection, and thereby much facilitates the duties of the governor.

Under these impressions, and with these restrictions, we cannot but say that we shall be glad to hear of the erection of a tread-wheel in every considerable prison in the country; at the same time we entirely approve of the silence of the legislature on the subject. It is for parliament to lay down general principles of prison discipline, but it is wise to leave all the details to local magistrates; circumstances may make that inexpedient in one house of correction which is very desirable in another; of this the magistrates on the spot are by far the most proper judges—there may be strong and rooted opinions for or against particular modes of employment in different counties; and these should be humoured where the choice is between two nearly equal plans; for after all none will succeed without the co-operation of a willing magistracy—in them lies the true virtue of all systems; they must encourage, control, and inspect; they must appoint efficient officers, uphold them, stimulate them and reward them—without this the best enactments will become a dead letter, and to induce this they must not be made mere instruments, but be entrusted with a sound and liberal discretion.

For these several purposes of security, punishment, and reformation, the law of England has provided four several places of confinement, the Common Gaol, the House of Correction, the Hulk, and the Penitentiary; of each of these we will give as concise an account as we are able, and offer in conclusion a very few remarks upon a question of great importance, and much present interest, that, we mean, now pending in respect of the Millbank Penitentiary.

The Common Gaol appears to have been the only prison known to the common law; and we need not except the subordinate prisons of limited jurisdictions; for although the keeping of them was entrusted as a franchise to lords of manors, or of towns, bishops, or corporations,

corporations, and they were familiarly called the prisons of *statute-grantees*, yet they were and are essentially king's prisons,* subject to the same control, under the same discipline, and intended for the same objects. Safe custody seems to have been the only purpose in view, a purpose not very tenderly pursued nor always very successfully, if we may judge on the one hand from the dicta and the cases in old books upon the cruelty of gaolers, and on the other from the frequent and severe provisions of the old law both common and statute against prison breaking. From the earliest times, the sheriff appears to have had the keeping and responsibility of the common gaol; statutes are to be found enforcing this in the time of Edward III., Henry VII. and William III.; and the provisions made at these different times were probably intended in the earlier instances to restrain improper grants of the custody to other persons than the sheriff, and in the latter to maintain his ancient authority, which might seem to have been broken in upon by the many enactments giving jurisdiction in the gaol to the justices of the peace. For certain purposes, and to a certain extent, the sheriff is still the keeper of the gaol, and so long as he is responsible for the bodies of debtors it is highly just that he should remain so. It is still the place to which all debtors in arrest or under execution must be sent, and long after the building of houses of correction, and so late as the sixth year of George I. it was the only place to which all accused criminals could be committed. The necessity of providing for the repairs and expenses of the building as well as for the sustenance of the prisoners has naturally led to enactments which have materially abridged the jurisdiction of the sheriff, it being thought but reasonable, that when the counties in a more precise manner were subjected to these burthens, the country gentlemen at sessions should have a power of regulating the disposal of their own money; and the moment that prison discipline became an object of interest to the public it could not fail to be obvious that such a matter was fitter to be entrusted to a permanent bench of magistrates than to a single man, the officer of the crown, remaining in office only for a year, and selected rather in respect of property than any other consideration. It is not easy to ascertain now precisely in what manner the repairs were formerly done; according to Lord Coke, in his comment on the statute *De fraudulentibus Prisonam*, 1 E. II. st. 2.† a prison, even where the keeping of it was granted to the lord of a liberty, was to be repaired at the public charge, but he specifies no particular mode. In William the Third's time provision was made for the purpose by a rate assessed by the Justices of the peace and levied in every hundred;

* Lord Coke's 2d Institute, p. 100, § 89.

† Ibid. p. 589.

which

which mode has since been followed up by several successive statutes. Neither is it more clear *how* the poor prisoners were sustained, though, as we have intimated before, we think they were not expected to sustain themselves; indeed it would have been a sort of Egyptian mockery to require that of them for which it was in ordinary cases impossible that they should have the means. But an expression or two in some old statutes seems conclusive on to this; the statute of Westminster the second (13 Edward I.) in the eleventh chapter provides a remedy against receivers and accountants in arrear; they are to be thrown into gaol, the sheriff is to put them in irons, et in illâ prisonâ remaneant *de suo propria viventes* quousque, &c. The seventh of James I. chap. 4. which we shall have to notice presently for another purpose, provides for the imprisonment of rogues and vagabonds in houses of correction established by that act, and setting them to work; and then specifies 'that they shall in no sort be chargeable to the country for any allowance, either at their bringing in or going forth, or during the time of their abode there, but shall have such and so much allowance as they shall deserve by their own labour and work.' These particular exclusions seem to show that in ordinary cases prisoners were entitled to relief of some sort; we know that their condition was however very deplorable; before the suppression of the monasteries much was probably done by their charity; after that, collections were made occasionally under authority from door to door and in churches on their behalf—individual charity, and the bequests of pious persons, and probably gifts from the successive sheriffs, in the manner still in use in the city of London, did the rest. Precarious as these modes were, they were probably found adequate according to the notions of the times; at least we can find no trace of a regular assessment till the 14th of Elizabeth, which we have already mentioned. The consequence of this and succeeding parliamentary regulations has been very much to intermingle the jurisdictions of the sheriff and the magistrates. Hence too it has happened that in some instances the gaol and house of correction form parts of the same building; still even where that is the case, a certain portion is marked out for the gaol, the sheriff is responsible for the security of the persons there confined; and we imagine it is to that place still to which all persons charged with more serious offences must be committed.

As the gaol is the prison of the sheriff, so the House of Correction may properly be called that of the justices of the peace; it is the creature of the statute law; and as the original object of it was the punishment and reformation of idle vagabonds by imprisonment and compulsory labour, the stock for which was to be provided at the expense of the county, and which it was supposed might be made

made adequate to their maintenance, it was natural to entrust the keeping and regulation of it to the justices. 'Many statutes (says Lord Coke in his comment on 7 James I. c. 4.) have been made for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, but very few to find them work, and to enforce them thereunto.*' The 39 Elizabeth, c. 4. directed the building of houses of correction in the several counties from time to time; but this not having been put in force, the 7 James I. c. 4. was passed, which may be considered the origin of this useful description of prisons. It compelled the magistrates under a pecuniary penalty, which their neglect of the former statute seemed to render necessary, to erect houses of correction in every county within a given time, and to provide them with 'mills, turns, cards, and such like necessarie implements to set the said rogues, or such other idle persons, at work;' and it also gave them the power of appointing a governor and giving him a salary. It would be foreign to our purpose, or rather it would far exceed our limits, to follow down through the statute books the various enactments, which at different times have been passed for the regulation and improvement of houses of correction; the present prison bill has left little to desire upon this head, perhaps upon some points we could wish it to have spoken in a more decisive tone, and on some in clearer language; but an admirable spirit pervades the whole, and wherever our own experience has reached, we have seen the magistracy putting its enactments into force with great zeal and ability. The objects of this kind of prison should never be lost sight of,—they are punishment and correction, and therefore, so far as may be possible, we think persons should not be sent to it upon whom the measures necessary for these objects cannot be employed, the untried for example; or upon whom they would be tried in vain, as the convicts for enormous offences, or those who are only in the way to transportation; the character of the one, and the short stay of the other, leave little hope of doing them good, and it would be well therefore to prevent their harming others.

For persons under such circumstances the Hulks seem to present a more fitting place of confinement,—the history of this establishment is very clearly given in the Third Report from the Committee on the Laws relating to Penitentiary Houses. Perhaps it is not generally known that it was one of the fruits of the American war, which interrupted the transportation of convicts to the colonies and plantations in North America. By the 16 George III. c. 43. and the 19 George III. c. 74. hard labour upon the river Thames, or some other navigable river, port or harbour, was made a punish-

* 2d Institute, p. 728.

ment,

ment, to which male persons convicted of grand larceny, or any transportable offence, might be sentenced. It is somewhat curious that the same statute, drawn by or at least under the direction of Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden, and with the entire concurrence of the immortal Howard, should have extended the bulk system and provided that of penitentiaries; for nothing can seem more opposed than the one to the other; classification, solitary confinement, inspection, and instruction, being the characteristics of the one, and almost impossible in the other. Both these acts, however, at least so much of them as relates to this point, have long since expired, and with them confinement on board the hulks ceased as a specific punishment; offenders are now confined there, merely temporarily in their way to transportation. Many, it is true, of those who are sent on board never proceed farther, but they all go there under the sentence of transportation, or having agreed to be transported in commutation of a sentence of death. It is usual, we believe, in selecting the proper objects upon whom to carry the sentence of transportation into execution, to take first those who are transportable for life, then those for fourteen years; and few of those sentenced for seven years only are actually sent, unless, by the reports of the judges who have tried them, they appear to be peculiarly unfit to remain in this country. In this age of prison improvements, the hulks have had, we believe, their full share of amendment; there is an economy about their fitting up when compared with the erection of a prison on shore, an advantage in their capability of removal from place to place, and a profit derived from the labour of the convicts, which will probably render their use permanent; but we confess we have no desire to see it extended, for with every imaginable improvement it seems impossible to subject an offender on board a hulk to the same moral discipline which may be exercised on him in a well regulated prison on shore. Two things strike us as worthy of consideration; the first, whether it might not be desirable to revive the hulks as a specific punishment, and to forbear pronouncing sentence of transportation in the large number of cases in which it is never intended to be carried into effect; the second, whether at all events a separation should not be made between those who are to be transported and those who are not. It must be presumed that the former are of a more abandoned or more desperate class than the latter, and certainly these last might, from the duration of their confinement, be properly put under a course of discipline, which it would be in vain to attempt upon men who have no hopes of bettering their condition by amendment, and who are in daily expectation of being removed to another hemisphere.

The Penitentiary system in England is, like that of the hulks, a

substitution only for what is deemed a severer sentence. *Howard was the original author of it; it was one most potent instrument by which he hoped to effect his great design of the reformation of offenders, and the gradual diminution of capital punishments; and the 19th Geo. III. c. 74. framed according to his suggestions, was passed in order to give it effect. This statute goes very much into detail as to the regulations of the intended penitentiaries, and, in addition to labour of the hardest and most servile description, it enjoined the then novel discipline of solitary confinement. The prisoners were to be lodged in separate cells during their hours of rest, and to be kept apart from each other during their hours of labour, in all cases where the nature of their several employments would permit it, and where that was impossible, and two or more were obliged to work together, an officer was to be present, and observe their behaviour. What Sir William Blackstone thought of this plan, is well known from a remarkable passage in his Commentaries. 'In forming the plan,' says he, 'of these penitentiary houses, the principal objects have been, by sobriety, cleanliness, and medical assistance; by a regular series of labour; by solitary confinement during the intervals of work, and by due religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders; to enure them to habits of industry; to guard them from pernicious company; to accustom them to serious reflection, and to teach them both the principles and practice of every Christian and moral duty. And if the whole of this plan be properly executed, and its defects be timely supplied, there is reason to hope that such a reformation may be effected in the lower classes of mankind, and such a gradual scale of punishment be affixed to all gradations of guilt, as may in time supersede the necessity of capital punishment, except for very atrocious crimes.'—4 *Comment.* 371.

By the act the King was to appoint three supervisors for the purpose of procuring the necessary ground, and making contracts for the buildings. Howard, his friend Dr. Fothergill, and Mr. Whalley, were the persons appointed; and no one can doubt of their real anxiety to carry the intentions of the legislature into full effect, and without delay; but, unfortunately, difficulties and differences arose in the choice of the ground—Mr. Howard wishing to place the buildings at Islington; Mr. Whalley preferring a spot at Limehouse: the result was, that the former resigned his

* See the 19 Geo. III. c. 74. 34 Geo. III. c. 84. 53 Geo. III. c. 84. 56 Geo. III. c. 63. and 59 Geo. III. c. 136. First Report of the Committee on the Laws Relating to Penitentiary Houses.—Report on the Penitentiary at Millbank.—Mr. Roscoe's two Works.—For facts not to be found in these authorities, we have been indebted to other communications which we believe to be perfectly authentic.

situation,

situation, in 1781, and his colleagues, we believe, soon after followed his example. This was, undoubtedly, a great blow upon the experiment: new supervisors, however, were appointed, Sir Gilbert Elliott, (Lord Minto) Sir Charles Bunbury, and Mr. Bowdler; and they fixed on a spot of ground, as fit for their purpose, at Battersea Rise, the value of which was ascertained under the Act by a jury, but it was never purchased, and the whole design seemed for the time to be abandoned. We believe that this was about the era of the first transportations to Botany Bay; and the government, intent upon this new scheme, were unwilling to encourage any other that might seem to interfere with it.

On a limited scale, however, the experiment was made in Gloucestershire: in 1781 a private bill was passed for the erection of a Penitentiary at Gloucester, which was opened for the reception of prisoners, in July, 1791, under the auspices of Sir George Paul. The discipline of this prison was at first settled in exact conformity to that prescribed by the 19 Geo. III. c. 74; some variations were introduced afterwards, which experience had suggested, variations, however, which did not affect the principle. In 1811, when the same zealous and intelligent magistrate was examined before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the moral effect of the system over which he had then been watching for twenty years, his answer was very satisfactory, yet qualified by such candid admissions, and strengthened by such reasonable observations to account for the result, as make our minds feel confident in the fairness of his statement.

‘Whilst I acknowledge, regarding the whole of the system of imprisonment, that, like other ardent theorists, I imagined more than has been, or than, perhaps, could be brought into practice and effect, I am sure I am justified in saying, that the Penitentiary House has succeeded in its effects beyond the theory imagined by the original projectors of the system—far, indeed, beyond my most sanguine expectations. A long experience has proved beyond a possibility of doubt, that a government by rule, mild, but strictly adhered to, is sufficient to ensure safe custody, and to preserve authority, without having recourse to fettering the limbs, or to inflictive punishments.’—*First Report*, p. 29.

In 1793 or 1794, Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon attracted a good deal of attention; Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden again interested themselves in the subject, and the 34 Geo. III. c. 60. was passed; under this act fifty-three acres in Tothill Fields were purchased for £12,000, and conveyed to Mr. Bentham, and he also received £2,000 from the Treasury, to enable him to make preparations. It can hardly be doubted that Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden, in coming forward at this time, thought they were advancing their favourite design of a Penitentiary, but in

truth, the statutes of the 19 and 34 Geo. III. were totally inconsistent with each other; the Panopticon was not only not a Penitentiary, but its principle was directly opposed to it. It was fortunate for the country, that this also fell to the ground; we do not desire to go out of our way to say any thing harsh of Mr. Bentham as the inventor of a prison system, and we by no means intend to insinuate that he dealt with the Government on illiberal terms; but his scheme appears to us to have been wholly visionary—to have been without any proper checks or lasting securities, relying solely on his own personal character, abilities, and responsibility, and addressing itself to the reformation of criminals upon principles unsound and unphilosophical. If it had been tried it could not have succeeded, and, in its ill-success, might have ruined, or at least indefinitely retarded the progress of the great cause of Prison Improvement.

In 1802, so much of the 19 Geo. III. as related to penitentiaries had expired; but Sir Samuel Romilly, in 1811, treating it as an existing act, moved the House of Commons to address the crown to carry it and the 34 Geo. III. into effect. A committee was accordingly appointed, the general result of whose report was a recommendation to revert to the system of the Penitentiary, and to terminate the engagement with Mr. Bentham. In pursuance of this, Mr. Holford, who had been the chairman of the committee, introduced into the house the 52 Geo. III. c. 44; and the ground which had been conveyed to Mr. Bentham was now transferred to Government; and Mr. Holford, Sir Charles Long, and the Reverend John Becher, the active and intelligent inspector of the House of Correction at Southwell, were appointed supervisors for the erection of a Penitentiary. The work now proceeded in good earnest, and in June, 1816, a part of the building was opened for the reception of convicts. In the same year, and in 1819, acts of parliament were passed, introducing amendments in the system, but not varying its principles; under these acts it is that the Penitentiary is now regulated.

By the constitution of the Millbank Penitentiary, the controuling management is vested in an unpaid committee of persons, moving rather in the higher classes of life; they make all the rules and regulations for the government and good order of the prisoners, direct the nature of their employment, and inspect them from time to time; they settle all contracts, and examine accounts; they appoint, suspend, or remove all the officers and servants of the establishment. Their ordinary meetings are monthly, and they appoint one or more of their number during the interval, whose duty it is to visit the prison from time to time, and exert such powers on emergency as would have been exercised by the committee, if sitting.

ting. Under them, and immediately employed in the management, are a governor, matron, surgeon, master manufacturer, with the usual subordinate turnkeys and taskmasters : a chaplain, constantly resident within the walls, a medical superintendant, who visits twice a week regularly, and daily if necessary, and a consulting surgeon complete the establishment.

We have before observed that imprisonment in the Penitentiary is a substituted punishment ; those who have been capitally convicted are imprisoned for ten years ; those who have been sentenced to transportation for fourteen and seven years respectively, are confined for seven and five years. In all cases, the committee are empowered to recommend a prisoner who conducts himself particularly well, to the royal mercy, and such a recommendation will assuredly never be unattended to ; but it cannot fail to strike every one that there is a great disproportion between the commutation of punishment in the two last cases. The reason assigned for this, is an opinion, sanctioned, or first pronounced by Howard, that no penitentiary imprisonment could be availing for its object in less than five years. With all our veneration for that great name, we cannot but doubt the justice of this opinion, especially when it is applied to the class of offenders who are commonly sentenced to transportation for seven years, and sent to the Penitentiary by way of commutation. The offence itself, which has been visited with that sentence, is probably not one of the last enormity, and the commutation implies that there appeared some circumstances on the trial of the case, either in the temptation to commit, the manner of committing, the years, education, or circumstances of the culprit, which led to the belief that he was not a hardened and irreclaimable offender. Long imprisonments are, at all times, attended with unavoidable evils of their own—and in such breasts hope of reunion with society should not be too heavily borne down ; the links that bind to the world should not be irretrievably severed ; and yet the thought of five years of such a life as we are now about to describe, is almost too heavy a burden for one who, perhaps, has never been accustomed to carry his ideas beyond the setting of the sun over his head.

For five days after his entrance into the prison, the convict is placed in a solitary cell, without work or amusement of any kind : in this interval no one has access to him but the chaplain, the governor, and the turnkey, who is in attendance on him ; and they are directed, as far as possible, to avoid speaking to him. Some effect may reasonably be hoped from this forcing of the mind to consider what it is which has caused his imprisonment ; but except as a punishment for refractoriness, this is the only strictly solitary confinement to which he is subject during his imprisonment.

ment. At the end of these days, he is placed in the first class, and commences a life of seclusion, which is to last for the first half of his imprisonment, unless his good behaviour produces his earlier removal to the second. While in this first class, he inhabits a separate cell, in which he works alone by day, and sleeps alone at night; when he is advanced to the second, he passes his working hours in a larger cell with two or three other prisoners. In the first class it is not absolute solitude, because the cells are closed with a trelliced door only in the day time; the prisoner is occasionally visited by the wardsman, or his instructor; he stands at his door at certain times to hear the Scriptures read; he occasionally comes out to school; and walks in the yard, or labours at the mill or pump daily, in company with others. Neither in the second is it unrestrained society; the conversation in the working cells is only permitted in a low tone of voice; no amusements are allowed, and silence, under all circumstances, is enforced as much as possible. It appears, too, that very early at all seasons of the year, the prisoners of both classes are locked up for the night, and we believe that no candles are allowed; so that, after sunset, there is nothing to occupy or divert the thoughts.

The distinguishing feature of this system (for we have no room to enter into its details) is the greater use which is made of solitary confinement in this modified way as discipline and not punishment. Taken from his course of vice, separated from his profligate companions, and even from his respectable friends, instructed in his duty, perhaps for the first time, by the assiduous kindness of the chaplain, and passing his time either in a forced inactivity and silence, or in sober sedentary employments, such as those of the tailor, shoemaker, or weaver, it is hoped that his mind cannot but turn in upon itself, and it is believed that the materials are given to make reflection profitable. There is no appearance of severity, none of merely compulsory discipline; at the same time the prison is not made a place of ease and comfort; every thing is done in the first instance to make the individual feel that he has degraded himself in society, and that he must go through suffering and restraint before he can rise to his former level; but hope of restoration is never withheld from him; when he is placed in the first class, he is told that good behaviour will shorten his stay there and raise him to the second; when placed in the second, he is also told that the Committee may, if they think fit, recommend him as a proper object for pardon, and that diligence and obedience, with respectful attention to the chaplain's advice, can alone induce them to do so. Independently of these encouragements, good behaviour is rewarded by promotion to the inferior offices in the prison; one-eighth of the produce of the prisoner's labour is reserved for him till his discharge; at which time

time he also receives decent clothing, and a gratuity in money or tools not exceeding three pounds, and if at the end of one year from his discharge he produces such evidence of his good behaviour as satisfies the committee, he will receive a further gratuity not exceeding three pounds.

We should but trifle unworthily with a great and difficult subject, if within the narrow limits which remain to us, we were to attempt to discuss generally the merits of the penitentiary system. In this country it is indeed practically useless to discuss them, for it is enough *here* to say that it is an experiment not fully tried, for which the balance of argument *a priori* is decidedly favourable; and to such an experiment under the circumstances of England, with a population increasing in numbers and artificial wants, with all the temptations to vice multiplying themselves infinitely, our prisons full, and our places of transportation having received nearly their complement, we are at least bound to give a full and fair trial.

In America the most complete disappointment has succeeded to a short-lived success; nothing can be more melancholy than the pictures drawn by the inspectors of different and far-famed penitentiaries in their reports to the provincial legislatures; they are described as having become 'schools of vice;' as ending 'in general ruin;' as increasing the 'propensity to vice;' as inculcating 'lessons of infamy.' And we find general admissions 'that penitentiary punishments have entirely failed of producing the results originally anticipated from them, and that crimes have multiplied to an alarming degree.*' But these reports ought not to discourage us, because the same reports uniformly attribute the evil to an obvious and avoidable cause, the rapidly increasing population, which has so overstocked the prisons that all their regulations for discipline and classification are entirely and necessarily at an end. When Sir George Paul spoke of the good success of the Gloucester penitentiary, he accompanied his answer with this observation, which accords exactly with American experience—'if we had been compelled to receive *all* persons convicted of larceny and other great crimes, as an alternative punishment for transportation, I think it more than probable that we should not have reformed a man.†' This evil may be guarded against in a penitentiary, though it might be difficult wholly to avoid it in a gaol, or house of correction; the Millbank prison at least will never be overstocked; and, not to rely on the testimony of advocates, whom partiality for the institution might make suspicious vouchers, it is something to say, that in the six years from December, 1816, to December, 1822, out of seventy-eight convicts whose terms of imprisonment expired (there-

* See Roscoe's Two Essays, *passim*.

† 1st Report, p. 30.

fore not particularly favourable specimens) and one hundred and fifty who were pardoned, forty-nine have actually received gratuities for good conduct for twelve months after their leaving the institution.* Not that we would decide the question by individual instances, nor indeed do we think that there are as yet materials for deciding it at all; some may say that this is but a small harvest to reap at such cost and labour, and others may be provided with a larger number of instances where the result has been unfortunate. The objection and the fact may both be true; still it seems to us enough to say that the experiment is of such vast importance, and so full of blessing if it should succeed, that it behoves us to give it a fairer and a fuller trial, than the time has yet allowed it to have in this country—there are many grounds on which success may be hoped for; there is none, that we are aware of, which concludes against it.

For it should never be lost sight of, that the Millbank prison is not conclusive as to the penitentiary system; there may be solid objections to some peculiarities of the discipline there, to the costliness, or the situation of that establishment, but they are entirely beside the merits of the general question. They may serve to increase the prejudices of those who oppose the system, and to damp the hopes of its friends, but in reality as to these points the question must be argued as if the Millbank prison had never been built. We deem it right to set down this caution before we enter upon what is, in itself, a most important consideration, the future fate of that establishment. It has been stated that the Millbank prison was opened for the reception of prisoners in June, 1816; in the course of that year 72 convicts, all females, were admitted, and as the different parts of the building were completed, the numbers continually increased; at the close of the year 1822 it contained 779 males and females, and when the committee of the House of Commons visited it in the spring of 1823 they found in it 869 prisoners. Nor was this the total of the population; the system of labour and inspection requires a numerous body of officers, and the governor, chaplain, and surgeon reside with their families within the walls, and these all together amounted to 106. It is clear, from the most unsuspicious testimony, that this large body of persons was believed to be perfectly healthy almost to the close, if not entirely so, of the year 1822, by all those whose duty it was to watch over their health, who would have anxiously attended to any unhealthy symptoms, and to whom, in the common course of things, complaint would have been immediately made, if cause for it had existed. The prevalent tendency to disorder had been that of fulness of habit, and

* See Penitentiary Report, p. 399.

at an earlier period it became the opinion as well of the committee, as of the medical officers, that a reduction of the diet was expedient. If in a medical point of view a reduction was only *safe*, it is clear that in a moral point of view it was highly proper—it was also for the interest of an infant establishment to make such a change, for there was a very general feeling both in and out of parliament that the prisoners had too many comforts—and there was even an intimation that the annual vote for the expenses would be opposed on that ground. The committee, however, proceeded with all the caution which such a measure required; they called for the opinions of their medical officers, and upon the superintendent's (Dr. Hutchison) requesting the assistance of distinguished men in his profession, Sir James M'Grigor, the head of the Army Medical Board, was desired to inspect the prisoners minutely, and give his opinion upon the proposed change of the diet, and the nature of it. He did so, and finally a course of diet was adopted, to which Sir James saw no objection, and which, it was believed, Dr. Hutchison thought might be safely tried. There was strong authority for it; it was proposed by Mr. Morton Pitt after a trial of it for fourteen years in Dorchester gaol, where during all that time, to use his own words, it had appeared to be 'an exceedingly salubrious diet.' To inexperienced persons like ourselves there appears to be an insufficiency on the face of it; the only portion of animal food in the whole was a single ox-head boiled in soup for 100 males, and the same for 120 females per diem; but prison diet is so purely a question of experience that no one can impute the slightest blame to those who adopted it as sufficient under such recommendation and authority. It was put in practice early in July 1822; in the autumn the prisoners appeared to lose something of their former plumpness and strength, and to labour under languor and depression of spirits; but there was no indication of any peculiar disease, and something might be reasonably expected from a change which was disagreeable to the prisoners. The winter was unusually severe, and it appears that the state of the prisoners began to excite some uneasiness early in January, 1823. On the 8th of February the house surgeon, in his regular report, communicated to the committee the existence of scurvy. Upon this Sir James M'Grigor was again requested to inspect the prison, and 'state his opinion of the effects of the dietary.' In describing the situation in which, upon this occasion, he found the prisoners, he says, that 'he cannot say that they were then in a state of sickness, they were of less size, particularly the females, than they had been, when he saw them before;'—'that their situation was precisely the same that it was on his two former visits, when he gave a great deal of time and attention to it.'—And even so late as the end of March,

March, when he visited them again, he says that 'he saw very little of severe disease; they were all cases, which if he had seen in an army hospital, he should have said they were people that had very little disease about them.' On the 17th of February he made the following report—'Having seen the whole of the female, and many of the male prisoners, I found that they were not in an unhealthy state. From a minute inspection of the prisoners in the infirmaries, I ascertained that while the proportion of sick was small for the season, their diseases were not, but in very few instances, of a serious character, and not attributable to diet or confinement.'

We cite this evidence, not for the purpose of imputing inattention or ignorance to Sir James, who was undoubtedly mistaken; but for the purpose of inferring, that if a practitioner of his skill and experience was deceived by the very insidious nature of the disorder, and even at that time was not induced to attribute any evil effect to the change of diet, or the habits of life of the prisoners, the committee may well stand excused that the epidemic was not sooner arrested in its progress. Sir James's report was laid before the committee at their next meeting, but the few days that had elapsed between the 17th and 22d had materially changed the face of things; many more cases of disease, and two deaths had occurred. It was now thought necessary to add strength to the medical attendants, and Dr. Mere Latham and Dr. Roget were called in, and requested to undertake the examination of the prisoners. On the 1st of March they commenced their labours, and according to a very able report afterwards presented by them, they found 'the prevailing disease to be the same with that which is known by the name of the sea-scurvy, and which is characterized by livid spots or blotches of the skin, especially on the lower extremities. Conjoined with the scurvy, in almost every case, there was diarrhoea or dysentery. There were, indeed, a few instances of scurvy without disorder of the bowels, and moreover numerous instances occurred of diarrhoea and dysentery where no marks of scurvy had appeared. But still, whether the scurvy subsisted alone, or the diarrhoea and dysentery subsisted alone, or whether they were conjoined in the same individuals, there was found in all those who suffered from either or from both, the same constitutional derangement, denoted by a sallow countenance, an impaired digestion, diminished muscular strength, a feeble circulation, various degrees of nervous affection, as tremors, cramps, or spasms, and various degrees of mental despondency.'*

Out of 858 prisoners, 448 were at this time affected in a greater or less degree, in one or other, or all of the forms of the disease;

* Pen. Report, p. 388.

the women were more affected than the men, and of both sexes those who were in the second class, and therefore had been longer in confinement, were more numerously disordered than in the first; not a single officer or servant, or any one of their families, was affected; and of twenty-four second class prisoners employed in the *kitchen*, all were free from the disease but three, who had been promoted to their employment there within four days.

In the month of March eleven deaths took place; of these it appears, from the evidence taken before the coroner, that four only can with certainty be attributed to the epidemic; but the public attention was so drawn to the state of the prison, that a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the matter, which continued to sit and hear evidence for nearly seven weeks; no less than fifteen medical gentlemen were examined as to the nature and cause of the disorder, as well as the proper mode of treating it; upon all which points, as might be expected, a great difference of opinion prevailed. After the committee had made its report, as the state and number of the sick fluctuated extremely, (it being one of the most distressing circumstances attending the disorder, that those who seemed to be recovered were perpetually relapsing,) three additional physicians were called in at the request of Dr. M. Latham and Dr. Roget, to share the heavy burthen; they were nominated by the College, and were Doctors Hue, Mac-michael, and Southey; a removal from the prison of those who were most affected was deemed expedient, and by degrees the whole number of prisoners were transferred to the Ophthalmic Hospital in the Regent's Park, or to hulks on the river specially provided for the purpose. Some remarkable circumstances have been stated to us connected with these removals; it is said that in several instances new turnkeys, who had never been in the Penitentiary, were affected with the disorder in the Regent's Park, and that the prisoners who were removed thither, into one of the healthiest and most airy spots round the metropolis, recovered so slowly and relapsed so frequently, that it was at last thought expedient to carry them also to the hulks, where it was found that the disorder was the most speedily and most effectually overcome.*

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* The term 'overcome' is even now, perhaps, stronger than we are authorized in using; for though no death has occurred from the disease since August last, yet a large proportion of prisoners still suffer short and slight relapses. Many, perhaps, feign sickness, in the hope of a pardon. His Majesty has already remitted a portion of the sentence of all the prisoners, in the following proportions—two years from ten, one and a half from seven, and one from five. Early in the present session of parliament it was determined that the male convicts who had been removed to the hulks should remain there permanently during their respective terms of imprisonment, and the 5 G. IV. c. 19. was passed for that purpose, which places them for the future under the management of the superintendant and overseers of the hulks. We do not find that any permanent

We have detailed this evidence with some minuteness, because the question of re-peopling the prison must be determined by the conclusion which is to be drawn from it as to the cause of the epidemic. Five different sources have been assigned: the change of diet, the length of confinement, the depressing nature of the system of discipline, the severity of the winter, and the low situation of the prison. If the last be the sole or most efficient cause, and the bad influence of it cannot be counteracted by measures in themselves free from objection, then, however it may be to be deplored, the only conclusion to which an honest and humane government can come, will be the abandonment of the prison as a penitentiary.

In an inquiry of this nature, it is natural, in the first place, to turn our attention to the opinions of the medical men who were employed, and who by an anxious attention during many months to every circumstance and symptom which could assist their judgment in the treatment of the disorder, were likely to obtain a number of premises, whereupon to found some satisfactory conclusion. Dr. Latham and Dr. Roget appear to us throughout to have been actuated by so much zeal and patient industry; and yet to be so free from systematizing, that we should have followed their guidance with great confidence. It appears, however, that they have by no means made up their own minds on the subject; and it is remarkable, and should teach us a lesson of caution in forming our opinions, that longer time, more facts, and more anxious examination have only served to make them more doubtful of their own impressions. In their first report, which we have already quoted, they attribute the disease, with some confidence, to the united effects of the diet and the weather. They state their opinion thus:

‘ In inquiring into the causes of the disease in question we think it right to state our persuasion that the situation of the prison has not contributed to its production. First, because if this had been the case, it is reasonable to suppose that the same disease would have occurred in former years; whereas it has never appeared until the present winter. Secondly, had this been the case, the officers of the prison being equally obnoxious with the prisoners to any injurious influence of situation, could not have been universally exempt, as it appears they have been, from the same disease. Thirdly, because, if the situation of the prison be injurious, it must be presumed to be so in consequence of marsh miasmata arising in its neighbourhood; yet since its establishment the prison has been altogether free from those diseases, which marsh mias-

manent arrangement has been made in respect of the females; probably they will never return to Millbank. No inference, we think, can fairly be drawn from this statute with respect to the intentions of government as to the ultimate re-opening of the Millbank; for at all events it would have been highly inexpedient that the same individuals who had once been removed on account of the malady, should be replaced in the prison.

mata

mata confessedly engender. Fourthly, because marsh miasmata always arise during the hot, and never during the cold seasons of the year, and the diseases which they engender belong to the same seasons. Lastly, because although scurvy and dysentery have undoubtedly been found prevalent in marshy districts, yet when marsh miasmata have produced them, they have been associated with intermittent fevers, and have occurred only at the hot seasons of the year. It may possibly be suspected that the simple dampness of the situation may have contributed something to the disease. But we can state with confidence that every part of the prison is singularly dry, and that in no cell or passage, on no floor or ceiling, or wall of the prison have we found the smallest stain or appearance of moisture.

Several circumstances respecting the disease in question, which have been already mentioned, seemed to limit the causes of its production to such as could have had their operation exclusively upon the prisoners, and especially at the present season, and now for the first time. One such cause is found, we conceive, in the diet of the prison. During the last eight months the diet was different from what it had been ever since its establishment. The change which took place in July last, reduced the animal part of the diet almost to nothing. In a soup made of peas, or barley, ox-heads were boiled in the proportion of one ox-head to 100 male, and one to 120 female prisoners; and we found upon inquiry that the meat of one ox-head weighed upon an average eight pounds, which being divided among a hundred allows only an ounce and a quarter for each prisoner. This new diet had been continued until the present time; and to it we mainly ascribe the production of the disease in question.

It does nevertheless appear to us, that the diet of the prison has not itself alone been productive of the disease, but that it required the concurrence of other causes, of which the severity of the winter was probably the chief. The origin of the disease has been traced to the commencement of the cold weather, and its progress and increase have kept pace with it. There are moreover two circumstances which confirm us in the belief that diet and cold have been concurrent causes. The sufferers were most numerous in that class of prisoners which was most exposed to the influence of cold, from the lower temperature of the cells in which they pass the night, showing that where both causes most conspicuously concurred, the disease was most extensively produced. Yet those individuals of that class, who sleeping in the same cells, and exposed to the same low temperature by night, were employed in the kitchen by day, and had access to richer diet, were universally exempt; shewing that where one cause was withdrawn, the other was of itself inadequate to produce the disease.—*Penitentiary Report*, Appendix E. p. 389.

Thus clearly and ably did these gentlemen reason in April; but in July, they presented another report, in which they say—

‘Unquestionably we do believe, that some *injurious influence* has been in operation, over and above the causes to which the epidemic was

was originally imputed. This injurious influence may have been present from the first, or it may have been subsequently superadded. Whatever it be, it has hitherto *eluded our detection*, and whether it is, or is not in operation at present, we cannot tell.—*Penitentiary Report*, Appendix E. p. 394.

We give them great credit for the candid manner in which they retrace their steps, and acknowledge their inability to assign satisfactorily the cause of the disease. It has been said, that the new facts to which they allude should have led them to an obvious conclusion, that the disease was contagious or infectious. We confess we do not see, how that admission would have advanced them a step nearer to the origin of the disorder; but the answer is very obvious—the whole doctrine of contagion and infection is so little understood, that he must be a rash theorist who will venture, from any two or three facts, however apparently strong, to assert their existence. Upon this point, however, they express themselves thus :

‘ Numerous cases in the Penitentiary, to which we have already alluded, have seemed to us quite inexplicable except upon the presumption of contagion. The fact may be otherwise; and authorities we are aware preponderate against the contagious nature of dysentery; nevertheless we have not thought ourselves justified in neglecting the practical measures, which the facts before us appeared to suggest, until medical opinion is settled upon this point.’—*ibid.* p. 395.

Though the names of Dr. Latham and Dr. Roget only are annexed to this report, they being indeed, at the time of presenting it, the only physicians in attendance, we think we may infer that, at least so far as this point goes, it speaks the sentiments of the three other distinguished practitioners, whom we have mentioned as latterly associated with them; it is probable, that if any difference of opinion prevailed on this point, or if any one of them had satisfactorily elucidated this difficult question, it would have been communicated in some shape or other so as to have reached us. But this has not been the case, and the physicians thus supplying us only with useful facts, and drawing no inference for us authoritatively, we should next look to the Parliamentary Report, which confidently negatives the influence of situation, and attributes the disease mainly to the new diet, p. 8. But this opinion professes to be in concurrence with the opinion of all the medical men examined, except Sir James M’Grigor, and the report makes no mention of the last cited medical report of Dr. Latham and Dr. Roget; it was therefore drawn up before that report had been presented, and its authority is very much shaken by this circumstance. The reasoning too upon which it is founded, only
proves

proves that the situation alone could not have produced the disease.

Under such circumstances it would be presumptuous in us to express a positive opinion; yet to a certain extent we think we are safe in drawing negative conclusions. Diet alone could not have been the cause, because at Dorchester the same diet had been successfully used for fourteen years; in the Devizes new prison for two years the prisoners have been very healthy on a diet wholly vegetable; at Millbank too, though they who lived more generously did not suffer at first, the disorder extended afterwards to them. The cold alone could not have occasioned the disease, because the same cold did not produce the same effect upon whole classes of people, who fared much more hardly in this respect; the prison too is well warmed, and the carpenters work remarkably weather-tight. We cannot perhaps so easily assign conclusive answers to the sole operation of long confinement, or melancholy system of life, because the effects of these cannot be so precisely ascertained; but it could not upon that theory be very satisfactorily explained, why these causes should produce so general an effect at one moment, rather than at another—we do not understand that there was any prevalent lowness of spirits, previous to the disorder breaking out; besides there are no instances of similar effects being produced in France, where the terms of imprisonment are often much longer, nor in America, where the solitude is much more severe and unbroken. Lastly, to the situation alone it is impossible to ascribe the disease, for it did not spread beyond the prison into the immediate vicinity, where all and more than all, the same local influences must have been in full action.

But what neither of these causes alone may have been able to produce, a concurrence of some or all may have occasioned; that moral causes operate strongly to the propagation and continuation of scurvy, the histories of all voyages bear ample testimony; and the fact that the second class of prisoners, and the females, were the first to be affected, is strong confirmation of this supposition; that exposure to severity of weather and lowness of diet have the same tendency no one can doubt; that the situation is one of peculiar healthiness, such as to repel these tendencies, no one can believe. Probably any four of the causes might have concurred, and, without the other, might have been innocuous; had the term of confinement been short, or had the manner of living been more cheerful, active, and out of doors—had the winter been less severe—had the situation been loftier—had the diet remained full and generous—in any one of these contingencies the disorder might never have made its appearance, or never gained that immense force and enduring hold which it unfortunately acquired. The causes which came last

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were the immediate and propelling agents, the others had prepared the subject matter to receive the impulse.

If this reasoning be just, there can be no difficulty in the practical conclusion to which we ought to come: of these causes some may be removed entirely, some in part; and at all events their concurrence may be prevented; there will be then no reason to apprehend the unhealthiness of the prison; and if so, there will be no reason why an institution so perfect in many respects, so promising in others, should be abandoned. The course of diet must be recast; it need not be restored to that excess, which induced plethora, and made the prisoners wasteful and fastidious; it were better far to give up the place as a Penitentiary, and turn it into a House of Correction for shorter confinements, than to make it a place for pampering those who ought to suffer severe privations and mortifications. But it must certainly be made more solid and nutritious than the Dorchester or Devizes fare; at the same time more air should be introduced into the yards by throwing down walls; the occupations of the prisoners should be made less sedentary, their times of exercise and labour much extended, and we cannot but think the duration of their imprisonment might be somewhat curtailed. We really believe it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in any situation or under any circumstances, or with any diet, to keep a body of prisoners in good health, who should understand that for seven or ten years they were to be confined, and lead such a life as was prescribed in the Penitentiary.

We here close our remarks, which have run to so great a length as to preclude us from adding to them by any recapitulation; we are well aware that they contain a feeble and imperfect, and yet perhaps not an useless summary of the great improvements that have been made, and the liberal views that have gained ground in this country upon every thing connected with prisons within a few years. As to the question of the Penitentiary at Millbank, when it shall again become the subject of parliamentary examination,* we are satisfied that it will be handled with that candour and patience, that freedom from prejudice, and that common sense, which so honourably distinguish the proceedings of the House of Commons upon all subjects calmly and seriously brought before them. Whatever be the result, we shall be sincerely rejoiced, if our examination should have the effect in any degree of preparing the minds of individuals for the discussion.

* A committee has been formed for reconsidering the subject, which has examined evidence, and closed its sittings, but circumstances have prevented the presenting of its report hitherto. Upon the nature of that report, and the probable measures of government in consequence, we deem it therefore becoming in us to say nothing at present.—*June 6th.*

ART. VII.—1. *Travels to Chile, over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821.* By Peter Schmidtmeier. 4to.

2. *Journal of a Residence in Chili during the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chili to Brasil in 1823.* By Maria Graham. 1 vol. 4to.

3. *Extracts from a Journal written on the Coasts of Chile, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820, 1821 and 1822.* By Captain Basil Hall, R.N. 2 vols. 12mo.

OF all the territories of the southern division of America formerly subject to Spain, Chili has been the least explored by foreigners. Its shores have been visited, its ports examined, and its maritime towns described by many of our own countrymen, as well as others, who were either engaged in discoveries or occupied in voyages of commerce; and who, relating what they were told rather than what they saw, have raised most extravagant ideas of the fertility, wealth, populousness and civilization of the interior. The language of Spain is naturally bombastic when literally translated; for though its most swelling phrases convey to the natives no more lofty ideas than the simpler expressions of other nations, yet when transferred, by those who are not accurately acquainted with the conventional force of the words, into any other tongue, they produce generally exaggerated, and often very erroneous, representations. In this way those who have visited merely the shores of the Pacific Ocean have imbibed ideas of the progress made by Peru and Chili in the different branches of civilization, which far exceed the picture exhibited by such as have accurately observed their internal condition.

From the time of Ovalle, who published his work in 1645, to that of Molina, who completed his history about forty years ago from notes taken long before in that country, no writer had furnished means for estimating the progress which Chili had made towards civilization during the intervening period. Vidaurre, like his predecessors, Ovalle and Molina, devoted more of his attention to the natural history of the country than to its actual productions. All those writers, whilst displaying the capabilities of the soil, neglected to inform us of the extent in which those capabilities had been called into action; and when describing the climate chiefly dwelt upon that which was the most genial and salubrious. From such accounts the European, who inseparably associates with such advantages the ideas of dense population and abundant production, will necessarily be misled. To counteract the imperfect and erroneous impressions thus created, it is useful to recur to mere travellers: from their journals—where the want of food, of water, and of resting-places is incidentally related—where the fatigue arising

arising from rude means of conveyance, unformed roads, and uncivilized guides and attendants are complained of—and the melancholy feelings excited by travelling for days through barren or uncultivated districts, or over steep, dangerous, and frozen mountains graphically described—the reader may deduce a sufficient number of facts to enable him to correct the too favourable statements of resident observers.

In this view each of the three works now before us has, though in different degrees and with some variation, considerable merit. Mr. Schmidtmeier and Captain Hall have related what they saw, with every mark of veracity and with becoming simplicity. The former of these gentlemen traversed the continent from Buenos Ayres to Chili twice, and returned by the same route; besides which, while in Chili he made excursions to the north and the south. He describes the manners and appearance of the inhabitants, the general face of the country, and what he saw of its agriculture, mining, manufactures and commerce. Mr. Schmidtmeier's accurate observations on the various occurrences that presented themselves make us regret that he had not consulted some native, who might have corrected his composition in what we must in candour presume to be a foreign language: we could, too, dispense with a portion of that German sentimentality which is sometimes suffered to interpose between more interesting matters. We are better pleased with his narratives than with his reflections, and should not have regretted the omission of much which he has extracted from other writers. With these slight censures we can cheerfully recommend the work, and we deem its scattered hints most valuable assistants in forming a just idea of the real state of the countries through which he travelled.

Captain Basil Hall, an officer whose amusing work on *Loo-Choo* has rendered his name familiar to the reader, has produced, under the unpretending title of 'Extracts from a Journal,' two volumes full of interesting anecdotes, and lively descriptions of events, which occurred during his professional visits to several places on the coast of the Pacific Ocean from Chili to the northern part of Mexico. We have not the slightest doubt of the accuracy of his narrative, and to every thing that he relates of what he saw or heard we give implicit credence. Mr. Schmidtmeier has prudently avoided entering into the subject of those party-politics which have visited with such dreadful calamities the late dominions of Spain in America. We do not censure Captain Hall for having followed a different course; though we should have been better satisfied if he had been a less decided panegyrist of one of the chief actors in the business of destruction, or a more hesitating believer in the power of reproduction with

with which the revolutionary leaders have duped the natives of the countries whose coasts he passed and slightly touched upon. We are, too, rather surprized at the degree of importance which he gives to the expressions of popular feeling which he witnessed among those with whom he chiefly associated. The state of blind subjection to which those people had been long accustomed, must have habituated them to such demonstrations as they exhibited in favour of whatever party obtained, for even a short period, the superiority. In countries differently circumstanced, the momentary ebullitions which the victorious party may excite, are very little to be depended on. The shouts which accompanied Cromwell, on his visit to the Lord Mayor, were probably as loud as those uttered in the progress of Charles the Second from Dover to Whitehall. The Parisians were equally versatile and equally clamorous in their applause of Buonaparte and of Louis XVIII. The Cortes of Spain, and their absolute monarch, were in their turn alike the objects of enthusiastic feelings and acclamations. In Chili, the Carreras, O'Higgins, and now Freire, have each, as their efforts raised them to supreme command, been the idols at whose shrine the popular incense has been rapturously offered. Captain Hall must be aware that in those territories which once belonged to Spain, and which now are said to be free, because they are no longer dependent on her, not the least symptom of disapprobation has been allowed to be expressed in any publication whatever. The few who can read must, if they read at all, receive the exaggerated representations and false colourings which the triumphant party may choose to publish. That such representations should be repeated from mouth to mouth by the vast proportion who are incapable of reading, is quite natural; and we do not wonder that even a British officer, amidst the triumphant shouts of victory, should be somewhat infected by the prevailing mania: we should have thought however, that a long voyage from St. Blas to Europe might have given time for reflexion, and sobered down that high-toned enthusiasm which, assuming prophetic power, can see, after a bloody contest of thirteen years, still raging with as much fury, if not with as much force, as at its commencement, the termination of the troubles in a state of peace, prosperity and freedom.

The colonial systems adopted by the several governments of Europe were founded on the views of the importance of colonies entertained at the period when those colonies were formed, and on the political opinions which prevailed in the countries from which they emanated. Those systems did not contemplate the growth which the colonies subsequently obtained; nor did they, for it was not possible they should, partake of the more liberal

ral views which the progress of time and knowledge gradually unfolded. The colonial system of Spain, formed in the reign of Charles V., could not possess that freedom which was admitted one hundred and fifty years later, when England planted her colonies in America. Spain had the task of subduing, and of reconciling to her policy and her religion, numerous tribes of natives, who were not so far advanced in civilization as herself, and who, like herself, had been subjected to an arbitrary and intolerant government. It is natural, then, that the institutions to be established should partake of the spirit of the age, and be accommodated to what were the habits of the old, as well as the new inhabitants of America. Had England formed establishments in America, in the reign of Henry VII., and had the countries in which they were formed, been as thickly peopled, and as far advanced towards civilization as Mexico and Peru, at the time of their discovery, we apprehend the more free institutions, which began to be practically understood in the reign of the Stuarts, would scarcely have found a place in the provinces of New England. The rudiments of that freedom which North America now enjoys, were laid in a period when the due rights of the governed and the limits of power in the governors were better understood, and more accurately defined than during the reign of the Tudors. In the latest of these periods, the great principle of religious toleration was unknown; a difference in theological opinion was universally acknowledged to be an atrocious crime, and was uniformly thought of with an abhorrence that seemed to justify the cruelty with which it was frequently treated. Deliberative legislative assemblies, freedom of discussion on public affairs, uniformity of contributions, trials by jury, independence of judges, publicity of judicial proceedings, personal security-laws, and other social improvements, were all the growth of the period which intervened between the conquest of Mexico and the colonization of New England. During that period, whilst the rest of Europe was advancing by regular though unequal steps, Spain, as well as Portugal, was oppressed by that night-mare of the mind, the Inquisition, whose tremendous and invisible power, exercised chiefly on those whose faculties would have been most likely to lead to general improvement, extinguished every spark of genius directed to any other objects than those connected with the art of war.

We are far from approving the mode by which Spain governed her distant possessions; but we cannot admire the taste which could induce an intelligent British officer, like Captain Hall, to repeat the exaggerated statement, which occurs in his 12th chapter, of the evils of that system, without even noticing the small portion of good which accompanied it. Some of the evils which he condemns

condemns are to be equally attributed to every other European government. England, France, Holland, and Portugal, like Spain, excluded their colonies from all commercial intercourse with other countries. The governors, commanders of the forces, and other elevated officers, were as generally chosen from Europe by those governments as by the court of Madrid. It was the weak policy of the parent states to discourage the production of such commodities in the colonies as they imagined would rival their own; and if the old principle that 'the colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother-country,' was not acted up to as extensively by others as by the Spaniards, we must make some allowance for those who had suffered severely from the buccaneers, and whose chief productions, gold and silver, were peculiarly calculated to excite the activity of numerous adventurers. In those particulars in which the Spanish colonial system was worse than that of other nations, the excess of evil may be traced to the religious feelings created and upheld in Spain by the abominable institution which we have already noticed, which bound in chains of darkness the minds of the court, the nobility, the army, the clergy, and even the Inquisitors themselves. Perhaps to this same religious feeling which produced the spirit of proselytism, may be traced the mild conduct of the Spanish government towards the coloured races. Neither the English, the French, nor the Dutch, were accustomed to treat the Indians or the negroes with that leniency which the Spaniards dictated to their colonists. The regulations of the Council of the Indies, with all the faults of the constitution of that body, were framed with a view to improve the condition of the inferior races, and where they failed of their intended effect, the failure arose more from the selfish views of the creole Americans than from any want of humane intentions in the official administration of the mother-country. Mr. Southey, in his *History of Brazil*, has related the obstructions practised in America to nullify the orders of the council of the Indies for abolishing the system of *encomiendas* and *mitas*, which Captain Hall speaks of as effected by what he most inaccurately calls the free governments recently established; which governments, especially that of Chili, have substituted the worse practice of military conscription, in the room of the long-abolished regulations of the mining *Mita*. The operations of the missionaries, and especially of the Jesuits, were dictated by humanity, and though their restrictions on the growth of the mind were found effectual to check advancement beyond a precise and that a low point, yet for elevating the rude savage up to that point, they were certainly well contrived. Their object seems to have been to keep their Neophytes in a state of pupilage, to preserve them from any wanderings into heathenish or heretical pravity, and thus to secure

their everlasting happiness, though in the process, and as a necessary part of it, all intellectual advancement was effectually suspended.

It is well known with what facility the evanescent revolutionary governments in America can issue abstract dogmas respecting liberty, and the still greater facility with which they can prevent their practical adoption. In this they have followed the example of the Cortes of Cadiz, who decreed that the Americans were in all their rights equal to the European Spaniards; and as soon as the Americans began to exercise the rights thus decreed, drove them to resistance and anarchy by opposing their own declarations.

We have indulged in so many remarks suggested by the perusal of Captain Hall's excursive and amusing work, that we had nearly overlooked the quarto of Mrs. Graham. She seems more infected with the abstract admiration of revolutions than Captain Hall, and in her Chilian and Peruvian politics is directly opposed to that gallant officer. Two of the leaders, General San Martin and Lord Cochrane, have, or rather, perhaps, we should say *had*, formed opposite parties—for these revolutionary heroes *come like shadows, so depart*;—Captain Hall temperately espouses the cause of the former; Mrs. Graham takes up that of the latter, and while she lavishes the most fulsome praise on the admiral, does not forget to abuse the general without mercy. As both were swept from the scene of action before their advocates committed to the press their respective exculpations, they can have no effect on the future fate of those chiefs, nor on the countries that have been the theatre of their exploits; but as they have been brought before the tribunal of the European public, we shall, before we close this article, assisted by some documents which have come to our hands, and which neither Captain Hall nor Mrs. Graham have inserted in their works, invite a slight portion of the attention of our readers to the subject.

The countries planted or subdued by Spain are so various in their characters and features, and had such different origins, that by merely general views it is difficult to communicate any very accurate conceptions of their present condition. As in our last Number we sketched a picture of Mexico, the nearest, the most populous, the most wealthy, and the most advanced in civilization of any of the trans-atlantic dominions of the Spanish crown, we shall now present a similar view of Chili, the most remote, the poorest, the weakest, and the least populous of them all. It has recently become more interesting than its real importance warrants, from its convulsive efforts at distant conquests, and from having by the assistance of a collection of marine adventurers, attracted by the hope of the plunder of that imaginary El Dorado, Peru, been enabled

bled to spread desolation and ruin over the only country that steadfastly maintained its adherence to the mother-country.

Under the dominion of Spain the captain-generalship of Chili extended from latitude 24° south to Cape Horn; but no settlements were actually formed beyond the 44th degree, so that the length occupied may be taken at 1400 English miles. Its breadth varied from 200 to 450 miles, stretching in some parts considerably to the eastward of the Andes, and in other parts, being bounded by that range of lofty mountains. Its surface may be about three times the extent of the two islands of Great Britain and Ireland. The great feature of the southern division of America, the ranges of the Andes, which from their height and consequent excessive coldness are uninhabited and uninhabitable, covers nearly one third of the surface of Chili. Between the loftiest of these ranges, called the Cordilleras, and the sea, two others are found, each lower than the next. These lateral ranges are connected by several cross elevations. Many deep vallies are thus formed, some of which, being filled with water from the melted snows of the Cordilleras, become mountain lakes; while others, in which the waters have found a passage to the sea, may be termed beautiful and fertile spots, in which pasture for cattle is frequently met with, when the great droughts of the lower lands have destroyed all the herbage. From the foot of the lower range of the Andes the land gradually descends towards the sea, but more precipitously near the shore than at any of the intervening parts. Even this comparatively low country is a continuation of cross branches or spurs from the Andes, presenting barren mountain-plains intersected by occasional deep fissures, in whose bottoms the melted snows form streams that in winter scarcely deserve the name of rivulets, but in summer, when the snows in the mountains most abundantly melt, become deep and rapid torrents, which sweep before them every obstacle. As rain very rarely falls in Chili, and only in the two or three winter months, and as dews are light when they are occasionally experienced, the districts between the ravines, exposed as they are to the constant influence of an unclouded sun in that warm climate, are almost destitute of vegetation, and present either bare rocks or barren sands to the eye of the traveller. The only inhabited or cultivated portions of this extensive country are those specks scattered over its length in what are called the *quebradas*, or fissures, through which the melted snows find a passage to the sea. The six or seven towns in Chili are all, except the capital, St. Jago, situated near the spots of these ravines, where they terminate in the Pacific ocean. Ovalle, Molina, and the other authors who have described the country, have overlooked the vast intervals between these

these fissures, and confining their accounts exclusively to the narrow vallies, have, as we observed, represented Chili as a country possessing a soil and climate of the highest degree of fertility. These exaggerated statements are properly reduced to their just value by the authors under our consideration. Captain Hall, in his ride from Valparayso to the capital, observes :—

‘ The whole country seemed burnt up ; not a blade of grass was any where to be seen ; not a drop of moisture ; every thing was parched and withered along the baked ground, which was riven into innumerable crevices. In the course of the morning we passed several ridges of hills, and here and there the eye was gladdened by the sight of a slender strip of green, pointing out the course of some mountain stream.’

The more extensive journies of Mr. Schmidtmeier give the same picture of the face of the country. On his long excursion from Guasco to Valparayso, he remarks, ‘ We had not met in Chili with any herds of cattle or of sheep, nor had we seen any spot during this extensive journey in it, where they could be maintained in numbers :—the cultivated grounds appear but as very small spots over an immense waste.’ The general want of moisture and the consequent sterility of Chili may be conceived by the fact which this author states, ‘ that from Maypo in Chili to Atacama, a distance of one thousand geographical miles, all the rivers and streams which flow westerly from those huge masses the Andes, would not form so considerable a body of water, as that with which the Rhone enters the lake of Geneva, or of the Thames at Staines.’ This excessive drought is, however, less felt on advancing southward into a more temperate climate. From the river Biobio, in latitude 37, to the Straits of Magellan, the land is moistened by abundant rains, and it is from this portion of the country that the most striking pictures of the high fertility of Chili have been drawn. Between that river and Valdivia, the whole country is occupied by the unreclaimed Arucanian Indians, whose exploits have been sounded in Europe by the epic poet Ercilla. According to the interesting account of them in Captain Hall’s work, their present ferocity, if not their courage, is equal to that of their ancestors, which the poet has recorded. The country is untraversed by Spaniards, and still maintains its independence, and its wars with the republicans of Chili, who are on both its frontiers. The city of Concepcion, by whose garrison the Arucanians were kept in check towards the north, is in a state of desolation, whilst Valdivia to the south, after being seized by Lord Cochrane, presents to them no barrier to be dreaded. The best part of Chili, the country near Concepcion, is so exposed to their ravaging incursions as to present no inducements
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to attend to its cultivation, or to attract the inhabitants of the more northern and less fertile parts to settle there.

We find much difficulty in estimating the number of inhabitants in Chili. No authentic accounts have presented themselves to our notice, nor rewarded our researches into the amount of population. Every traveller who inquires of a Spaniard either in Europe or America the number of souls or of families in the town or province of which he is an inhabitant, will be assuredly, if not designedly, deceived. In an instance now before us this may be exemplified. Mrs. Graham, doubtless on the faith of some of its citizens, states Valparayso to contain 15,000 inhabitants; Mr. Schmidtmeier, who is certainly an accurate observer, and appears to have accustomed himself to such kind of estimates, calculates them at 3,500. We have seen in some of the Spanish periodical works the whole number of inhabitants in Chili estimated at 600,000. There was no disposition in them to lessen the number, and they included portions which are detached from that country, or opposed to it at present. In their calculation were included the towns of Mendoza, San Luis de la Punta, and San Juan de Frontera, with the territories around them on the eastern side of the Andes. These small provinces have now assumed independence, and are exercising that independence by hostilities with each other, with the petty republic of Cordova, and, whenever it suits their caprice, with Chili and Buenos Ayres. To make up the number, the whole province of Cuyo is included, consisting of the Indian tribes, the Pecunches and Pehuenches, descended from the ancient Aucas, and mixed with Mulattos, who form a wandering tribe. In the same calculation are included the Arucanians on the western side of the Andes, who wage interminable war, and the people of Chiloe, who, under the Spanish commander Quintanilla, are holding that position for Ferdinand, whilst their chief, according to Mrs. Graham, 'displays a loyalty like that of the old knights of romance, rather than any thing one meets with in modern days.' Our readers may form some judgment of the actual population of the republic, for such, we believe, it is called, of Chili, from the summary drawn by Mr. Schmidtmeier, after he had finished his journeys and visited all the towns except Concepcion and Valdivia.

'The population of Santiago, with its suburbs, rated at about 40,000, is an estimate in the correctness of which both common report and appearance seem to concur. Captain de la Pérouse and Von Kotzebue, who were both at Concepcion, have set down its population at 10,000, and according to the information which I have received from several persons who have been there, it appears thus, and including its port Talcahuana, very fully rated. I have been twice at Coquimbo, and believe it unlikely that all its inhabitants, those in its vicinity included, could

would make up the number of eight thousand. Between three and four thousand for Valparaiso and the Almendral are an ample allowance; and now that we have travelled over, or heard of all the other cities and towns of Chili, if we unite the population in them and in their immediate neighbourhood, with that of the three places mentioned above and of the capital, we shall not make up the number of 100,000. Where else shall we again look for twice that amount? The road from Santiago to Concepcion, it is true, leads through many long straggling villages; but in all the space which lies to the right and left of them, settlements are small and few. On the northern roads, from the capital to Copiapo, the hamlets and detached dwellings are still less considerable or numerous, and we cannot expect to find on either side of them a population of much importance, as the few large villages in that direction are not thickly inhabited. Valdivia is a fort with a small nearly deserted town, and with an insignificant territory thirty miles long and twenty broad, chiefly covered with woods. Chiloe is not at present united with Chili, and all other below Concepcion have been either wholly or partly destroyed and forsaken. Ultimately, and summing up all, we may not be able to find much more than 250,000 souls; which might be supposed the minimum, and 400,000 the maximum of the population of that country.*—p. 355.

From the nature of the soil on the few spots on which establishments have been made, and in the Spanish maps dignified with the name of cities, we may account for the desolation of many which we have formerly heard of. The rapid vegetation soon buries the remains of houses built of unburnt bricks, and the cities of Imperial, Repocura, Orsonio, and others, are now only to be found in the map of De la Cruz.

The city of Concepcion, which Mr. Schmidtmeier has included in his estimate of population, has been destroyed by one of those

* As much exaggeration has been circulated respecting the population of the several states of America formerly subject to Spain, it may not be amiss to correct these ignorant or wilful misstatements. In North America, Mexico, including Guatimala, at present separated from it, contains, we have good reason to believe, about 8,000,000 inhabitants. In South America, the population of New Granada, Caraccas, and Guiana, before the desolating war, and before they had assumed the present name of Columbia, was estimated at 2,500,000. Peru appeared by the last *Guia de Peru*, published in Lima, by Don Hipolito Uanane, to contain 1,100,000. Chili was never reckoned by the Spaniards higher than 600,000, and is now estimated by Schmidtmeier at the most 400,000. Buenos Ayres, in the report made to the North American commissioners Rodney and Graham in 1818, was represented to contain 1,500,000. In that number was included the inhabitants of the country under the rule of Artigas called Banda Oriental—that is, Monte Video and its surrounding territory in possession of the Brazilians—Paraguay, Tucuman, and Potosi, which still retain their allegiance to Spain—and the small independent and hostile republics of San Juan de la Frontera, San Luis de la Punta, and Mendoza. These are all statements made by the inhabitants themselves, and were drawn up before the dreadful devastation which thirteen years of barbarous hostility have produced. The decrease in this aggregate number of 15,000,000, since 1810, if judged of from the vast decline in exportable productions, must be very considerable.

resolute

resolute villains who flourish in revolutionary times. He had been sometimes a royalist, sometimes a republican, and sometimes independently of both parties practising on his own account. The effect of the operations of this ruffian, called Benavides, is well depicted by Captain Hall in the account of a visit, made for a humane purpose, to the theatre of his exploits. He proceeded from the Port Talcaguana to the city of Concepcion,—

“ * In the course of our ride,’ he says, ‘ we passed over many leagues of country, once evidently covered with habitations, but now totally deserted, and all the cottages in ruins. Rich pastures and tracts of arable land of the finest quality were allowed to run to weeds, without a single individual to be seen, or a cow, a sheep, or indeed any living thing. The town of Concepcion, even at a distance, partook, in its appearance, of the character of the times; for the churches were all in ruins, and the streets in such decay, that we actually found ourselves in the suburbs before knowing that we had reached the town, so complete had been the destruction. Whole quadras, which had been burnt down and reduced to heaps of rubbish, were now so thickly overgrown with weeds and shrubs that scarcely any trace of their former character was distinguishable. The grass touched our feet as we rode along the foot-paths, marking the places of the old carriage ways. Here and there parts of the town had escaped the ravage, but these only served to make the surrounding desolation more manifest. A strange incongruity prevailed every where: offices and court-yards were seen where the houses to which they belonged were completely gone; and sometimes the houses remained, in ruins indeed, but every thing about them swept away. Near the centre of the town a magnificent sculptured gateway attracted our attention: upon inquiry, we found it had been the principal entrance to the bishop’s palace, of which there was not a vestige left, although the gateway was in perfect preservation. Many of the houses which did remain were uninhabited; and such is the rapidity with which vegetation advances in this climate, that most of these buildings were completely enveloped in a thick mantle of shrubs, creepers, and wild flowers, whilst the streets were every where knee deep in grass and weeds. A solitary peasant, wrapped in his poncho, stood at the corner of the square, leaning against the only remaining angle of the cathedral; and in a dark corner, among the ruins of the falling aisle, were seated four or five women round a fire cooking their meat, by hanging it in the smoke over the embers. The town, though stripped of its wealth and importance, was not wholly depopulated. The few remaining inhabitants had drawn together for mutual support and consolation in these sorrowful times. The children were almost all handsome, and had the appearance of belonging to a fine race: unlike their parents, they were unconscious of the evils by which their country had been overwhelmed, and though doubtless hungry, and cold enough, looked as happy and merry as their elders were despondent and miserable.’

The city of Santiago, as well as the other towns in Chili, are constructed

constructed in such a manner as to prepare them for the rude shocks given by the earthquakes, which are of frequent and sometimes tremendous occurrence. The streets are so wide as to afford security to the inhabitants in the middle of them, when their houses are shaken down by the dreadful convulsion. The walls are formed of unburnt bricks, or rather cakes of clay dried in the sun, about four inches thick, from fifteen to eighteen long, and from nine to twelve broad; these are cemented by the same substance in a more moist state, and usually plastered within with the same earth. The houses rarely have more than a ground floor, and are covered sometimes with tiles, but more commonly with thatch, and the latter is plastered over with a coating of clay. Almost every one has a garden as a place of refuge from earthquakes, and the trees in these growing higher than the roofs of the houses, give to Santiago, at a distance, and even when entering its streets, more the appearance of a wood than of a city. The inferior dwellings are sheds, built on posts, with either branches or reeds interwoven. Such are the buildings in the few towns. In the country, the owners of a farm or of cattle have long single-floored ranges, constructed like those of the towns, whilst the peasantry have mere cages of cane, not better nor more sheltered from the weather than a building would be in England if twelve hurdles were set on end, forming a square, and covered over with others. So little is wet regarded, that the peasantry usually take off their clothes when it rains, justifying the practice by saying 'the skin dries quicker than cloth.' According to Mr. Schmidtmeier, this description of persons commonly sleep in the open air, and he himself during his journeys, frequently adopted the same practice.

The inhabitants of Chili may be most naturally divided into two classes, the highest and the lowest, with scarcely any gradations between them, or any of those connecting links which soften the differences of station in the more civilized countries of Europe. The patrician or aristocratic families are the great landed proprietors. They are the descendants of the first settlers, or of military or civil officers from Spain, who obtained grants of vast portions of land, which being confined by the strict entails called *Mayorazgos*, have been transmitted to their descendants. Other tracts of land, of similar extent, have been appropriated to support the different religious foundations in the country.

'Some of these estates,' says Schmidtmeier, 'not only reach from the foot of the Andes to the sea, but have claims over that series of mountains to their plains on the eastern side, being hundreds of miles in length, with a breadth from twenty to thirty. Some of their cattle, in order to keep alive the right of possession to themselves and their masters, come down the eastern declivity, but the masses of that chain
are

are so wide, and the cattle of the Mendozines and the San Juanistes so few, that there is no risk of hostile contacts. Even on the Andes there is no common pasture land, and if the muleteer wish that some of his beasts should have the benefit of the fattening and invigorating alpine plants, he must pay for it to the owner of a section of those mountains.

Mrs. Graham informs us, that between Valparayso and Santiago, a distance of ninety miles, three proprietors possess the whole soil. She adds, 'that government has it now in contemplation to remedy this evil,' by allowing sales or long leases of portions of the land. But what she calls the government, (General O'Higgins, who had reigned four years,) was driven away by another military adventurer, before this design was attempted to be executed. In the same rank with these large landed proprietors, some of whom have had titles of nobility transmitted to them, may be classed those who work the few mines still kept open, and the higher clergy, with the officers civil and military. There are some exceptions to this representation, and in one or two of the vallies that open to the sea, are to be found a few clusters of small independent proprietors, such as Schmidtmeyer has noticed in the vicinity of Aconcagua.

Though we have spoken of nobility and aristocracy, they must not be confounded with the terms in use with us. The proprietors of Chili are great herdsmen; and the whole population, with slight exceptions, have merely advanced in civilization from the hunter to the shepherd state. Each of the residences of these proprietors, whether called a Hacienda, a Rancho, a Chacra, or an Assiento, is provided with what the Americans call a store, where the noble shopkeeper retails sugar, flour, ardent spirits, clothing and domestic utensils, to the poor that surround his establishment. Like all people in that state of society, they are hospitable to strangers, and in a country where no public houses of entertainment are yet known, the feelings of a traveller may well be allowed to dictate those expressions of gratitude with which Mrs. Graham and Mr. Schmidtmeyer record their reception at the houses of several individuals. This gentleman's account of an evening passed at the Assiento de Guasco, or Santa Rosa, is characteristic of the state of society.

'We stopped at a small village, Santa Rosa, the only one in this valley between the shipping place and the town, a distance of thirty-five miles. The chief inhabitants are engaged in mining and in the retail trade of their shops. At night they came to the house where I had been received. On a long slip of carpet sat the ladies, after the old custom of the country; the most favoured place is a bench along it: a tertulia was formed, the men were of gentlemanly deportment, even the master muleteer came in to pay his respects, but took a proper station near the door; the other sex kept up a gentlewomanly appearance.

ance. Cigars were smoked by the former, and the conversation turned principally on copper, the ships expected to call for it, and on the expedition then preparing against Peru. The desire of information does not yet seem to extend much beyond what concerns mines and stores, and once satisfied that I had not come to buy copper, our arrival in the valley of Guasco ceased to afford any interest. During the tertulia, a feature characteristic of ease and indolence was exhibited. A poor boy, sent on an errand, thrust his head in at the door, and asked, "is there sugar?" The lady of the house, her husband not being within, answered "there is," but did not move for a considerable time; at last she left the party and went to the shop to help the boy. I have generally observed in this country, the appearance of as much favour conferred by dealing goods out, as by asking and paying for them.—p. 266.

If the same simplicity of manners is not to be seen in the capital among the few families of what, for the sake of distinction, may be called rank, yet the descriptions given by Mrs. Graham, who seems to have judiciously naturalized herself with them, evince a grossness of manners very remote from what is to be seen in any part of Europe, or even in decent company in North America. That lady, in giving an account of her reception dinner, at the house of one of the first families, on her arrival in the capital, says,

'The dinner was larger than could be thought consistent with good taste; but every thing was well dressed, though with a good deal of oil and garlic. The greatest kindness is shown by taking things from your own plate and putting them on that of your friend; and no scruple is made of helping any dish before you with the spoon or knife you have been eating with, or even tasting or eating from the general dish without the intervention of a plate. The table is stuck in one corner of the darkest, dullest, and meanest apartment of the house, so that one end and one side only allow room for a row of high chairs between them and the wall, so that any thing like the regular attendance of servants is precluded.'

Even with the fear of tiring our readers by descriptions of Chilian aristocratic manners, we cannot, after our slight sketch of a dinner party, refrain from giving the lady's account of one of the several routs at which she was present, and though it was at the mansion of one of the most distinguished families, the others so much resemble it, that further description becomes unnecessary.

'In the evening, the friends and relations of the family arrived, and the young people amused themselves with music and dancing. The elder ones conversed over a chafing dish, and had a thick coverlet spread over it and their knees, which answers the double purpose of confining the heat to the legs and preventing the fumes of the charcoal from making the head ache. It is but lately that the ladies of Chili have learned to sit on chairs, instead of squatting on the estradas. Now in lieu of the estrada, there are usually long carpets placed on each side of the room, with two rows of chairs, as close together as the knees of the

the opposite parties will permit, so that the feet of both meet on the carpet. The graver people place themselves with their backs to the wall, the young ladies opposite, and as the young men drop in they place themselves behind the ladies, and conversation is carried on without ceremony in half whispers. Dancing begins by minuets, which are followed by allemandes, quadrilles and Spanish dances. The latter are exceedingly graceful, as danced here; but then the waltz never brought youth and mirth and beauty into such close contact with a partner. However, they are used to it, and I was a fool to feel troubled at the sight. Some of their habits are disagreeable; for instance, a handsome fat lady, who came all in blue satin to the palace (*for it was at the viceroy's palace*) to-night, had a spitting-box brought and set before her, into which she spat continually, and so dexterously, as to shew she was well accustomed to the manoeuvre. However, the young ladies, and all who would be thought so, are leaving off these ugly habits fast.'

In a country where few men and scarcely any women can read, where there are no books which can induce them to acquire that art, and where all political views are confined to their own country, to Buenos Ayres and Peru, it is not to be expected that the current conversation should extend beyond the topics which most interest them, their shops, their farms, and their mines. Accordingly we find in the three works before us, no hint that any thing approaching to that interesting conversation which is to be met with, more or less, in all polished society in England, in France, and in Germany, was suffered to interfere with the smoking, the music, the dancing, and above all the gambling, that generally prevailed. A gay and gallant officer like Captain Hall, might, on landing from a long sea voyage, find amusement in the frolics of the *Tapadas*, (disguised ladies,) and the jovial gaiety of their homely circles. A lady, like Mrs. Graham, in her calamitous situation, was prudent in accommodating herself to their customs, and wise in entering into their amusement, whilst the more thoughtful German (as we suppose Mr. Schmidtmeier to be) could indulge his disposition to observe manners and generalise characters.

We have sketched the higher classes in Chili from the scattered features of them incidentally furnished by our authors. The picture of the great mass assimilates so nearly to that of the lower classes in other countries, that the representation of them may be comprised in a few words. We have noticed their dwellings, or rather their cages; their dress and utensils are on a similar scale; their chief food is inferior meat, with some preparation of maize flour, abundance of garlic, much fruit, especially water-melons, and a profusion of that useful condiment in a warm country, the *capsicum*, or Chili pepper. They are now almost wholly derived from the

the intercourse between the original inhabitants and Spanish settlers. If any of the pure Indian race remains, it is so mixed with the European, that, in language, in religion, and in general habits, it is no longer distinguishable. There were in Chili few negro slaves, and the decree for abolishing slavery, issued early in the revolution, was a mere affectation of philanthropy. The remains of the old system of *encomiendas*, or forced labour, though long ago abolished by the Spanish government, continued in practice, and though Mrs. Graham, by way of compliment to the revolution, states it to have been abolished in the beginning of that series of calamities, still the practice is continued. She says, 'that duty-work was abolished; that servants are now paid, and are beginning to have houses of their own. Yet still much duty-work is done, in fact, by the Peons and half Indians on every estate, although it may not be strictly legal: but what are the poor to do? They must take their shelter and their food from some employer, and the employer will often exact from him several labours beyond the law.'

Whatever slight alleviation might be afforded to their condition by the paper abolition of the *encomienda* or duty-work systems, under the revolutionary chiefs that have risen up, they have suffered far greater evils by being made subject to the military impressment. Thousands of the ablest and strongest individuals were taken without their own wills being consulted, brought bound in files from their hamlets to the sea-ports, and dispatched with little food, scanty clothing, and with only the promise of future pay, to serve under chiefs who regarded their lives and their comforts less than that of the cattle on the estates from which they had been forcibly transported. The mortality among these wretched peasants, both on their voyage to Peru, where they were stowed closer than negroes on the middle passage, and after they had landed at Ancon, was enormous, and could only be replaced by successive levies of recruits from their fellow-labourers, who were seized and conveyed to their destination in the same manner. We have the most undoubted evidence of this from an eye-witness, and indeed, without it we should be at a loss to account for a country like Chili, with its erratic population, being enabled to produce armies on a sudden, bearing to its inhabitants a proportion double to that which France or England, with their abundant resources and their density of people, could, after much delay, bring into the field.

The great abundance of horses has formed the natives of Chili into excellent horsemen. They rarely walk the distance of a mile, and they keep, generally, a horse saddled and bridled at their doors, to convey them from house to house. Among all classes, indolence seems to be the general habit, unless roused by some extraordinary occasion,

occasion, when they are capable of endurance, abstinence, and sometimes even perseverance. Mr. Schmidtmeier's remarks on the peasantry are evidently the result of just observation.

“The hours which I daily passed with the poorer classes, afforded me many opportunities of observing their good and cheerful dispositions, their becoming language and manners, the gentleness and the seemingly affectionate feelings with which they live with each other: their children appear to do what they please, but such is their natural idleness, that they are probably seldom inclined to mischief. This habit of indolence, which pervades all ages, is, however, strongly belied by liveliness of countenance and speech, and often by considerable exertions when necessary. A feature which deserves particular notice, is the security with which a traveller may pursue his journey, sleep in open air, and remain entirely exposed during his rest, although known to be travelling for commercial purposes, and generally with much money or valuable goods in his trunks. There are few spots in Chili where this may not be done without risk. To receive strangers is, even with the poorest, an act of hospitality rather than of self-interest.”

The idea of their superiority to more polished people, which seems to be universally cherished in the state of society a little advanced beyond the condition of savages, was remarked by Schmidtmeier among the Chilenos.

“I had often observed,” he says, “on the road, that I was not looked upon, nor so well treated, as my own muleteers; for they were not only signioried on all occasions, but sometimes called by the high title of *Señor Cavallero*; whilst they very seldom, if ever, would vouchsafe to signior me: their answers were a plain yes or no: their asking again what I meant to say, hey or what? At one place he observes, ‘I called the lady of the house Signiora, her husband Signior, but failed in obtaining any corresponding marks of respect. I once asked why they did not call me Signior, as I did them: they stared and laughed, actually humoured me afterwards several times, as they would have done a child asking for a little sugar, but shortly relapsed into what I clearly saw implied some felt or assumed superiority over me.’ He adds, ‘Many tribes of American Indians, which we hold in low estimation, are known to look down on us as drudges, constantly intent on gain, and much inferior to themselves.’”

Education in this country appears to be on a very low and confined scale. The slight benefits conferred by it are limited to a few young men of the best families, whilst that of the females is wholly neglected. The establishments for this purpose are under the direction of the clergy, who have received in them the mere rudiments of knowledge; and the excessive bigotry and superstition of that body, united with their conceit, seem to forbid the hope of improvement. The charlatan decrees regarding education, issued by the revolutionary rulers, have experienced the usual fate of such

impositions: they had scarcely begun to operate, before they were annihilated.

The chief rural occupation is the breeding and fattening of horned cattle. One of the large proprietors of land, the Marquis of Larraín, is stated to have herds amounting to fifteen thousand head of cattle; and several others possess from five to eight thousand. No part of the rural economy of Chili is so peculiarly characteristic as the mode of catching these animals, killing them, and preserving their flesh. A cord (lasso) made of the hide of a bullock is employed for taking them, and dexterity in the application of it is the exclusive object of the education of those who use it.

‘The unerring precision with which the lasso is thrown is perfectly astonishing,’ says Captain Hall; ‘and to one who sees it for the first time, has a very magical appearance. Even when standing still, it is by no means an easy thing to throw the lasso; but the difficulty is vastly increased when it comes to be used on horseback, and at a gallop; and when, in addition, the rider has to pass over uneven ground, and to leap hedges and ditches in his course: yet such is the dexterity of the Guassos, that they are not only sure of catching the animal they are in chase of, but can fix, or, as they term it, place their lasso on any particular part they please; over the horns, round the neck, or the body, or they can include all four legs, or two, or any one of the four, and the whole with such ease and certainty, that it is necessary to witness the feat to have a just conception of the skill displayed. If a wild bull is to be caught, and two mounted horsemen, or Guassos, undertake to kill it; as soon as they discover him, they grasp the coil in the left hand, prepare the noose in the right, and dash off at full gallop, each swinging his lasso round his head. The first who comes within reach, aims at the bull’s horns, and when he sees, which he does in an instant, that the lasso will take effect, he stops his horse and turns it half round; the bull continuing his course till the whole lasso of fifteen or twenty yards in length has run out from the guasso’s hand. The horse, meanwhile, knowing by experience what is going to happen, leans over, as much as he can, in the opposite direction from the bull, and stands in trembling expectation of the violent tug which is given by the bull when he is brought up by the lasso. So great indeed is the jerk which takes place at this moment, that, were not the horse to lean over, he would certainly be overturned; but standing as he does, with his feet planted firmly on the ground, he offers sufficient resistance to stop the bull as instantaneously as if he had been shot, though at full speed; and in some cases the check is so abrupt and violent, that the animal is not only dashed to the ground, but rolls along at the full stretch of the lasso; while the horse, drawn sideways, ploughs up the earth with his feet for several yards. This, which takes so long to describe, is the work of a few seconds, during which the other horseman gallops past, and before the bull has time to recover from the shock, places the lasso over the horns, and continues at advancing till it also is at the full stretch.

stretch. The bull, stupified by the fall, sometimes lies motionless on the ground; but the horsemen soon rouse him up, by tugging him to and fro. When on his legs, he is like a ship moored with two cables; and however unwilling he may be to accompany the horsemen, or however great his struggles, he is irresistibly dragged along by them in whatever direction they please. If the intention be to kill the animal for the sake of the hide and tallow alone, as is often the case, one of the guassos dismounts, and running in, cuts the bull's hamstrings with a long knife which he always wears in his girdle, and instantly afterwards dispatches him by a dexterous cut across the back of the neck. The most surprising thing is, the manner in which the horse, after being left by his rider, manages to preserve the lasso always tight; this would be less difficult if the bull would remain steady, but it sometimes happens that he makes violent struggles to disentangle himself from the lassos, rushing backwards and forwards in a furious manner; the horse, however, with wonderful sagacity, alters his place and prances about, as if conscious of what he is doing, so as to resist every movement of the bull, and never allowing the lasso to be relaxed for a moment.

When a wild horse is to be taken, the lasso is always placed round the two hind legs; and as the guasso rides a little on one side, the jerk pulls the horse's feet laterally, so as to throw him on his side, without endangering his knees or his face. Before the horse can recover the shock, the rider dismounts, and snatching his poncho or cloak from his shoulders, wraps it round the prostrate animal's head; he then forces into his mouth one of the powerful bridles of the country, straps a saddle on his back, and, bestriding him, removes the poncho; upon which, the astonished horse springs on his legs, and endeavours, by a thousand vain efforts, to disencumber himself of his new master, who sits composedly on his back, and, by a discipline which never fails, reduces the horse to such complete obedience, that he is soon trained to lend his speed and strength in the capture of his wild companions.

During the recent wars in this country, the lasso was used as a weapon of great power in the hands of the guassos, who make bold and useful troops, and never fail to dismount cavalry, or to throw down the horses of those who come within their reach. There is a well authenticated story of a party of eight or ten of these men, who had never seen a piece of artillery till one was fired at them in the streets of Buenos Ayres: they galloped fearlessly up to it, placed their lassos over the cannon, and, by their united strength, fairly overturned it. Another anecdote is related of them, which, though possible, does not rest on such good authority. A number of armed boats were sent to effect a landing at a certain point on the coast, guarded only by these horsemen. The party in the boats caring little for an enemy unprovided with fire-arms, rowed confidently along the shore. The guassos, meantime, were watching their opportunity; and the moment the boats came sufficiently near, dashed into the water, and, throwing their lassos round the necks of the officers, fairly dragged every one of them out of the boats.

The agriculture of Chili is at a low ebb. The chief of its products

ducts is wine of a very indifferent quality. So little advance has been made in the most common mechanic arts, that the business of a cooper is scarcely known. The wine is brought from the vineyards in skins, as in Spain; but from the ports, what little is shipped, is conveyed in large earthen jars; and, indeed, in the absence of casks, water for the use of the shipping equipped in Chili is preserved on board in similar vessels. The vines are planted about eight feet asunder, and run along upon low sticks placed crossways; they are pruned down to two or three of the knotty shoots of the last growth—nothing more is done to them; and, in consequence, the space below is covered with lucerne so abundantly, that a part of the grapes are deprived of sunshine, and absolutely choked by the grass and their own foliage. In consequence of this management, some of the grapes are rotten before others approach to ripeness; and, as all are gathered and trodden out together, the composition thus obtained is very unpleasant in flavour; and the best, after undergoing a forced fermentation, is thick, heady, and so unwholesome that seldom more than two or three glasses can be drank in a day without bad effects. From the grape a species of brandy is distilled, which nothing but the prevalent love of ardent spirit among sailors can make drinkable.

The wheat of Chili is remarkably fine, and its productiveness has been celebrated by Ovalle, Molina, and Ulloa. Mr. Schmidtmeyer seems to have examined the subject with attention; and, though his inquiries give a result far short of the accounts of those authors, the increase much exceeds anything known in Europe: he estimates it at about twenty-five for one. They sow less than half the seed that is usually sown in England, because the corn plant spreads out into a large branch with many stems; so that the thinnest sowing is sufficient if the seed be good. Notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, it requires nearly as much time to bring the grain to maturity as in England or Germany. The failure of crops is by no means uncommon. The blight of one year will sometimes occasion the total loss of the crop in the next. On the brows of the mountains Mr. Schmidtmeyer was told 'that the cultivator was satisfied if he got a tolerable crop out of two or three ploughed and sown for, though the others should not yield him anything.' He does not estimate the average produce of an acre of wheat at more than thirty-five or forty bushels. Maize is more cultivated, as being more productive than wheat, and as forming a preferable food to the greater portion of the inhabitants. Barley is grown chiefly as food for horses and mules. Oats are unknown, and some experiments for raising that grain seem to have failed. Cabbages and potatoes are abundantly cultivated, and especially capsicum, which seems to form an indispensable article in all the culinary preparations of Chili. Oranges, lemons,

lemons, olives, and pomegranates, as well as peaches, apples, pears, and figs, are more or less grown in all the parts of this division of South America. Sheep are not much attended to; their wool is coarse, and their flesh not esteemed. Pigs and goats are to be met with, but not so generally as they probably would be if the feeding of horned cattle were not more easily conducted than providing subsistence for those animals. The ancient beasts of burden of South America, the guanacos, are still found in the Andes; but the horses, which have multiplied excessively since their introduction, have superseded the use of those animals; and all conveyance of goods, of every kind, is conducted on the backs of horses or mules. The coasts abound with fish, but in the abundance of beef, that species of food seems to be neglected; few fishing boats, or small-craft of any kind is to be seen on the coast of Chili.

The mining seems to afford the greatest occupation next to agriculture and breeding cattle. There was a period when the gold and silver mines yielded an annual quantity of their metals, to the amount of about 700,000 dollars. Mr. Schmidtmeier visited the once celebrated mines of Uspallata, where he found neither inhabitant nor habitation; 'the strokes of the miners,' he says, 'were not heard, and the mines are, I believe, totally abandoned.' The once productive mines of Tiltil are stated by the same gentleman to 'have been abandoned because of the accumulation of water;' and he adds, 'it was contemplated by some British settlers, to make the trial of a steam-engine, and again to work one of them.' The remarks of this traveller, when on his journey to Coquimbo and Guasco, may account for the declension in the produce of the mines of the precious metals.

'We were crossing a stream in a small lonely valley, when we heard the strokes of the mattock, and found an old man, a lavador, digging and washing for gold; but he did not appear thriving in his pursuit: no golden harvest shone on his ragged garments, nor was there any other indication of reward for the hard toils, of which his wrinkled weatherworn face and his exhausted body manifested the effects. I was told that these people, generally taken, seldom got more than a scanty daily subsistence. The hope of meeting with a *pepita*, or lump of gold, sustains the exertions of the *lavadores*.

At present the greatest production of mineral wealth from Chili is copper, which is chiefly raised near Copiapo and the other northernmost districts near that town. Both Mr. Schmidtmeier and Captain Hall visited the copper works, and have described the rude process by which the metal is separated from the impurities with which it is found in the mines. It is, however, after all, far from clean, and undergoes a further purification in the countries to which it is exported, before it is fit for use, by which a loss of fourteen per

cent. in the weight is incurred. The labouring in copper mines is represented by these writers as the only branch of industry on the increase. Captain Hall says, 'the produce of copper in one year has lately risen to more than sixty thousand quintals, of one hundred Spanish pounds each. The greatest part of this goes to Calcutta, a small quantity to China, and the rest to the United States and Europe.' It is said, that veins of lead, iron, tin, and quicksilver have been discovered in the Andes; but as none of the mines have been worked, if their existence be a fact, the richness of the ore is unascertained: and whilst there are no roads in the country, no labourers to be employed, and no capital to pay them if there were, they are of little importance.

The manufactures of Chili are insignificant. A little wool and cotton is spun in a rude way, and afterwards woven into ponchos, a kind of blanket, with a hole in the middle, through which the head is thrust, which forms almost the universal dress of the inhabitants. Some utensils of clay are fabricated for domestic purposes, and Mrs. Graham praises both the form and texture of the pottery. The most extensive use to which it is applied is as a substitute for casks.

The commerce of Chili merits some detailed examination, because we think neither of the three writers under consideration has acted with perfect fairness to that class of British traders who are most liable to be seduced into injurious adventures. No trade can be beneficial longer than it is reciprocally so. If the surplus produce of a country be less than the value of the commodities sent to it; those who send them must necessarily experience a loss. Captain Hall and Mrs. Graham speak with apparent exultation of the number of British and North American vessels, with cargoes, that flock to the shores of South America; but they do not notice what sales have been made of those cargoes; nor (what, we think, they must have heard from the merchants with whom they mingled, though perhaps they may have forgotten it) the ruinous losses which attended their adventures. The same system of deception which has duped many British capitalists, under the name of loans, has tempted traders to send goods to Chili, far beyond the amount for which the commodities of the country can ever pay. We think, as much attachment to the interests of their countrymen as is discovered to revolutions in the abstract, might have drawn from these two authors some warning intimations to prevent evils in future, similar to those which are now actually and extensively experienced.

Before the attention of Chili was drawn from commerce to revolutions, before its capital was consumed by its convulsive efforts in distant invasion, and before its active population had been thinned by internal and external warfare, its trade, like that of other countries,

countries, was commensurate with its surplus productions and the wants of its inhabitants. It exchanged with Buenos Ayres the produce of its mines of gold and silver for the herb maté, the tea of Paraguay, whose use was as general as that of the Chinese tea is in England. Since the mines were closed, and the intermediate districts convulsed, this branch of commerce has been nearly annihilated, and the maté has so risen in price as to be only obtainable by the few whose property is not wholly dissipated. With Peru the trade from Chili consisted in exchanging wheat, jerked beef, hides, and tallow, for sugar, coffee, cotton, cocoa, and some European commodities. This trade has been also nearly annihilated since the wasting desolation to which the sea-coasts of Peru have been devoted. Occasionally a vessel arrived from Lima, in her way to Spain, by which the copper was transmitted to Europe. A contraband trade was carried on along the coast by English and North Americans; sometimes by vessels professing to be engaged in the whale fishery; or by others so strongly armed as to defy the revenue cruisers.

Since the revolution began, the ports having been opened to all the world, and exaggerated representations of the wealth of the country zealously circulated, ships from all nations have resorted to Chili with cargoes very far exceeding the wants of the country, and exceeding still more its capacity to furnish commodities to pay for them. According to Captain Hall, the copper amounted to 60,000 quintals, at thirteen dollars, or about 160,000*l.* sterling; the silver to 20,000 marks, or about 40,000*l.* This is the whole of the products with which to make payments for the prodigious quantities of goods poured into Chili from the various districts of Europe and North America. The consequence has been, that the foreign commodities have been reduced in price far below their cost in the countries from which they were brought, whilst the only commodity adapted for those countries, which Chili can furnish, has risen in similar proportion. Thus the Englishman who sends his goods to Chili loses by his sales, and again sustains a further loss in his returns. Captain Hall has given the former and present prices of several commodities, which sufficiently show the state of commerce. Of British goods it appears, that printed cottons, worth formerly from 18 to 24 reals, now sell from 2½ to 3 reals, or from 16 pence to 19 pence. Velveteens, which were at 26 reals, sell for 2 reals or 13 pence; and crockery-ware, which once sold for 360 reals the crate, now sells for 40 reals, or 2*l.* 1 shilling. We leave the English merchants and manufacturers to determine how heavy the loss to the shippers of such goods must be. The agricultural products of the country have suffered a similar diminution, since the vent for them in Peru has been closed. Thus wheat has fallen from

5 to 2½ reals; jerked beef, from 10 to 7 or 7½ reals; and tallow, from 8 to 6. The only commodity that has risen is copper.

We are advocates for freedom of trade in its fullest extent, and shall not suffer ourselves to be frightened from our advocacy by any of the evils which revolutions bring in their train. But when we are seriously told of a peasant being zealous for independence, because, by the freedom of trade which it has introduced, he buys his shirt cheaper than he did formerly, we must be allowed to hesitate before we admire his inductive powers. We must think that trade cannot be long beneficial to Chili, by which the countries with whom it trades are losers.

Much has been said of the monopolies by which, under the Spanish colonial system, European goods were rendered to the consumers at enormously high prices. We suspect those evils to have been over stated, and believe they arose more from the extent of capitals in classes of individuals, than from any regulations of the government. They more resembled the monopoly enjoyed by the brewers and distillers of London, than that which the laws have conferred, in the case of tea, on the East-India Company.

The situation of trade in Chili does not seem to be bettered by the introduction of this boasted freedom which the republicans have bestowed upon it. The same influence which was exercised by individual capitalists is now exerted by those at the head of affairs. According to Mrs. Graham (p. 275.), the minister and his partner are the great speculators; and, in anticipation of the new taxes which they were about to impose, 'In addition to the spirits and tobacco they long ago purchased with the government money, have now bought up the cottons, cloths, and other articles of clothing, and only their own agents are able to procure such for any customer. This,' she says, 'added to the want of a small coin, and the use of notes for three-pences, only payable, or rather exchangeable, for goods from their own shops, is a severe grievance.' When ministers of state are shopkeepers, their own shop is likely to be first considered; hence the whole import trade of Chili is confined to Valparayso, where, and at the capital, to which it is the port, the minister Rodriguez and his partner Arcas carry on their trade. But with a license from government, ships may go to Guasco and Coquimbo to load copper. Our system of permits on certain excisable commodities is certainly harassing as far as it extends; but Chilean legislators have extended that system to every commodity conveyed from one place to another. There are two classes of revenue officers, 'some stationary and some ambulatory; the latter are to be obeyed wherever they are met, on the hills, on the road, or out of it, in all weathers. They are to have a copper badge about the size of a crown-piece, which they are to wear concealed;

concealed; and yet if they stop a cargo in the midst of the wildest plain, or in the worst weather, that cargo must be opened, and is not to be removed till proper officers are fetched to watch it to the nearest station, to see whether it contains smuggled goods; or whether a piece of cotton runs a yard more or less than the manifest.

Such is the account given by Mrs. Graham of some of the new regulations for trade, according to a decree issued for their improvement whilst that lady was at Valparayso. Mr. Schmidtmeier notices the regulations in actual practice, previously to the promulgation of this improved edition of them.

The inward duties levied on most articles of foreign manufacture amount to about a third part of the arbitrary value set on them by the officers of the custom-house. I had an opportunity of witnessing the trouble and delay which attended the mere transfer of some goods purchased in Santiago, destined for a shop in the country, in which case a small inland duty is paid. Every article, however trifling, was put down, with its measure, and the whole made up a little book: the officers examined each of them separately, and fixed their value on it; this tedious operation ended, for which whole days were required, and the small duty paid, a *guia*, or permit, was granted, without which the goods would have been liable to seizure on the road.

The trading partnership between the prime minister and the nephew of the archbishop seems to have hit upon various expedients for bringing custom to their shop. When after many and long delays the seamen of the squadron came to receive their wages, they were paid in bills of twenty-five dollars; four only of which they could get silver for, the rest they were compelled to expend in clothes at the shops set up for that purpose by the minister's partner at Valparayso. (*Graham*, p. 317.) From the same authority we learn, that when Lord Cochrane returned to Valparayso from Lima, having a claim to a house on shore, an order was sent to the governor of the former place to provide one: 'the governor consequently pitched on one of the most commodious in the port, and sent an order to Mr. C——, an Englishman, to remove with his family, and to leave it furnished for the admiral.' Lord Cochrane had not so far divested himself of all English feeling by his connection with this land of liberty, as to avail himself of the power of the government, and would not allow Mr. C—— to move.

We have dwelt at greater length on this subject than its importance may seem to merit, because it is the freedom of trade in which, according to the views of Captain Hall and Mrs. Graham, the great benefit of the revolution is to be felt. In every part of those dominions of South America which once belonged to Spain, the impolitic restraints on trade, which formerly existed, have not only been

have continued by the present rulers, but have been strengthened and enforced with greater severity than before. We cannot, therefore, give to the assumption of these writers,—an assumption in direct opposition to the existing facts,—that implicit faith which prophetic politicians seem always to claim for their predictions. We see no reason to conclude that, because when Spanish ships could no longer enter their ports, those of other nations, on paying most exorbitant duties, were permitted to do so, the successive rulers of that country will feel it their interest to give to commerce more freedom than may appear to them to suit their own party or personal advantage.

We see no greater reason to expect that more regard will be paid to the security of the property of individuals in future, than the South American revolutionists have hitherto afforded it. The possession of such wealth as could be easily made available to public purposes, has not directed the cupidity of the successive governors to the same kinds of confiscation that were practised in France, and recently attempted in Spain, by the Jacobins in the one and the Liberals in the other country. The spoils of the church in America presented no temptation; it would only have brought to their treasuries land for which there were no purchasers; but the capitalists of the country, the old Spaniards, offered a booty worth seizing. All of them were in succession stripped of the wealth which they possessed, and in many instances they were first either secretly or openly put to death, without even the shadow of a trial. The few who escaped with life, endured long imprisonment, and were literally reduced to beggary. These men were not only possessed of the capital, but of what intellect and commercial integrity was to be found in those countries. Captain Hall, who may always be trusted when he does not predict, says of them:—

‘ They undoubtedly are far better informed men, more industrious, and more highly bred, than the natives in general. As merchants, they are active, enterprising, and honourable in their dealings. It is only on the national question between them and the natives that they are liberal; towards those with whom they have business to transact, they are always fair and reasonable. They are much less tainted with bigotry than the natives; they are men, taken generally, of pleasing conversation and manners, and habitually obliging to all; and when not pressed by immoderate danger and difficulties, especially so to strangers; for, notwithstanding their habitual jealousy, their prejudices never interfere with their cordial hospitality, and even generosity to all foreigners who treat them with frankness and confidence.’

Such is the character given of the capitalists of Spanish America by Captain Hall, the avowed enemy of their political party. Now on what reasonable grounds can free trade, or any trade, be expected,

pected, when the capitals that were to furnish productions are dissipated by patriotic robbers? or when the integrity and intellect, equally necessary, are banished by the furious excitements communicated to a savage population under the hollow pretences of liberty, equality, and independence? We see, with this gallant officer, 'nothing in this revolutionary drama, that is acted to the life, but the cruelty and the sorrow.'

We have long and ardently wished to see the dominions of Spain in the western world independent of her absolute power, and flourishing under free governments. We have watched with anxious attention every step that has been taken from the moment when, by the folly and fears of the Cortes of Cadiz, those dominions were compelled to plunge into anarchy, and thus, step by step, to become the dupes and the victims of those pretended patriots who were most profuse in flattering the selfish passions of the lowest of their ignorant population. We have marked their course through the several stages of their progress: anarchy began, the reign of terror quickly succeeded, military despotism next followed, and convulsive efforts were attended with splendid but destructive success; and now, deprived of resources, exhausted by exertions beyond the strength of nature, they have become the easy prey of any adventurer who, like Ereire in Chili, or the present leader in Buenos Ayres, has sufficient skill to keep together a banditti, under the name of an army, that can compel the countries, from their scanty means, to yield them support.

We have been speaking of South America, for we still entertain hopes, though by no means sanguine hopes, that a better fate may be reserved for Mexico and Guatemala. The first of those countries, though dreadfully torn by the internal convulsions which raged from 1810 to 1815, has enjoyed a comparative degree of repose for eight years. The same kind of plunder and confiscation has not been practised there as was exercised in Caraccas, Buenos Ayres, Peru, and Chili. The Spanish capitalists, under the protection which Iturbide afforded them as far as he could, either withdrew their funds with their persons, or if they remained, were allowed to enjoy it with little molestation; and we believe not a single individual was executed, and few imprisoned, merely because they were rich, and could by extortion be made to yield money to the state. That country declared itself independent of Spain too, at a period when the fallacy of the wild theories of democracy had been extensively exposed in all their hollowness and egotism. Guatemala has suffered less from internal convulsion than Mexico, and though it withdrew from the connection with that country on the abdication of Iturbide, it may be again united with it. If that should be the case, the revolutionary spirit, which requires constant war

war for its aliment, will have nothing to feed upon. It is too remote from other countries to tempt their adventurers to attack them, or to excite that hope of plunder by which the revolutionists have been enabled to lead the rude population of the several divisions of South America to invade each other. If there be in Mexico and Guatimala sufficient common sense and good feeling to create and support a real and efficient executive government—a government not wavering with every breath of popular agitation; if confidence be established for the personal security of each individual; if some sufficient check be placed on extravagant expenditure, and on the contributions to the public treasury, as well as on the mode of levying them, no hostile attacks from Spain can annoy them extensively. If, however, a civil war cannot be prevented, if the different provinces arm against each other, if the disorganizing principles of democracy should be diffused through that savage population, and one demagogue succeed to another in urging them on to their ruin, the soberer part of the people may prefer even the government of Spain to a state of anarchy; and thus they may again fall under that heavy yoke from which they are at present freed.

The revolution in Chili has followed with so much regularity the common routine of such calamities, that there is little difference, except in the names of the actors, between it and that of St. Domingo, of Buenos Ayres, of Colombia, and the other countries which have suffered from the operation. Men, of influence from their wealth, but of slight mental powers, were urged to take the first lead, and having kindled the ferment, those who prompted them to act, having more energy and no restraining moral principle, soon consigned them to insignificance. Of this description was the family of the Carreras, who for a short time, till the executioner dismissed them in succession to another world, held the supreme command. Mrs. Graham has drawn the character of the most prominent member of this factious family, and as we think it will suit that of most of those who have figured in a similar way as, *par excellence*, the friends of liberty, we give it in her own words:

‘Don Jose Miguel Carrera, of an ancient Creole family, was possessed of great advantages of person, natural intelligence, and many qualities of a higher class, but was uneducated and wild. In early life, like the heroes of Molière’s comedies, he had recourse to all sorts of petty and entertaining roguery, to raise money to supply his private, and not always innocent, expenses; till at length one of these expedients encroached so largely on the fortune of an uncle, that his father sent him to Spain, where he entered the army. There is a dark story of an Indian being murdered while defending the honour of his wife or daughter, which his enemies talk loudly of, and his friends know to be

too

too consonant to his habits not to fear it true. He imbibed in Spain a spirit of enthusiasm, and a knowledge of partisan or guerrilla warfare; and he returned to Chile with no profit but a wish to join in the struggle for independence, and no desire but to imitate Napoleon—to profit by what had been done by others, and to possess the country, and raise his family to a rank hitherto unequalled there.

In this biographical sketch we see the regular process by which the characters of revolutionary leaders are formed. In youth, dissipation, cunning, swindling, and want of filial affection, constitute the first step; then violation of female honour, and murder; then guerrilla warfare and its vulgar enthusiasm; then selfishness, under the guise of patriotism; next the acquisition of popular applause and of supreme command; and then, on a small vibration of the scale, of fortune, banishment and distress; and finally, as in this instance, the scene closes by the hand of the executioner. After the fall of the Carrera family, consisting of several brothers, who all came to an untimely end, a series of successful operations took place by which the Spanish forces were completely annihilated. General San Martin, whose early history is hid in obscurity, having the army at his disposal, placed O'Higgins, the reputed natural son, by an Indian female, of an Irishman who had been governor-general under the Spanish monarch, at the head of affairs. Under his Protectorship, for such was the title which he assumed, the expedition to ruin Peru was undertaken. A fleet was manned with the refuse of all nations, except Chilenos, which rivalled the actions of their predecessors, the buccaneers, and as far as the object of spreading desolation in Peru was concerned, was eminently successful. It has terminated by making that country the theatre of sufferings, whose effects are only mitigated by want of materials to feed it, and by the destruction of the force which inflicted the evils. Neither navy nor army remains to Chili, nor the means to collect either, should the country be again assailed. The few troops that were left to defend the southern frontier against the incursions of the Arucanian Indians, were induced to revolt by their chief, Freire; and he led this handful of men to the capital, where the complaisant protector, with his little senate, allowed him to assume the supreme command. Thus another military chief has risen to rule over a country more afflicted by the hands of its own unprincipled and ambitious chiefs, than by the tremendous earthquake which has levelled its habitations in the dust.

As the fleet of Chili was conducted by an Englishman, though under the orders of the commander of the land forces, and as almost the whole of the efficient seamen were either British or North Americans, it is not wonderful that its achievements should have been of a character to excite terror in the ill disciplined and feebly

feebly commanded navy of Spain. The operation of cutting out armed ships from under powerful batteries had been indeed very generally attempted, and had most commonly been crowned with success, during the latter years of the long war which raged in Europe. The Spaniards on board the *Esmeralda* must have kept a most negligent watch, as the first intelligence of the attack seems to have been the meeting of the parties who had boarded her on different sides, on her quarter-deck. After a desperate but confused resistance, the ship was carried, and removed beyond the reach of the batteries, before those who ought to have directed them had acquired sufficient calmness to point their guns with any effect. The moral influence of this gallant operation, an operation which discovered both skill and courage in Lord Cochrane, was far beyond what could have been produced by an action of equally successful result on the open sea; and we cannot but think that the prompt and decisive conduct of the naval part of the armament forms a contrast not to the advantage of the commander-in-chief who personally led the land part of it.

When by the united efforts of the army and navy the great object of plunder was in some measure attained by the surrender of Lima, we are not surprized that the commanders of the two arms should quarrel about the division of it; or that one should accuse the other, when they had both been disappointed in its amount. Without offering any opinion on the relative demerits of the combatants, each of whom treats the other as the vilest of culprits, we may give the outline of the charges reciprocally produced.

The secretary of state, Monteagudo, in a letter to Lord Cochrane, dated 3d October, 1821, after relating several scandalous transactions, which he affects to pass over, accuses him in the most direct manner with having levied contributions on the merchants trading on the coast, without authority; and with giving passports to places blockaded by order of the government, by which his lordship alone profited. There is something so whimsical in the style in which the secretary addresses the noble culprit, that we must amuse our readers with a few literal extracts.

‘Your excellency has sent the ships of the squadron, against the positive order of the commander-in-chief, to places and objects in opposition to his plans. Your excellency disarmed the Pueyredon against the wish of the government of Chile, and took possession of the prize which that vessel had just made, in spite of the orders that were communicated to you, and the claims made by the captain premier. Your excellency caused to be stolen the medicines of the army in Huará, ordering Captain Crosby, with an armed force, to break open the doors of the room in which they were deposited. Your excellency gave passports to the prisoners of the Lord Lyndock for the contemptible consideration

deration of the money that you have received from them. Your excellency has possessed yourself of the private property on board the *Laura*, and you have opened the public correspondence which she brought from Chile. Your excellency has deposed various captains, without the forms prescribed by the articles of war, substituting for well deserving officers others who were unworthy, and who had no other recommendation than that of being entirely devoted to your interest. Your excellency has taken of the property of government, monies which exceed double of its debt to the squadron; and notwithstanding you have not returned the money of private individuals, exposing many to almost certain ruin of their fortunes, and proving in this your bad faith; since otherwise you would have returned a surplus, as your pretext for surprizing it was to pay the squadron.'

'The other charges are promoting insurrection in the fleet—negociating treacherously with the enemy—slandering the governments of Chili and Peru—and disobedience of orders—for all of which San Martin would have before exposed him, but from consideration for 'the military life of the accused, and his character as a general of the state of Chile.'

It is rather singular that Mrs. Graham, as the professed advocate of Lord Cochrane, and who has not been sparing in the letter-press of her Appendix, should have omitted to favour the public with the charges and counter-charges thus brought by the general and the admiral against each other; more especially as she represents herself as being employed in printing, whilst in Chile, the composition of the latter, and speaks of it with no slight complacency. Whoever has seen, and happens to recollect, Lord Cochrane's address to Lord Ellenborough, published after his trial, will be able to conceive the kind of answer which he would give to the charges brought against him. In his letter to this ex-protector of Peru, dated 19th November, 1822, instead of refuting his accusations, he assumes the office of accuser; and with every vituperative epithet that language could furnish, charges his late commander, Don Jose de San Martin, with being 'a liar, a coward, a cheat, a robber, a hypocrite, and a murderer.' These charges, in a paper of forty pages, are reiterated, varied, and pertinaciously maintained. As a specimen we quote a passage from a production, the whole of which would form a valuable study for one who felt either delight or disgust in the contemplation of revolutionary heroes.

'My plan,' says Lord Cochrane, 'was, on the capture of Lima, that one half of the Spaniards property should be taken, leaving them the remainder; your plan, after assuring them of protection, and selling them letters of citizenship, was to take the whole, and banish their persons; and accordingly, after you had obtained half their property at the price of their permission to embark the other half, you caused the remainder to be seized, and hundreds of the miserable owners to be crammed

crammed into the prison-ship *Melagro*, where your soldiers on guard completed the work of deprivation. Some of the old men who were piteously dragged from their homes and imprisoned, some crowded in the ship just mentioned and some in another, in order to be transported to Chile, died of grief and ill usage; but those who died, and those who were murdered on their passage under a most questionable pretence of intended resistance, cannot in this world bear testimony to these atrocities; but of those who survived and were brought to Chile, some yet live as witnesses of their truth.

It is not for us to settle the point of precedence between these two heroes. The whole correspondence brings to our mind a tale of Franklin's. Two men who had been most violently accusing each other of villany, at length appealed to him. 'I am no judge of the matters in question,' said he, 'but you seem to know each other.'

ART. VIII.—*Aspersions Answered: an Explanatory Statement, addressed to the Public at large, and to every Reader of the Quarterly Review in particular.* By W. Hone. 8vo. pp. 68. London. 1824.

INFIDELITY is not so good a trade as it was four or five years ago. When men's pockets were empty, their tempers were soured, and their ears open to every evil suggestion. But with the improvement of their resources, there has occurred the natural improvement of their dispositions, and the radical and deist are left to bewail the loss of their auditors and admirers. To relieve himself from this distressing situation, Mr. Hone has published a pamphlet, announcing that his character has been quite mistaken, that he is a very sound Christian, and that, in his opinion, 'Christianity is a pure principle—a mental illumination, &c. &c.' To prove the purity of his faith, he thinks it necessary to show that the Apocryphal New Testament, (published for him,) the base and disgraceful falsehoods of which we exposed nearly three years ago, was not written with any bad intentions against the Christian religion, and that we wilfully misrepresented its design and execution. Having said that the pamphlet before us is published by this notorious person, and put together by himself, or one of his party, we need not add that it is written in a spirit of the most vulgar and contemptible ferocity. The nature of such men cannot be mistaken, and it would be as unjust towards them, as it would be degrading towards ourselves, to feel either wonder or anger at their using the dialect and style to which they are habituated. The time happily appears so distant at which dispositions like these can hope for the same freedom of action, as of words, that the implied menace at the conclusion

clusion of the tirade, towards the individual supposed to be the writer of the article on the Apocryphal New Testament, is simply ludicrous. Hardly less absurd are the reproaches directed against him for concealing his name under the shelter of a Review. The exposure of a bold bad man, and the detection of ignorance and falsehood, are actions which can cause no shame, and require no concealment: but it is well worthy of the sagacity of this pamphleteer, to accuse his adversary of aiming at notoriety, and hunting after church preferment, and yet of endeavouring to throw a cloak of secrecy round his name and actions!

Mr. Hone, it may be remembered, advertised an answer to our Article immediately after its publication, and continued for some time to do so; but that answer never appeared. The allegations of dishonesty which we brought were such as to cast some discredit, we presume, on the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament, even among his own coterie, of *αυφί Ωνιον*—and a more worthless crew never sold themselves to work wickedness—and it was judged necessary to make a show of resistance. But it was not quite clear at that time which way the tide of public affairs and opinions would set, and therefore it was not prudent for Mr. Hone to commit himself farther, or more decisively. Had the evil spirit so long prevalent increased, or had it not received a decided check, we should have heard no more of Mr. Hone's Christianity, or our malignity; but we should probably have received his thanks for so clearly establishing his claim to the character of an anti-Christian writer. Of his intentions at the time when the Apocryphal New Testament was published, besides the whole tone of the work and the general system of falsehood pursued, its very form (which, we presume, was designed to caricature the Gospels of the New Testament) and the manner in which the publication was hailed by the Liberal Party, were sufficient proofs. We shall not disgust our readers by repeating Sir Richard Phillips's nauseating praises of it; it is sufficient to say that he prophesied it would soon be bound up with the real Scriptures, and be the subject of pious discourses and commentaries! and that another Magazine (once far more respectable than his) ventured, after a deal of more odious trash, to say that it was even 'affirmed that from St. Matthew's Gospel it could be shown, that he recognized' one of the most infamous of the forged gospels as genuine!

We notice this pamphlet, not because such accusations as it brings against us require any answer, but because their dishonesty will more clearly fix the character of the party concerned in the production of the Apocryphal New Testament; and because we think that an useful lesson may be derived to the half-learned readers of infidel writings, from the extraordinary degree

of ignorance which the editor of that work is compelled to confess, in order to escape from the heavier charges of falsehood and dishonesty. One great accusation brought by the pamphleteer against us (in common with others) is, that we have basely attacked the literary reputation of Mr. Hone, by our assertion that, contemptible as was the execution of the Apocryphal New Testament, that worthy person neither was, nor is capable of being the editor of it. Even this charge the pamphleteer cannot state with any regard to truth. In page 15, he says, 'He (the Quarterly Reviewer) informs his readers that I (Hone) am a poor illiterate creature, far too ignorant to have any share in the composition of the work.' We knew nothing of Mr. Hone beyond his publications; Heaven forbid we should! we wrote professedly as knowing nothing; we 'informed' our readers of nothing whatever on our own knowledge. The passage which he garbles is this: '*He (Hone) is represented to us as a poor illiterate creature, &c.*' - What words could be chosen to express more distinctly that we spoke from the information of others, not from any personal knowledge of Mr. Hone's capacity or incapacity? The statement we gave was and is generally credited; nay, in this very pamphlet, (p. 50) grievous complaint is made of Archdeacon Butler for actually alluding to an individual as the *real* editor. The only authority on the other side is the assertion of this falsifying pamphleteer; we prefer that of common rumour; she cannot be convicted of fouler mendacity than he will presently be. The matter is, however, one of perfect indifference; if it be true that Mr. Hone was the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament, the only difference in his demerits is, that, instead of paying others for inventing and propagating falsehood, he performed that meritorious work, *proprio Marte*. We have no doubt that the editor and the Pamphleteer are the same person; the similarity of their styles of equivocation and juggle is a strong proof of their identity.

The next charge (page 19) is that we reproached him for having produced, for his own purposes, some wretched forgeries ascribed to St. Jerome, as genuine, when Fabricius had clearly exposed the imposture. This clear logician thinks that he has convicted us here of wilful falsehood, for, says he, '*I cannot read Latin, and could not therefore know what Fabricius said.*' Unless we were to know, by divination, that a person who undertook such a publication as the Apocryphal New Testament, was incapable of even reading the *collections** on the same subject, how are we liable to any accusation of falsehood? But he goes on. '*If the Re-*

* The Pamphleteer, sagely imagining that Fabricius's is an original work, accuses us here of inconsistency in saying that he had read it, and yet that he had not had recourse to any original source of information!

viewer exults upon this declaration,' (that he cannot read Latin,) 'it will be the unsanctified triumph of malignity over misfortune.' Does this man really suppose that there is one human being to whom Mr. Hone's ignorance or knowledge can give either pleasure or pain? But the impudence of this defence is really beyond belief. Fabricius is quoted in the Apocryphal New Testament, as often as it suits the purposes of the flagitious editor, without a hint that that voracious personage was unable to consult him; and it is too much, even for him, when accused of concealing the statements made in a book quoted by himself whenever it suited him as authority, to defend himself by retiring on his own inability to read it.

We are amazed at the audacity of his next charge. He ventures, in the most outrageous terms, to revile us for saying that Jones subscribes to the opinions of other scholars as to the imposture practised about these very forgeries, and to accuse us of absolute falsehood. Let us hear Jones's own words. He wishes to show, that the Gospel of the birth of Mary was commonly ascribed to St. Matthew, and considering these forgeries as *old*, he refers to them for that point. 'I know, indeed,' says he, (vol. ii. p. 132.) 'that learned men have generally agreed to reject these epistles as not being Jerome's. Thus Sixtus Senensis, Coke, Rivet, Cave, and others of this sort of writers, to whom, if I should in this point subscribe, yet, as I dare venture to say the letters are very ancient, so it is not likely that the author of them would venture on a forgery of such a fact in which every one would be able to confute him.' Thus our readers will see, that not only does Jones assent, but that we were careful to express his assent in his own phrase. Indeed, we are well assured, that, as far as we are concerned, no defence can be necessary; but it is necessary to expose the impudent falsification of Mr. Hone, or his pamphleteer. This phrase occurs in the very part of Jones's work from which the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament has garbled his account of the gospel of Mary; so that he must have seen it a thousand times, both before his first publication, and before this pamphlet in which he dares to conceal the passage, and then to ground an accusation of falsehood against us, on an inconsistency in Jones. Having found an express declaration from that writer on the point, we certainly did not suspect that, in another part of the work, not connected with the gospel of Mary, he varied somewhat from his former opinion. All, however, that Jones says in a passage which Mr. Hone has now found, and on which he builds his charge of falsehood against us, is, that the letters may certainly be spurious, but that he does not see the evidence of their forgery in so clear a light as the writers above alluded to. But, on closer inspection, it appears that subsequently Jones reverted to his first opinion; for still

farther on, (vol. ii. p. 165.) he again treats the letters as a forgery, citing one of them in these words : ‘ the author of the *Epistle under the name of Jerome*.’ What will now be thought of this wretched pamphleteer, who, having before his eyes the very passage which we quoted, chooses to overlook it, and to accuse us of falsehood, instead of charging Jones with inconsistency ?

His next attack is, if possible, more disgracefully false. We stated that the old Gospel of Mary had disappeared, and that the present was the miserable forgery of a later age ; and we complained that the editor, though clearly aware of this, only said, that ‘ the ancient copies differed’ from the present, a general expression borrowed from Jones, while he carefully avoided subjoining Jones’s explanation on the matter. Will it be believed, that this pamphlet writer ventures to declare, that Jones gives no explanation, when, in the very next page of Jones’s work, that writer says,—not that there is a trifling variation in the old and present copies, as his expression might appear to denote, and as the editor wished to insinuate, but—distinctly, ‘ *The ancient and present copies are not the same*, which is further evident from the *manifest contradiction* which I have observed between them’ ? Will it, we repeat, be believed, that any one, we will not say of common honesty, (for that is out of the question,) but of common sense, would venture to accuse us of falsehood for saying that Jones explained his general expression, when this explanation was before his eyes ?

The Pamphleteer proceeds to revile us for assigning to St. Jerome, whom he calls our favourite father, his usual title ; and follows up his abuse with an extract from Beausobre, on the folly of calling any writers saints, and with four or five pages of vulgarity against St. Jerome in particular. That father will not suffer much, we apprehend, from such an assailant ; and with regard to ourselves, we said not a word in praise of Jerome. We mentioned him six or eight times, and omitted to give him his usual title except twice, (so well founded are the Pamphleteer’s accusations !) We said that he was not so weak as to make one clause of a sentence, or one half of a letter, directly contradict the other ; and that a writer of such acknowledged purity and beauty of style would not have introduced the grossest barbarisms into his Latin. But this sagacious Pamphleteer (from internal consciousness, we presume, of the fact) concludes, that a bad man must be a weak one ; and that as St. Jerome was, according to his account, capable of bad actions, he was consequently capable of bad writing, and very likely to be foolish enough to produce, as a lost work, a forgery of his own, openly contradicting the only existing remains of the work in question.

The Pamphleteer pleads guilty to the next piece of dishonesty,
of

of which we accused the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament. To patch up the credit of one of his forged gospels, he said, that it was frequently mentioned by the ancient fathers; and that 'their expressions indicate that it had obtained a very general credit in the Christian world.' We demonstrated that he had dishonestly perverted one of Jones's statements, that some of the stories adopted by the author of this gospel were in general circulation, and credited by the Fathers. Jones's statement is perfectly clear; yet Mr. Hone says, he was led into his falsehood by Jones, and *that he did not comprehend that writer's meaning*. If such a statement were correct, how can a man incapable of comprehending the plainest statements, in the plainest language, presume to write on religious subjects?

We examined only two of the prefaces to the Gospels, observing that the proofs of dishonest intention thus exhibited were so clear, it was unnecessary to press any further inquiry into the system of falsehood pursued by the editor. The Pamphleteer now declares, that beyond the parts which we exposed, there remain only (p. 33) the Epistles published by Wake; and he accuses us of artfully concealing this fact, and thus trying to represent the last part of his book as equally noxious with the first, while in fact it only contained what had been already published by an archbishop. This very pamphlet enumerates (besides the Gospels we examined) as the contents of the Apocryphal New Testament,

The first Gospel of the Infancy,
The second ditto,
Epistles of Christ and Abgarus,
Gospel of Nicodemus,
Apostles' Creed in its ancient state,
Ditto in its present,
Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans,
Paul and Seneca's Epistles,
Acts of Paul and Thecla!

Is this poor creature bereft of all his senses?

As he defends himself from one charge of falsehood by alleging that he had not comprehension enough to ascertain Jones's meaning, so he endeavours (p. 34) to rebut another, by pretending that he mistook Mosheim. He says in his preface, 'after the writings contained in the New Testament were *selected* from the numerous gospels and epistles then in existence, what became of the books rejected by the compilers?' Our remark was:

'The objects of this question are—to bespeak a favourable hearing for these writings, whose authenticity, it is insinuated, was deemed worthy of consideration, at least, by the compilers of the New Testament; and to inspire suspicion of the canonical writings, which, according to

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this account, rest for their credit on the authority of compilers of a late age.'

In answer to the first charge, the Pamphleteer produces a passage from Mosheim, stating that the sacred writings were *carefully separated* from human compositions on the same subjects; and says, in his elegant phraseology, that 'he took "careful separation" to mean "selection."' It is curious that the mistakes of this simple hearted and honest personage should invariably be on his own side. In reply to the second remark, he says, 'According to what "account?" Not to any "account" of mine, for I gave no "account."' The word is wholly unwarranted.' To answer such idle stuff, and say that the account is implied in the question, or that the word *question* may be used instead of *account*, if the Pamphleteer prefers it, would be to talk to an infant or an idiot.

Last of all, the Pamphleteer accuses us of quoting from his preface words not in it. The juggle by which this impudent falsehood is glossed over is well worthy of the editor of the Apocryphal New Testament. Before taking the slightest notice of Mr. Hone's publication, or even alluding to its general character, we gave a detailed account, in five or six pages, of the several infidel objections to the canon of the New Testament; and pointed out the method in which they were brought forward, and in which the arguments founded on them were stated. We incidentally noticed also, that one of these was revived in the preface to the Apocryphal New Testament. We then explained what the nature of it was, and proceeded to state it thus: ' "The whole story," it is insinuated, "may be an imposture,"' &c. The Pamphleteer attempts to say, that we quoted these words as his. It will, we think, hardly be credited that we do not commence our notice of the Apocryphal New Testament for several pages after this passage; and then, after giving its general character, distinctly say, 'We shall now proceed to a more minute investigation of the contents of this volume,' and immediately commence with a discussion of the falsehoods in the *Preface*! The Pamphleteer sets out with saying, (p. 14.) that he shall examine our charges 'in the order most convenient to himself.' He found that the 'most convenient order,' with respect to this charge, was to place it at the end of his defence, after examining many passages in which we had actually quoted his words; and thus to induce his readers to suppose that we might have wished to appear to do so in the part in question: and that the 'most convenient' artifice was to conceal that his extract was made from *the commencement* of our Article in which we are not occupied with the Apocryphal New Testament at all!

We have gone through the Pamphleteer's text, and shall now examine his notes. He wishes first to accuse us of following his example

example in quoting works we have never seen, and blundering between Fabricius's works on the *Old* and *New* Testament; a charge which would be unworthy of notice, except as exposing the Pamphleteer's dishonesty. After Toland's book appeared, Fabricius replied to it, as every one knows, in his work containing the forged gospels, &c.; and he, several years afterwards, published a similar work with regard to the *Old* Testament. One of these works was called *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*; the other, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*. By some accident our copy of the first work is lettered, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti*; and we freely confess that we erred as to the *title*, but not, as the Pamphleteer well knows, though he dishonestly conceals it, as to the *work itself*; for we cite the book which we said was published against Toland all through our Article, and we cite it with a specific reference to volume and page, under the *same title* of *Codex Pseudepigraphus*. The nature of our error is therefore beyond all question. But this poor creature contradicts in one page what he had asserted in another, for (in his note, p. 34) he says, that (like himself) we 'got all the information in our Article from Jones.' On referring to Jones, we find that he is never guilty of our mistake, but cites Fabricius's work by its right title. One of the Pamphleteer's accusations then, if he had sense enough to see it, negatives the other.

The last of this wretched man's follies which we shall notice, arises from an obvious, but trifling, error of the press. We gave, in a note, a very curious instance of Toland's ignorance, on the authority of a MS. book of an old and respectable clergyman, who received it from another clergyman, Mr. Welby, and Mr. Welby from an ear-witness, Gale, the anabaptist. By an error of the press, the mark of quotation (') is omitted; so that the MS. which actually, having referred to Mr. Welby, uses his words, appears to go on in its own, and thus afterwards to refer to Gale, instead of Mr. Welby's doing so. Any one who reads the story would see that some error of this sort had arisen; but instead of this trifling instance of candour in a circumstance not relating to himself, (though to be sure an attack on any of the fraternity of infidels may be unpardonable,) the Pamphleteer tells us that the old and respectable clergyman must have been fibbing; and that the story which we said was in a MS. *before* us, might as well have been *behind* us. This specimen of the taste and delicacy of this amiable person will, we judge, be sufficient.

He omits all notice of our other charges, though, with his usual unblushing effrontery, he declares that he has answered them all, or evades them in the most pitiful manner. When we accuse the editor of saying that *several* Christian sects received a writing

as genuine, though only two, the Gnostics and Manichæans, infamous for their forgeries and corruptions of scripture, could be adduced, he sinks the character of the sects, and covers his falsehood by saying that the Gnostics were divided into many different parties! When we accuse him of stealing one half of his book from Jones, without intimating the existence of that writer's work, he says that he never denied the fact to *personal inquirers*! When we charge him with disingenuously mixing the history of Christ's descent into hell, as referred to in the Creed, with the silly stories on the same subject, in one of the spurious gospels, he tells us that he referred to that gospel only for *apocryphal* particulars, although his note consisted of these words: 'For large particulars of *Christ's descent into hell*, see the gospel of Nicodemus;' and was appended, without another word, to a passage referring to the statement of Christ's descent in the Creed! And above all, when we convict him of mistaking the notorious Faustus, the Manichæan, for a Provençal bishop; and, in the plenitude of his own ignorance, bestowing commendations on the learning of a person remarkable for the want of it; and of whom he now confesses he knew so little as to be compelled, as we guessed, to refer to a common Biographical Dictionary; he replies, that this is no error in divinity, but in ecclesiastical history!

We have now done with this miserable man's accusations of us. But it is curious to take the side of the question favourable to him, and laying aside the charge of dishonesty, to observe to how heavy an accusation of incapacity, in order to escape more serious charges, he is compelled to plead guilty. Let the buyers and encouragers of blasphemy learn on what authority they build their faith. Let them remember that this man attempted to destroy or weaken the evidence for the canon of scripture; and that he talked of its constitution, and of ecclesiastical history and writers, at the time when he imagined that constitution took place, with the most perfect assurance. Let them hear him confessing (p. 31) that he stated one falsehood from inability to understand Jones, and insinuated another (p. 35) from not comprehending Mosheim. Let them listen to his avowal (p. 33. note) that although from Jones he took a large part of his work, he had never taken the trouble to read the book itself! (p. 58.)—that of ecclesiastical history (p. 55) he knew nothing or next to nothing, save from Jortin, and dipping into Eusebius and the Lives of the Saints! and that until the appearance of our Article, he had not read (what he now seems to think the first of all performances) even Michaelis or Lardner! Let them finally hear this reasoner about the canon, compelled to avow (p. 58.) that he was erring in his arguments on the subject, because, of all absurd imaginations, he chose to imagine that the
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anon was settled at the council of Nice! The wretched book, by which he attempted to pervert the faith and destroy the happiness of countless thousands, was (p. 56) 'most hastily done,' by his own avowal; nay, finished from first to last in six weeks (p. 58)—and the whole preface, that monstrous compound of ignorance, sophistry, and falsehood, was 'hurried together' (p. 57) at a watering-place, at the last moment, and (p. 58) 'remote from all books, with only a transcript or two from Jortin, Mosheim, and Porson, thrust into the editor's pocket on leaving town!' Such are the profound *works* by which the faith of the ignorant is to be perverted—such are the industry and learning of the infidel writers of this enlightened age! We deem it no small triumph to have forced such avowals from one of the foremost of the party—for, ready as the half-learned always are to receive anything which tends to lower what the wise and the learned regard with reverence, they surely cannot be blind, after this exposure, to the delusions practised upon them; they will surely pause before they again surrender their belief to the demands of ignorance and baseness, under the mask of knowledge and virtue.

ART. IX.—*Histoire de l'Egypte, sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly, ou Récit des Evénemens politiques et militaires, qui ont eu lieu depuis le Départ des Français jusqu'en 1823.* Par M. Félix Mengin; ouvrage enrichi de Notes par MM. Langlès et Jomard; et précédé d'une Introduction historique par M. Agoub. A Paris. 1823.

THE expulsion of the French from Egypt was an occurrence for which, though they will not allow to England any share in it, they will never forgive her. As in the greatest misfortunes, however, men are apt to seek for, and generally find, some alleviation, so, for the heavy disappointment sustained in not being able, as was intended, to make Egypt a dependent colony of France, they have experienced no little consolation in boldly asserting, that, in the first place, it was not the British arms that drove them out; and in the second, that the loss of a valuable colony has been compensated by the gain of a great book. The national feeling on this tender subject is thus expressed by M. Agoub, one of the coadjutors of M. Mengin.

'An event for ever memorable, and one which would have regenerated Egypt, was without contradiction, the expedition of the French. Had it not been for the sudden departure of Buonaparte, the assassination of Kleber, and the stupidity of Menou, that country would now be a province of France. These causes, far more than the combined efforts of England and the Porte, made the enterprize miscarry. But if policy saw its hopes annihilated, the arts at least preserved their trophies;

treasures; the different elements were already collected, which were to form the magnificent work of the "Description de l'Egypte," the only but immortal conquest which is remaining to France from that glorious expedition.'—*Introduction*, p. 46.

We have no great faith in the 'regeneration' that was intended for Egypt by this 'glorious expedition;' but of this we are certain, that had the project succeeded, and the views with which it was undertaken been realized, the permanent occupation of that country would have placed France in one of the most central and eligible positions for a speedy and convenient communication between the best portions of Europe, Africa, and Asia that could be wished; and have given to her a colony which, under proper management, would, by the fineness of its climate, and the natural fertility of its soil, have indemnified her for the loss of St. Domingo, and the rest of her West India islands, by furnishing supplies of tropical produce sufficient for her own consumption, and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean—raised too at an expense far below that at which they can be afforded in the transatlantic islands. In short, the occupation of Egypt by the French would have been one of the severest blows that England could receive; and she must, at all hazards, have endeavoured to wrest the possession of it from their hands. This urgency, however, is altogether unnecessary with respect to the degree of prosperity which the country may reach in the hands of a third power, whose influence extends not beyond its territorial limits. Even as a dependency on the Porte, its prosperity would be highly desirable; its political importance being of little or no weight under the Turks, and its commercial and agricultural industry calculated rather to benefit than to injure the European world.

The stupendous remains of ancient Egypt have frequently occupied our pages; we now propose to take a glance at modern Egypt, and the extraordinary man who presides, at present, over its destinies. To what extent he will be able to carry the improvements of this country, or to cripple its resources, (for there are different opinions on this point,) a few years more will probably decide. That he has done something for its productive industry must be admitted; though, hitherto, it would seem to have been done more for personal aggrandizement, than for the general benefit of his subjects. It is just possible, however, that his measures may proceed rather from ignorance of the first principles of political economy, and a desire the more rapidly to carry into effect his innovations, than from any avaricious or selfish feeling. If his intentions be, what the resident Franks and most travellers give him credit for,—the improvement of the country,—he will gradually perceive his errors; and Egypt may again become, what it anciently was,

was, the granary of surrounding nations. 'The tranquillity which Egypt enjoys,' says M. Agoub, 'under the government of Mohammed Aly, and the enlightened protection which he accords to all travellers, have been highly favourable to scientific researches. By the wisdom of his administration, by his elevated views, by a toleration unknown before his time, this prince has acquired for himself an European celebrity.' Having done this, we hope he will endeavour to acquire an African celebrity, by an enlightened and beneficent policy towards his peaceable and industrious subjects, and the neighbouring tribes of that continent.

The rise of this man from a very humble situation; his intrigues with all the various parties by which this fine country has for so many years been scourged and oppressed; his successful campaigns, not only in Egypt, but also in Arabia against the fanatical sect of Wahabees, both in person and by his sons; the rewards bestowed upon him by the Grand Signor in consequence thereof; in short, all his good and evil deeds are minutely, and, we believe, faithfully recorded by M. Mengin, though in a loose and desultory manner, which renders his 'history' less pleasing than it might otherwise have been. The occasional details respecting his military and political measures and manœuvres; his commercial speculations, his manufacturing and agricultural experiments, are by no means devoid of interest; and the descriptions of the various classes of people composing the present population, and of the general state of Egypt, collected during a residence of twenty years, may be considered as bearing the stamp of authenticity. To these notices we are enabled to add, from documents in our possession, some circumstances of considerable interest, from a source equally authentic.

Mohammed Aly, the present Pasha of Egypt, was born at Cavalla, in Roumelia, in the year of the Hejira 1182, (1769). His father, Ibrahim Aga, was the chief of the guard for the security of the public roads. At his death, his son, then a boy, was taken and brought up in the house of the governor of Cavalla. At this early age, Mohammed is said to have felt a secret persuasion that he should one day be a great man; a thought first inspired, perhaps, by the circumstance of his mother having had a dream which the soothsayers assured her prognosticated that the child of which she was then pregnant would rise to the highest pinnacle of power. Whether the presentiment and the dream influenced his conduct, or whether, as is more than probable, both were fabricated after the event, we know not; but certain it is that he commenced his fortunate career in consequence of the active and determined manner in which he assisted his patron in collecting the taxes, and putting down a spirit of insubordination, at the expense of a few lives; for
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this he was created a *boulouk-bashi*, and received in marriage a widow of the governor's own family, by whom he had three sons, Ibrahim, Toussoun, and Ismael.

With the aid of a little money brought by his wife, and of his family connexions, Mohammed now engaged as a merchant in the tobacco trade, which he continued to pursue, with some success, until an event occurred which called him to fulfil a higher destiny. This was no other than the landing of the French in Egypt. The governor of Cavalla being ordered to furnish his contingent on that occasion, amounting to 300 men completely armed and equipped, gave the command of them to his son, and engaged Aly to accompany him as his Mentor; but the young man, disgusted with the voyage, dreading the privations which he was likely to endure amidst the sands of Aboukir, and having little relish for military glory, quitted the army and returned home, leaving the command of his contingent to Mohammed, who thereupon took the title of *Bin-bashi*. In the first battle in which he happened to be engaged, against the division of the French under General Lagrange, he lost the greater part of his men; but his spirited conduct attracted the attention of the Capitan Pasha, who selected him to head an attack upon the fort in which the French had posted themselves. During the night, he succeeded in getting within the intrenchments, ready to storm when day-light should appear; but in the morning it was discovered that the French had evacuated the works. This bloodless enterprize raised him, however, another step.

In the subsequent campaign against the Mamlouks, the Viceroy Kousrouf Pasha gave to our adventurer the command of a division of the army under Youssef-bey, who, being completely beaten, laid the blame on Mohammed, which so exasperated the Viceroy, that he determined to banish him from Egypt, and for this purpose ordered him to appear before him at night. Mohammed, in return to this message, demanded pay for himself and his troops, letting him know that he would wait on him in company with his soldiers, not at night, but on the following day. The Viceroy, knowing him to be in correspondence with Taher-Pasha and his Albanians, who were hostile to him, did not feel bold enough to carry his intended measure into execution; and was in fact a few days afterwards himself driven from his capital by the soldiers of Aly and Taher, the latter of whom assumed the reins of government, which he held but a short time; for, having invited the Mamlouks into Cairo, he was, in his turn, assassinated by the Turks.

From this moment Mohammed Aly began his intrigues with the Turks, the Mamlouks, and Albanians, making each and all of them his allies or his enemies for the time, as best suited his ulterior views;

views; but always using his influence, and generally succeeding, in appeasing sedition, or putting down tumult. For his services in these respects he was rewarded by a firman from the Grand Seignor, conferring on him the dignity of Pasha. The whole army, however, was deeply in arrear, and the new Viceroy, Hourchid, had made himself exceedingly unpopular with all ranks, on account of his exactions. This state of things was favourable to Mohammed Aly. Whether he secretly fomented dissatisfaction does not appear; but the people, headed by the Sheiks, the officers generally and the army, declared that they would no longer be governed by Hourchid. 'Whom, then,' said Mohammed Aly, 'do you mean to invest with his authority?' 'Yourself,' was the general reply; 'we wish for you to govern us according to the laws, because we know that you love justice.' That he might not be thought the instigator of those proceedings, he at first affected to reject their proposition, but at the urgent request of the Sheiks, he, with apparent reluctance, assented to their wishes. Hourchid did not fly to Alexandria, as stated by M. Mengin, but shut himself up, with his followers, in the castle of Cairo, where he was besieged by the troops under Mohammed Aly, in union with the inhabitants, until an officer arrived from the Porte with a firman, constituting him a pasha of three tails, and appointing him governor of Egypt, in the pashalick of which he was speedily confirmed; and, not long afterwards, signalized his elevation by the victory obtained over the English in the unfortunate affair before Rosetta and at El Hamet, under General Stewart, in which the flower of our little army was killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

The two expeditions of the English, however, the one successful, the other defeated as it was in the main object, were productive of considerable advantage, not to England alone, but to all Christian nations who had any connection with Egypt. M. Mengin is pleased to lament the expulsion of the French as a great misfortune to all Europe, and particularly to the inhabitants of Egypt. It may be worth while to add a word or two as to the respective merits of the two nations in this respect. At the peace of Amiens, Sir John Stuart demanded, and succeeded in obtaining, permission for Europeans to enter the *Western* harbour of Alexandria, from which they had been jealously excluded, and permitted only to enter the *Eastern* harbour, of which the water is shallow, the bottom rocky, and the anchorage consequently dangerous; and the prohibition became the more offensive by the one being called the harbour of the *faithful*, and the other that of *infidels*. This invidious distinction has ceased.

No European or Christian was permitted to ride on horseback in any part of Egypt, the horse being reserved for Mahomedans, while

while the ass was deemed the proper animal for Christians. This indignity was also abolished by the exertions of Sir John Stuart, who stipulated that all Europeans, without distinction, should be allowed to ride on horseback, which they do to the present time.

Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the conduct of the English and French armies while in Egypt. The latter rendered itself odious to the natives, while the former was universally respected. The French, without any provocation, invaded the country, and roused all the religious and political feelings of the natives against them. Their first operation was to take Alexandria by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. The scenes that occurred in every part of Egypt are well known. Thousands were butchered in cold blood, after the destruction of their fleet had cut off all intercourse with France, and confined the army to its own resources. Contributions were then levied on the country for its support, and the ferocious manner in which they were extorted exasperated still more the natives.

Now what was the conduct of the English army? It landed in Egypt to assist the Turks in wresting the country from the French; it levied no contributions; it carried its treasures with it, and paid for all supplies; it maintained the most rigid discipline; administered impartial justice to the inhabitants of the places it occupied, which was the more strongly felt during the long period in which it held Alexandria.

The revolution at Cairo had left nothing to the Turks but Alexandria; the authority of the Porte over the rest of Egypt was merely nominal; and we could have held this place against any power that could be brought against it, either from within or without. But it was deemed a wise measure, and the result has proved that it was so, to give up the town and harbour to Mohammed Aly, instead of the Porte; his hands thus became strengthened, commerce flourished, the revenues were augmented; and the general prosperity of the country rapidly advanced by the liberal policy which he continued after the example of the English; and which, we have reason to believe, he did the more readily at the recommendations and suggestions of the gentleman who was then acting as the British vice-consul at Alexandria.

The Pasha's authority however was yet very far from being established; and it was put to no little risk by a circumstance which, trifling and even ridiculous as it may appear, operated most powerfully on the minds of the superstitious Turks:—a woman had declared herself possessed of a spirit which not only spoke, but gave its hand to be kissed *in the dark*; and such was her reputation, that all Cairo, the army and the officers, became proselytes, and firmly believed in her supernatural powers. Moham-

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ned; who well knew the danger that might arise from an ignorant and misguided multitude, determined to find out the secret of this woman's magic. For this purpose he hired four of the most skilful jugglers to endeavour to entice her before him, but the crowd attending her performances would not permit her to go. He then ordered the aga of the police to seize and bring her to the palace, in which, with some difficulty, he succeeded. The lady said the spirit spoke only by night. Very well, replied Aly, we will wait. When the time came, the pasha and the magician withdrew into a dark chamber; the spirit began by calling on the name of Sheik Aly, and having answered several questions, offered its hand for the pasha to kiss; he told it to approach a little nearer, and having felt the fingers of a human being, he made a sudden seizure of the whole hand, holding it firmly, and calling for lights, which discovered the pasha grasping the hand of the ventriloquist, (for she was nothing more,) who began to scream for mercy. Mohammed Aly, however, deemed it right to punish the impostor, and ordered her to be drowned in the Nile. The chiefs and the multitude showed a disposition to oppose this order; but the pasha told them that if she was possessed of a spirit, it would save her from drowning, and if not, she would only fulfil her destiny; and accordingly she was thrown into the river, and suffered the usual fate of witches when thus treated.

One of the worst acts of Mohammed was that of inviting the Mamlouks to Cairo in 1811, receiving them with great ceremony and apparent friendship in the citadel, presenting them with coffee, and at the same moment making dispositions for intercepting and basely assassinating them on leaving his presence. One of these unfortunate beys threw himself into the harem of the viceroy, an inviolable asylum among the Mamlouks, but he was dragged out and massacred. The beys being dispatched, M. Mengin says—

‘ Aussitôt les troupes eurent ordre d’arrêter partout les mamlouks: ceux que l’on prenait étaient conduits devant le kiâya-bey, et décapités à l’instant même. Beaucoup d’individus étrangers à cette scène périrent malgré leur innocence, tant le soldat était animé au carnage. Le cadavre de Châhyn-bey fut traîné çà et là, la corde au cou. La citadelle ressemblait à une arène ensanglantée: les morts mutilés encombraient les passages; on voyait partout des chevaux richement harnachés, étendus à côté de leurs maîtres, des sâys percés de balles, des armes brisées et des vêtemens couverts de sang: toutes ces dépouilles devinrent la proie des soldats. On comptait le matin quatre cent soixante-dix mamlouks à cheval; nul d’entre eux n’échappa au massacre.’ —vol. i. pp. 362, 363.

The greatest terror and disorder prevailed in Cairo for several days; the shops were all shut, and the streets and bazaars deserted: rapes

rapes and robberies were committed with impunity by a lawless and undisciplined soldiery; while the pasha kept himself shut up in the citadel.

Les Turcs, qui ne pouvaient épouser que des femmes d'une classe inférieure, voyaient avec déplaisir que celles d'un plus haut rang, dédaignant leur alliance, témoignaient de l'empressement lorsqu'il s'agissait d'épouser un mamlouk. Ils eurent la bassesse de se venger, dans cette occasion, d'un sexe sans défense. Les dépouilles furent incalculables. Les maisons des beys étaient riches; plusieurs d'entre eux faisaient des préparatifs de mariage; on travaillait aux ameublemens; on avait acheté de riches étoffes, des cachemires, des bijoux. Non-seulement les habitations des proscrits furent saccagées, mais celles de leur voisinage éprouvèrent aussi le même sort; on voyait partout les traces du pillage. La ville ressemblait à une place prise d'assaut: aucun habitant ne paraissait dans les rues; chacun attendait dans sa retraite le sort que lui réservait sa destinée.—vol. i. p. 365.

At length Aly thought fit to descend from the citadel, and at the head of his guards traversed the city; and with the aid of his son, Toussoun Pasha, and the adoption of measures of great severity, he succeeded in 'staying the plague;' after, however, not less than 500 houses had been completely sacked.

The same treacherous measures were pursued in the provinces by order of the pasha, where every Mamlouk was put to death. It is suggested in extenuation that he had received orders from Constantinople to exterminate this corps, who had at all times been troublesome, and who might take advantage of the absence of the pasha's army, a great part of which was required in Arabia for the subjugation of the Wahabees. He knew, too, that the beys were in correspondence with his enemies; and he was not a little jealous of the attentions which the present Lord Guilford, when at Cairo, paid to their chiefs, and more particularly to the party of Elfi Bey. Mohammed, however, could not but be gratified at the reception of such an order, the execution of which would rid him of doubtful friends, and powerful enemies; and so little compunction did he feel on the occasion, that, we are told by M. Mengin, on being informed that he was reproached by all travellers in their narratives, for this treacherous and inhuman massacre, he replied, that he would have a picture of it painted, together with one of the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and leave to posterity what judgment it might pass on the two events.

Mohammed was now at liberty to give his undivided attention to the state of things in Arabia, whither his son, Toussoun Pasha, had been sent to command the army, and was making rapid head against the Wahabees. He had taken the city of Medina, the keys of which the pasha sent to the Porte, with large presents
of

of money, jewels, coffee, and other valuable articles. He now also thought it time to pay his devotions at the shrine of Mecca. At Jeddah he was received with all kindness and hospitality by the sheereef Ghaleb; in return for which, either through avarice, as some think, or on discovery, as others say, that the sheereef was acting a double part, he secretly ordered his son Tousoun to seize and convey him to Cairo; while he plundered his palace of immense treasures, a part of which he applied to the support of the army, and, as usual, shared a part with his master, the Porte; who, however, on understanding the manner in which they had been obtained, had honesty enough, M. Mengin says, to return them to their owner, through Mohammed; but Ghaleb had, in the interim, been sent to some unhealthy spot, where he sickened and died.

The return of Buonaparte from Elba hastened the departure of Mohammed Aly from Arabia, to oppose any further views that the French might have upon Egypt. From the few remaining Mamelouks he had nothing to fear, and their former partizans, the Bedouin Arabs, were daily coming in to throw themselves on his clemency. Among the most powerful was Sheik Abou-Koraim, who had come to Cairo to claim the protection of Ibrahim, in his father's absence, to whom on his return he was introduced with a present of forty-five horses. The pasha, however, had not the generosity to forget that he had once been his enemy, and the unfortunate sheik lost his head.

Mohammed had for some time conceived the project of training his troops after the European system, and now commenced with those under the command of his youngest son Ismael. The troops, however, immediately began to mutiny; their officers joined them, and a general conspiracy of the agas and chiefs was formed for overturning the power of the viceroy, who had so grossly violated the law of the prophet, which says that all innovation is criminal. The conspirators marched against the citadel, and being fired upon, dispersed themselves over the city, plundered the houses and the bazaars, and spread universal terror among the inhabitants. The Franks took up arms for the defence of their own quarter, and were aided by the police; at length those who remained firm to the pasha prevailed, and the revolt was suppressed. On this occasion the pasha acted with justice as well as prudence; he ordered an exact account to be taken of the losses which had been sustained by pillage, and indemnification to be made to the several sufferers out of the treasury. He also conciliated by presents the chiefs who had revolted, and the officers of the army; but his plan of introducing European tactics was laid aside for the present.

Soon after this the viceroy suffered a grievous affliction by the death of his son, Toussoun Pasha, who had been replaced in Arabia by his eldest son, Ibrahim. After enduring so long the privations of the deserts, M. Mengin says—

‘ Il oubliait les combats dans les bras de ses maîtresses, entouré d’une troupe de musiciens et de jeunes danseurs qu’il avait amenés du Kaire. Il avait acheté plusieurs esclaves géorgiennes : l’une d’elles se faisait remarquer par les dons que le Ciel lui avait prodigués : c’était un modèle de beauté. La nuit même de son arrivée, elle enivra son maître de ses faveurs, et cet infortuné jeune homme les paya de sa vie. Le lendemain il se plaignit d’un violent mal de tête auquel succéda une grande agitation. Son médecin était absent, et tous les secours furent inutiles. Une sueur froide, présage de la mort, se répandit sur tous ses membres : il expira après dix heures d’un malaise continu, dans le délire et les convulsions. Les symptômes de la maladie et ses progrès rapides semblaient indiquer la peste. On crut que l’esclave l’avait apportée de Constantinople et la lui avait communiquée. Cependant elle n’en fut pas atteinte, et n’éprouva aucune indisposition.’—vol. ii. p. 82.

Ibrahim Pasha soon succeeded in completely subduing the Wahabees; and, to signalize the event, he assembled the whole of the pilgrims from Egypt and Syria on Mount Arafat, where with great solemnity, and in conformity with a vow which he had made in case of success, he sacrificed three thousand sheep, and largely distributed alms in Mecca; he then departed for Cairo, and on his arrival received the honours of a triumph. On this occasion Mohammed also received rich presents from the Grand Seigneur, and compliments on his splendid victories.

The viceroy was now at liberty to turn his attention to the south, and to bring the whole country on each side of the Nile, as far as Sennaar, under his subjection; and for this purpose he sent an army under his youngest son Ismael. Of the activity and rapid progress of this young officer, his humanity and traits of generosity towards his prisoners and the conquered inhabitants, we had occasion some time ago to speak. One single act of severity, however, proved fatal to him. He had ordered, when at Sennaar, one of the chiefs of that country to be bastinadoed, who seized the first favourable occasion to avenge himself. Ismael had gone to a village at some little distance from Sennaar, with a small guard of forty men; the chief, with a party, followed him thither, and surprising his lodgings by night, stabbed him to the heart with a poniard, and most of his guards fell in the scuffle.

One of the objects of this expedition was that of recruiting his army with the blacks of Sennaar, Shendy, Kordofan, and the neighbouring countries, which was accomplished to the number, as M. Mengin says, of 8000 men; we happen to know they were more than double that number. These unhappy beings were all of

of them, in the first place, vaccinated, and were then instructed in manual exercise and military evolutions, in the European mode, by some French officers. The hopes of the pasha, however, were greatly disappointed in these black troops. They were strong able-bodied men, and not averse from being taught; but when attacked by disease, which soon broke out in the camp, they died like sheep infected with the rot. The medical men ascribed the mortality to moral rather than physical causes: it appeared in numerous instances that, having been snatched away from their homes and families, they were even anxious to get rid of life; and such was the dreadful mortality that ensued, that out of 20,000 of these unfortunate men, three thousand did not remain alive at the end of two years. We may add that nothing is more common in Cairo than to find the black slaves, who are treated with all kindness, complain of being weary of life, and seeking for means to get rid of it; it is also observed that on this account they are more susceptible of disease; especially of the plague.

Mohammed Aly was determined, however, to carry the new system into effect. Of the means which he subsequently employed, and of the success which has attended them, we are enabled to speak on the authority of an eye-witness, who, with the two consuls, Salt and Drovetti, paid a visit to the pasha at his camp, near Mansalout, and remained there several weeks. His adoption of the system of European tactics has been thought by some to be preparatory to throwing off his allegiance to the Porte, to whom it is supposed he has given irreparable offence by his protection of the Greeks; and his refusal to put in practice those inhuman measures which were resorted to in Syria, Cyprus, Smyrna, and Constantinople. We have reason to know that this is not the case. His assistance to the Porte has not, indeed, been of the most active or extensive kind; but he has hitherto continued to proffer both ships and troops, and is this year preparing an expedition against the Morea on a large scale. Perhaps the numerous presents to Constantinople may have been sent with a view to excuse him from taking a more effectual part against the Greeks. His last present was the Pigot diamond, purchased from Rundle and Bridge for the sum of £50,000.

The new project, as our correspondent informs us, was to place five hundred of his Mamlouks under the care of Mohammed Bey, (formerly the kiaya-bey,) a faithful adherent, at Assuan, who were regularly trained as officers under Colonel Séve, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, and who, in conjunction with some Englishmen, (whom we will not name,) failed in an attempt to withdraw this criminal from justice; on which account he was obliged to abandon his country. It will readily be conceived that he had to

encounter difficulties of the most formidable kind. In the formation of our Sepoy corps in India, officers are prepared to command; but here every thing was to be newly organized, in opposition to established usages and religious prejudices, which nothing but great courage, perseverance, and patience could surmount. The Mamlouks were occasionally so discontented as to threaten Colonel Séve's life; but he never lost his firmness, and this alone saved him. He openly addressed those who had combined against him, offering to fight the whole of them with the sabre, single-handed, one by one, as long as they chose to attack him. A character thus resolute gradually won upon their untutored minds; he became at length a great favourite; and they made a considerable progress under his instructions.

As the blacks sickened and died in the way we have mentioned, it was now determined to set about a regular conscription, *à la Française*, of the Arabs, or fellahs, when about thirty thousand were indiscriminately seized, without regard to their fitness, and sent, under a military guard, to Upper Egypt. These, with the remains of the black slaves, a few Berbers, and the Mamlouk officers, compose the pasha's present army. Twelve Europeans, chiefly Italians, are employed as instructors. Disease for a time considerably thinned the ranks of the new conscripts; but at the commencement of the present year they were computed at about twenty-three thousand effective men. They are formed into six regiments, each of which, when complete, is intended to consist of five battalions of eight hundred men.

Four of these regiments were encamped near Mansalout, on the skirts of the desert, on a strip of land the surface of which was covered with stones, when our informant visited the camp. The men being mostly without shoes, their manœuvring became the more difficult. There is no regular administration, we believe, in this army, every thing being ordered by Mohammed Bey through the pasha; yet there is a vigour and a promptitude in despotism not altogether unsuited for a military system; as, for instance, with regard to the shoeless troops. The pasha, having observed one of the European visitors wearing shoes with a high instep, and tied *à la militaire*, borrowed them as a pattern, and in less than twelve hours a dozen pair were ready; these were dispatched instantly to Cairo, with a peremptory order that forty thousand pair should be ready in a month. All the shoemakers in Cairo were immediately set to work, and the order was completed—'Raguk, on your heads be it!'—and thus it is with every thing that the pasha resolves upon.

The Mamlouk colonels, who were all slaves, are become good officers, and about fifteen thousand of the troops are tolerably perfect, and fit for active service. To these may be added about eight thousand

thousand who are in training; and in the beginning of the present year a new conscription was ordered of fifteen thousand more, it being the intention of Mohammed Aly to keep up an army of forty thousand men, one battalion of which is to be stationed at Alexandria to be trained as marines for his navy, which is to consist of forty vessels of different rates, the seamen being entirely Arabs.

The Pasha, our correspondent observes, is highly delighted with the progress made by his army. It gives him, as it were, a new life; and the spirit of ambition finds in it food to work upon. His mornings are passed in receiving his officers and arranging affairs with Mohammed Bey. In the afternoons, one of the regiments is exercised in the open plain before him; at sun-set he retires to the inner pavilion, and the principal officers are assembled to study the theory of war upon a large table, in his presence, with little leaden figures, in platoons and battalions, over which he stands enjoying the scene for three or four hours together, until the time comes for repose, when he retires to dream of

all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!

Every third day he has a grand review of the four regiments. 'The last that I witnessed,' says our correspondent, 'was that of two armies meeting in the plain, one of which refused its centre; and on being pressed, retired in divisions by two defiles in its rear. It then re-formed its line of battle on the hills, and as the opposing army deployed through the defiles, extended its wings and formed a half circle, by which it prevented the advancing foe from taking up its position, and consequently obliged it, in its turn, to retreat: and all this was gone through without a single mistake, or even a platoon losing its equilibrium. It gave me the best idea of a battle I have ever witnessed, always excepting the Duke of Wellington's famous review on the plains of Mont Martre.'

Near the camp was established a large bazaar, well stocked with provisions and all kinds of necessaries; among other things, wine was openly exposed to sale. 'Yet,' says our friend, 'it must not be supposed that the Pasha is careless of the morals or religious character of his new army. He has, on the contrary, been very particular in giving orders for the men to attend the usual forms of devotion; and when the muezzin, that always accompanies his highness, calls out the hours for prayer, the soldiers may be seen by battalions, bowing themselves in adoration to the ground. The men are no longer liable to arbitrary punishment; every one committing a fault is tried before he can be bastinadoed, and generally some other punishment is preferred—as confinement, degradation by being compelled to carry water, &c. The officers

are placed in arrest, and even the Pasha does not pretend to decide on their culpability. This is the greatest of all points gained over a complete despotism; and it were much to be wished that the same forbearance could be carried into the civil administration of the country.

The *mir-allais*, or colonels of regiments, have a splendid pay, amounting to one hundred thousand piastres per annum (about 1500*l.* sterling). Their dress is very rich, of red cloth covered with gold lace, and a half moon of diamonds on each breast, computed to be worth twenty thousand piastres. Over this they wear, on state occasions, a scarlet *pelisse*, which fastens over the breast with two large clasps of gold set with emeralds. Their upper dress is closed with a sash, and the Turkish full trowsers have given way to more strait conveniences, which are tied under the knee, and thence downwards fit to the legs like gaiters. The pay of the non-commissioned officers is ample; and that of the men, eighteen piastres per month, with full rations of good provisions and their clothing. They are now content and even attached to the service, and a considerable spirit of emulation prevails among them. They may often be seen, when off duty, practising among themselves the manual exercise as an amusement. Nor are instances wanting of cool and determined courage; thus, on exercising a mortar, a shell dropped close to one of them, when, instead of running from it, or throwing himself on the ground, he stood unmoved, and fortunately unhurt; being asked why he did so, he said, 'I am now a soldier, and a soldier ought not to know fear.' This spirit has in a great measure been excited by the impartial manner in which promotion to the rank of serjeants and corporals has been given according to merit. The serjeants are handsomely dressed, and wear a sabre, which, to a *fellak* is a most enviable distinction.

Great merit is unquestionably due to Colonel Séve for the reformation which he has effected in the Pasha's army,—we may say, for the creation of it; but beyond this we cannot prevail on ourselves to speak of him without the strongest terms of reprobation: it is stated that he has turned Turk, and that his degradation has been cloaked and soothed with the name and title of *Suliman Bey*, and *Mir-allai*, or colonel of four thousand. He received his *pelisse* and his advancement on the morning of the nativity of Christ, as if it were meant expressly to outrage the religion he had renounced: but he will probably find that he has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; for when his services are no longer wanted, Mohammed Aly will know very well how to dispose of him. An example about the time might have served as a warning. An European, who had become a mussulman, being seen drunk, was ordered by Ibrahim Pasha to be bastinadoed—some one observed, that

that he was an European; 'No, no,' said Ibrahim, 'he is of us, lay it on well;' and he received five hundred lashes.

We have now to look at Mohammed Aly, in his pacific character, as civil governor of the ancient territory of the Pharaohs;—to notice the extent and resources of his territory—and to give some short account of the heterogeneous assemblage of the inhabitants; which compose its present population.

Egypt is comprehended within an immense valley, extending north and south from the heights of Syene, or Assuan, in latitude about 24° N. to the shores of the Mediterranean, somewhere about the latitude of $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.; being, in round numbers, six hundred miles in length, and of very various width. Of this length, Upper Egypt, or the Said, being the space between Syene and Cairo, occupies about 500 miles, hemmed in between two ridges of grey sandstone mountains, approaching sometimes within five or six miles of each other. From Cairo to the sea, the ridge of hills almost disappear and diverge on each side, so as to give to that part of the valley the form of a triangle, whose height, or length up the Nile, may be about 100, and base, along the Mediterranean, 150 miles; and the space thus included has been called, on account of its form, the Delta of Egypt. Down the midst of this extended valley meanders the majestic Nile. By giving to Upper Egypt an average breadth of ten miles, and allowing for the lateral valleys stretching out from the Delta, we may assign to that portion of the territory capable of cultivation about 16,000 square miles; or, in round numbers, ten millions of acres. This is just about one half the surface of Ireland; and, as the population of this island has been found, by recent inquiries, to amount to about six millions, the population of Egypt, as we shall see presently, is nearly one half of that of Ireland, and consequently their relative population nearly equal. But there is no comparison between the quantity and the value of the agricultural products of the two countries; the former, in this respect, having greatly the advantage. A very large proportion of the Egyptian territory, perhaps nearly one half, is periodically inundated by the Nile; or capable of artificial irrigation from it. The remaining part requires a more laborious cultivation, and yields a more scanty produce. In fact, without this river, the whole of Egypt would become a desert, like those by which it is hemmed in on both sides, as a shower of rain is scarcely known. The atmosphere, from March to November, is dry and inflamed by a scorching sun and a cloudless sky; the average height of the thermometer, about 90° ; in the other six months, about 60° : the nights are generally cool, and the dews heavy. The winds most pernicious to health and destructive to vegetation are those which blow over the deserts, called by the Arabs *simeon*, and by the

the Fatah-shamel. The character of this wind, however, is different at the different seasons of the year when it mostly prevails. In December and January it is accompanied with intense and penetrating cold; but about the vernal equinox, when it sometimes blows for nearly two months, and is therefore called the wind of fifty days, it is intensely hot, bringing with it clouds of a fine impalpable sand, which darkens the air, deprives the sun of his splendour, and gives to his orb, 'shorn of its beams,' a dull violet hue. The furniture in the houses warps, cracks, and splits; the foliage is shrivelled up, fevers prevail among the inhabitants, who desert the streets and bazaars, and shut themselves up in their houses.

M. Larrey, the chief surgeon of Buonaparte's medical staff, divides the climate into what he calls *quatre saisons constitutionnelles*; the first of which commences about the 20th August, when the Nile begins to overflow its banks. From this moment until the autumnal equinox, the inundation increases; lower Egypt is then like a sea, in which the towns and villages appear as so many islands: towards the end of September the waters retire, and the general seed-time commences. To this season he gives the name of *saison humide*; the west winds and fogs then prevail, and produce ophthalmia, fever, diarrhea, and catarrh.

The second season begins with December, and continues to the 21st March. The winds blow mostly from the East; the nights are cold, but during the day the temperature is that of June in France. The various productions of the earth are vigorously on the increase; the surface is spread over with the most lively tints of verdure; the birds and other animals '*se livrent à leurs amours*,' and all nature, stimulated by the moderate heat of the sun and the fecundity of the river, seems to grow young again. This period is healthy, if the night airs are avoided; and may justly be called *la saison florissante*.

From the beginning of March to the end of May is the *saison morbide*. The east winds, which tempered the air during the spring, now pass to the south, which they seldom quit before the end of May or beginning of June. These are the 'winds of fifty days,' which we have already mentioned.

The fourth, which M. Larrey designates under the name of *saison étésienne*, commences about the middle of June, or just before the solstice, and continues to the overflowing of the Nile. The winds are then variable, but, towards the end of it, fix themselves to the north, when they become regular, rising and falling with the sun. These winds, in passing over the Mediterranean, are generally supposed to carry with them aqueous vapours to the mountains of Ethiopia or Abyssinia; where, being condensed, they are precipitated in torrents of rain, at and after the summer solstice, producing

producing that gradual, constant, and periodical increase of the Nile, on which the subsistence of the people entirely depends; and such also appears to be Mr. Larrey's opinion; but we rather incline to think that the vapours of the Mediterranean are as nothing when compared with those brought over the Atlantic and Indian oceans by the south and south-west winds. The air is now clear and dry, and though the heat is excessive, it is by far the most healthy season of the year.

The lands inundated by the Nile are, as we observed above, exceedingly fertile; and though they have successively from year to year, without intermission, borne one and frequently two crops, and without any rational system of invigoration by manure or otherwise, for more than 3000 years, they still continue to do the same without any perceptible impoverishment, and without any further tillage than the adventitious top-dressing of black slimy mould, by the overflowing of the river. But the productiveness of the soil, especially where the inundation does not reach, has been greatly over-rated. The crops of wheat in particular are very scanty, not above five or six for one; but for *mays* and *dourra*, or millet, the soil appears to be peculiarly adapted; and these two species of grain, with rice, lentils, and various kinds of pulse, constituting the principal food of nine-tenths of the inhabitants, allowed the government, who usurped the monopoly, to export the greater part of the wheat produced. Since the peace of Europe, however, this branch of commerce has nearly ceased, in consequence of the increased cultivation of that grain in other countries. At one period not less than eight or nine hundred European vessels annually sailed from Alexandria, for Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Trieste, Malin, and Constantinople, freighted with articles of raw produce in exchange for hard money or for the manufactures of those respective countries; while two or three cargoes were all that could be got together for England. In the year 1861, however, an experiment was made by an English merchant, of a cargo of *linseed for crushing*; when it was found that, notwithstanding the freight (on account of the greater distance) doubled that which is paid from Russia, it would answer as a return for British exports, if relieved from the heavy quarantine duty, to which Baltic seed is not subject; this duty was accordingly mitigated by the Lords of the Treasury, and, in consequence, the exportation direct from Egypt to England increased last year to 25,000 quarters, and gave employment to more than twenty British ships.

But an article of the very first importance to the commerce and manufactures of England has recently been raised in Egypt, and to such an extraordinary extent as to have surpassed all expectation: We allude to *cotton wool*, not of the usual coarse kind hitherto

hitherto grown in Egypt, but of a very superior quality, raised from Brazil seed. The first essay was made by order of the Pasha, in the year 1822, when the crop yielded about 26,000 bags, of 9 cwt. each. A few bags of this cotton, sent to Liverpool on trial, were sold at the rate of from 11 to 15 pence per pound. Some thousand bales have, in the interval, been sent to France, Italy, and the South of Germany. In 1823 the crop was so abundant that, after supplying the demands of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, it is calculated that at least 50,000 bags may be exported to England in the course of the present year; and the Pasha is still extending the culture of this useful plant, on tracts of country long neglected, by clearing out the ancient canals and digging others, which communicate with the Nile; so that the crop of the present year is expected to double that of the preceding, and in future years will, in all probability, equal the whole of what is now imported from America, to which it is by no means inferior; and as the plant is not exposed to frost or injurious rains; as in most other countries, it is therefore less precarious.

This new source of supply acquires additional importance from the consideration, that it will be brought to England in British shipping, and will lead to a material increase of our export trade to Egypt. As the greater part of this cotton will be carried to the port of Liverpool, where a considerable quantity has already arrived, for the supply of the Lancashire manufactories, the mayor of Liverpool thought it right to convene the physicians of that town, and to request them to consider, and report their opinions, with regard to the danger of introducing the plague; and also as to the precautions which it might be necessary to take; it being well known, that cotton-wool is an article peculiarly susceptible of receiving and transmitting the infection, provided it be infectious, a point on which doctors disagree. The Liverpool physicians in their report state, 'that the introduction of the plague would be the greatest and the most dreadful of all calamities; that if once introduced, it would be extremely difficult, if not almost impossible, to arrest its progress, or to confine its ravages within narrow limits, in consequence of the rapid, extensive, and incessant communication which exists between all parts of the country; and that if it were to prevail to any considerable extent, it would be attended with such destruction of human life, and, from the inevitable suspension of all commercial intercourse with the infected districts, with such ruin, distress, and desolation, as were never before experienced in this country.' In consequence of this alarming report and opinion, a proper quarantine establishment either has been, or is, or is about to be, formed in the neighbourhood of Liverpool,

gerpool, intended to avert so terrible a calamity as the physicians have contemplated, and which the establishment of Standgate Creek, during more than a century, proves can so easily be guarded against, as is done in all the Mediterranean states. In fact cotton-wool, cotton-yarn, mohair yarn, and Turkey carpets, have from time immemorial been imported into London without danger; and, under similar precautions, what cause for apprehension can there be at Liverpool? Even in Turkey and in Egypt the plague prevails only at a certain season of the year—like the yellow fever of the West Indies, New Orleans and other parts of America, whence cotton-wool is received at Liverpool in great quantities, without performing any quarantine or exciting any fear, while in Italy the yellow fever of the new world is dreaded as much as the plague. England, in our opinion, has in her climate alone a protection; and though precautionary measures are prudent, (while the doctrine of contagion prevails,) the experience of the last century shows there is no just ground for alarm. It appears also, that the Pasha of Egypt, who, unlike his brother Mahommedaus, is no fatalist, and who prefers his own interests to the prejudices of his religion, is about to establish a lazaretto at Alexandria, with a view to extirpate the plague from his dominions.

It is a remarkable fact, that though some of the men in the French and English armies were infected with the plague during the campaign of 1801, it gradually diminished under the regulations of the English board of health, till it totally ceased in 1806, and the whole of Egypt remained perfectly free from it during the succeeding ten years. In 1813 it re-appeared, supposed to have been brought from Constantinople, since which Egypt has been visited annually in the spring with this calamity. There are several curious anomalies connected with this extraordinary disease, which many medical men view in a less alarming manner than the Liverpool physicians. The vessel, for instance, which was supposed to have brought the plague to Malta in 1813, was navigated back to Alexandria by volunteer seamen, without losing a man; and on being delivered up there to the owners, the whole cargo, consisting of flax, and other supposed contagious articles, was landed by the native Arabs, with perfect impunity. We have little doubt, therefore, that by the establishment of a regular quarantine, the Pasha will gradually liberate Egypt from this dreadful scourge, and entitle himself to the gratitude of mankind.

To the cotton may be added, as articles of export, silk and flax; and it is scarcely necessary to say, that in such a climate, with the command of water, the sugar-cane will grow in great perfection. Indigo, carthamus or safflower, and bemeah, as plants producing dyes, are extensively cultivated. Almost every kind of fruit and

of

of grain, whether European or tropical, may be, and most of them are, raised in Egypt. In the beautiful province of Fayoum, the vine and the olive flourish in great luxuriance; and, in the Wady or valley of Tounlout, the viceroy has established a colony of five-hundred Syrians, for the purpose of cultivating the mulberry, and rearing silk-worms.

Meanwhile it is greatly to be feared that the direct interference of Mohammed Aly, in almost every article of produce and manufacture, will ultimately tend to cramp and discourage the industry of the inhabitants, and to render the cultivators of the soil indifferent to every thing beyond the supply of a certain quantity of *dourra* sufficient for their support. Formerly the Viceroys of Egypt were satisfied with the receipt of the *miri*, or land-tax, according to the quality of the land; but Mohammed has, in a great many instances, taken the land into his own hands, in lieu of an annual pension for life to the proprietors; so that the father, as M. Mengin observes, will have nothing to leave to his children: the property in the soil he has thus secured, but the payment even of this life annuity will depend on circumstances. The lands which he has thus seized upon are chiefly those which belonged to the Mamlouks, to certain establishments for feeding the poor, for the support of mosques, fountains and public schools, and to the sheiks and certain Moultezims or proprietors. Even the owner of those lands which have not yet been seized is not master of his produce; he cannot dispose of any part of it until the agents of government have taken what part they may think proper at their own price; and, in lieu of the established *miri*, all the families belonging to the court are served with agricultural products at half their value; and the Pasha is the sole vender of produce for exportation. This will fully explain the observation of M. Mengin, that the 'traveller sees with astonishment the richness of the harvests contrasted with the miserable state of the villages;' and that, 'if it be true that there is no country more rich in its territorial productions, there is none perhaps whose inhabitants are more miserable.'

The innovations of the Pasha have probably left the Egyptian labouring peasant, or *fellah*, in the same state nearly in which, as far as history goes, he seems always to have been, with that additional act of tyranny hanging over his head, of being snatched away from his miserable family by the new conscription. Neither have his plans yet been in any considerable degree beneficial to the manufactures and general commerce of the country. Without possessing the most simple rudiments of political economy, he innovates for the sake of doing something. With all the various and valuable products of the land to give in exchange for the manufactures of Europe, nothing will serve him but to become a manufacturer

turner himself, though every thing is against him. He has no power to set machinery in motion but human or brute force; not a stream of water to turn a wheel—neither coal nor wood to work a steam-engine—yet he has his wheels and his manufactories, his spinning-jennies and his steam-engines, under the direction of a few Frenchmen who, from selfish motives, encourage him to go on, though he can purchase English cottons and English cloths of infinitely superior quality to any he can make, and at one-fifth part of the cost. But, as the author of ‘Scenes and Impressions in Egypt’ says, ‘Mohammed Aly Pasha is a Turk, a very Turk; he is surrounded, flattered, cajoled by a set of foreign adventurers, who put notions into his head, and words into his mouth, which pass for, and in truth become his own: the race between him and them is, who shall get the most out of each other; and what between force and fraud, I believe the Pasha has the best of it. His idea of political economy is pretty much like that of the countryman, who killed the goose, and was astonished not to find more eggs of gold.’ He adds, ‘his merit, if any, is, in defiance of prejudices, receiving men with heads to contrive, and hands to execute, what himself, his three-tailed sons, and his people, cannot.’ Surely this is some merit.

There is, besides, a physical objection to the introduction of fine machinery into Egypt, which is noticed by M. Mengin—a perpetual and imperceptible dust or fine sand, against which no caution is of avail, penetrates the wheel-work and finer parts of the machinery, disturbing and sometimes stopping the movements; all the wood-work splits or warps with the winds of the *saison morbide*, and the extreme heat and dryness of the climate cause the cotton threads to break and snap asunder. With these difficulties, and a forced and ill-paid labour, there is little chance of ultimate success in those manufactories in which machinery is required.

Among other projects, we ought to have mentioned that of forming a complete military arsenal within the citadel of Cairo, of which a Frenchman has the direction, and in which are employed about 600 men; here it is intended to cast cannon and fabricate the necessary *matériel* for their equipment; and also to make gunpowder, for which the country produces abundance of the necessary materials, with the exception perhaps of wood. Saltpetre is every where found in the deserts and the natron lakes; and several sulphur mines have been explored between the Nile and the Red Sea. It would appear that some portion of this establishment within the citadel has recently blown up, conveniently, as some suppose, on the arrival of the Capitan Pasha at Alexandria, to call for Mohammed's contingent against the Greeks.

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The establishment of a telegraph between Cairo and Alexandria gave him immediate intelligence of the approach of the Turkish fleet, and he well knew the nature and object of the visit. It is, however, there was design in this explosion, the effect of it was accidentally extended far beyond what could possibly have been contemplated.*

The opening of the ancient canals and the digging of new ones are works whose beneficial effects are universally felt and acknowledged; among these is particularly deserving of notice the Canal of Mahmoudiah, which connects the harbour of Alexandria with the Nile, at Fouah; and by which the whole produce of Egypt can be brought without danger or interruption to the port of shipment. In the winter of 1817, when a scarcity of grain prevailed all over Europe, ships flocked to Egypt where there was abundance; but owing to the bar at the mouth of the Nile, near Rosetta, and the tempestuous weather along the coast, none of it could be conveyed in time to the vessels that were waiting at Alexandria, to the number of 300 sail, some of which ultimately departed with half cargoes, and others went away in ballast; thus the losses became incalculable, and the disputes endless. It was now that the advantages of a navigable canal were strongly depicted to the Pasha, who accordingly set about the stupendous undertaking.

All the labouring classes of Lower Egypt were put in requisition, and a month's pay advanced them to provide biscuit and provisions. To each village and district was marked out the work allotted to it. The Arabs were marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, under their respective chiefs, along the line of the intended canal; and, however exaggerated it may appear, we have the best authority for stating that the number employed at one time exceeded two hundred and fifty thousand men! In about six weeks, the whole excavation was completed, the people returned home to their respective occupations; but in the autumn a few thousands were called upon to face parts with masonry, and make the whole navigable for vessels of considerable burthen. This work is about 48 miles in length, 90 feet in breadth, and from 15 to 18 feet in depth. It was opened with great pomp on the 7th of December, 1819; and the joyful intelligence was communicated by Mohammed Aly to Mr. Briggs, then in England, who had strenuously urged and zealously prosecuted an undertaking which has shed a blessing on Egypt; and will prove an incalculable benefit to the foreign trader to that country. That the labouring *fellahs* should not like it or us, as we are told by the author

* Since the above was printed we have received from Cairo the details of this melancholy accident, (for such it really was,) the result of which has been the almost total destruction of the citadel, and the loss of full four thousand lives.

of, 'Scenes and Impressions in Egypt,' is natural enough. 'As we passed,' he says, 'amid the crowds of Arab fellows, labouring on the canal, we were abused and pelted with mud. We laughed at, and forgave, and pitied them. They are impressed with an idea that the Franks encouraged the Pasha to undertake this work; and as he forces them from their families, and pays them with beams and the horsewhip, they can view us under no other light than joint oppressors.'

The establishment of colleges for the instruction of youth in foreign languages and mathematics, and inferior schools; the protection and indulgence afforded to religious sects of every denomination; the introduction of the vaccine, and of the medical and surgical practices of Europe; the embellishment of the fountains and reservoirs of Cairo with ornamented marble columns, and various other improvements, are what will mostly redound to the honour of Mohammed. The Turks, however, dislike all these innovations, and consequently the author and encourager of them. In fact, they perceive that he is a Turk only to his own countrymen, and that with them he is rigidly strict; whilst, to all others, Christian or Pagan, he is liberal and wholly free from prejudices; and his greatest enemies give him the credit of wishing to deal out equal justice to all.

In medical practitioners both the inhabitants and the army are very deficient; but the Pasha has ordered that a school of medicine shall be established, which he expects to perfect with the same facility as he procured the forty thousand pair of shoes—'on your heads be it!' To assist this school, it has been proposed that a set of waxen models should be procured from Padua! another recommends that they should immediately lay out a botanical garden! a third advises him to send for interpreters to all parts of Europe to translate without delay the best books into the Turkish language! and again it is recommended that the Italian should be adopted as the language of the court. Coal-mines, sulphur-mines, porphyry-mines, and emerald-mines are all to be explored and worked. In fact, with that thirst which Mohammed Aly manifests for innovation and improvement, one point, as might be expected, leads to another, every hill gained opens new mountains to view, but not to daunt, in the smallest degree, the ardour of the Pasha; they must all be surmounted. Among other things, the French have persuaded him to establish an Institute, to be held in the palace of the deceased Ismael Pasha. 'Among the books,' says the writer of "Impressions," 'a most conspicuous place was occupied by a number of volumes backed "*Victoires des Français*!" I observed "*Les Liaisons Dangereuses*," two large volumes backed "*L'Amour*,"

"*L'Amour*," Byron, in *French prose!!!* and one solitary *sonnet* in English—"Malcolm's Persia."

All lawsuits and criminal prosecutions are settled by a *Qady*, or judge; who is sent from the Porte and removed annually; under him are the *Shiaks* and others, learned in the law. A civil process is stated to cost about 4 per cent. of the value in dispute, of which the *Qady* takes four-fifths for himself and gives out *one-fifth* to the lawyers who assisted him. All minor disputes and complaints are brought before the *Kiaya-bey*. His instruments are—the *Agba* of the Janissaries, who is charged with maintaining good order, and especially among the soldiers; the *Qualiy*, or *Agba* of the police, who more especially looks after the thieves and prostitutes, on both of whom he levies contributions for the support of himself and his myrmidons. The *Motaceb* regulates the weights and measures; the *Bache-Agba* has the direction of the patrols, and the spies who frequent the coffee-houses, bazars and other public places; and, in addition to these, there is a head-man in every quarter of the city, who endeavours to settle disputes and preserve peace in the neighbourhood. This is effectually done, so that the streets of Cairo are as safe as those of London, except on occasions when the military break loose for want of pay, or to avenge themselves of some grievance, when the peaceable inhabitants usually suffer.

The population of Egypt is pretty accurately ascertained by a tax laid on every house. M. Mengin, who says he has paid great attention to the subject, reckons in Cairo eight persons to each house, and in the provinces four. The account then stands thus:

	Houses.	Inhabitants.
In Cairo	23,000	200,000
In the provincial towns of Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Old Cairo, and Boulak	14,532	58,128
In 14 provinces, containing 3473 villages,	564,168	2,250,672
	603,700	2,514,400

Thus Cairo is the only city of Egypt which contains any great accumulation of inhabitants. The city was built by Gaubar, a general in the service of the first caliph of the race of the *Fatimites* of Egypt, in the year 338 of the *hegira* (966 of the Christian era). The celebrated Saladin surrounded it with walls. For the last three hundred years its splendour is supposed to have gradually declined. M. Mengin speaks with great contempt of the palaces which Mohammed Aly has built for himself and his family. Many of the old ones, and numerous houses, are in ruins, and in the last twenty-

twenty-five years, the population has decreased nearly one-fourth. Cairo contains, according to M. Mengin, 240 principal streets, 46 public places, 11 bazaars, or covered streets; 140 schools for the instruction of children, 300 public cisterns, 1166 coffee-houses, 65 public baths, and one miserable hospital for the reception of the infirm and insane. It contains besides, he says, '400 mosques, where mussulmen go to pray, to eat, drink and sleep; where merchants and money-changers carry on a traffic, and where loiterers pass their time in listening to story-tellers—these sacred edifices being still, as heretofore, dens of thieves.' We must be permitted, however, to doubt the writer's accuracy on this point; it being well known that Mussulmen hold their mosques in as great veneration as Christians do their churches.

The population is composed of Franks, or Europeans, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Christians, Jews, Turks, Arabians, and Copts, who are supposed, on every ground of probability, to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The Franks are mostly from the shores bordering on the Mediterranean, and chiefly engaged in commerce and in the Pasha's new manufactures; they do not exceed one thousand, half of whom are in Alexandria, and the other half in Cairo. In spite of all the partiality and protection of the Pasha, the Turks lose no opportunity of insulting and abusing these 'Christian dogs.' There are about two thousand Armenians, who reside principally in the capital, where they exercise every kind of trade, and are much concerned in money transactions with the government. The Greek Christians of Syria may be reckoned at 3000 in Cairo, and 1000 in the other cities of Egypt: they were formerly the wholesale merchants who supplied the land proprietors and others with various kinds of articles, and were in general wealthy; but the monopoly of the viceroy has very considerably impoverished them. There are about five thousand descendants of the ancient Greek colonists, who form quite a distinct race from the modern Greeks: these people have lost their ancient language and speak a kind of Arabic; many of them are mariners, but in general they pursue the inferior and handicraft trades.

M. Mengin reckons about four thousand Jews in Egypt, three thousand of whom inhabit a part of Cairo called after them the Jews' quarter, of which the streets are so narrow as to be almost impassable; the houses are dark, crowded together, filthy, and so infectious that, when the plague breaks out, the first inquiry is, if it has appeared in the Jews' quarter? Yet such is their affection for this wretched abode, that an Egyptian Jewess meeting M. Mengin in Paris, said to him, with an accent of regret, 'Ah! Monsieur, où est le Kaire! où est le quartier Juif!'

The Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians, are by far the

the most numerous class of Christians in Egypt, amounting at least to 160,000, of whom about 10,000 inhabit the two most populous quarters of Cairo. In the towns they practice different trades, but the greater part labour on the lands, among the fellahs, from whom they are scarcely distinguishable. Under the government of the Mamlouks the Copts were employed in taking an account of and collecting the revenues of the villages, and many of them still hold situations of this kind, and as writers about the court. In their manners they are austere and forbidding, generally silent, and wearing an air of melancholy; but they are said to be extremely tyrannical when in power.

The Fellahs, who compose the chief part of the population of Egypt, are, at the present day, a distinct race of men, originally, in all probability, from some part of the East, and a mixture perhaps of ancient Egyptians, Arabians, and Syrians: they approach nearest, as we have observed, to the Copts; but they are rigid mussulmans, and as strictly observant of the religious rites and ceremonies laid down by their sheiks or priests, to whom they pay implicit obedience, as the Hindoos of those prescribed by the Brahmins. The change of government operates no change either in their customs, their manners, or their condition. They labour hard on the soil, and live in the most abstemious manner on dourra, dwell in cottages of unbaked bricks, are clothed in coarse woollen cloth, and sleep on mats: those in the towns exercise handicraft trades, and keep shops in the bazaars, which they only quit to attend the mosques. Like all orientals, they are fond of frequenting coffee-houses and listening to the tales of pretended magicians, or the rude music of strolling singers. They submit without murmuring to every species of ill treatment, and in meekness and apathy may almost be said to surpass the Hindoos.

The tented Arab, hovering with his flocks along the borders of the fertile valley of the Nile, is the same in character, manners, and customs as he everywhere else is, and apparently has been in all times since the days of the patriarchs, regarding with disdain and proud independence all other classes of mankind, but more particularly those of his own nation, who, in his eyes, have degraded themselves by taking up their abodes in fixed habitations, and whom he calls in contempt *katy*, or Arabs of the walls. Those who turn cultivators are equally despised, and considered in the light of fellahs, with whom an alliance by marriage would be regarded as dishonourable. The Arab women have fine features and complexions; they are much fairer than the Egyptian women, and far more correct in their conduct. In cases of infidelity, the injured party takes the law into his own hands, and the culprit is generally punished with death.

M. Mengin assures us, that the notion so generally entertained of

of the females of Egypt living a confined and secluded life in their harems, is very far from being correct; that, on the contrary, whether married, or slaves from Georgia, Circassia, and Mengrelia, they are allowed to quit the harem whenever they please; and very frequently, accompanied by a confidante, leave the house under pretext of going to the bath, or of making visits, when the real object is to indulge in illicit amours. He tells a story, in order to prove that the refined wit and coquetry of an Egyptian female are not at all inferior to that of a Parisian; which, whether true or false, has very much the air of an Eastern romance, and, to our apprehension, of a very dull and clumsy one.

We are by no means convinced, however, either by M. Mengin's assurances or his story, that the Egyptian women enjoy that liberty which he states them to do; we believe, that, like other oriental females, they are the mere slaves of their husbands' or their owners' caprices; and we are further persuaded that this degrading condition of the women is one of the greatest obstacles to the civilization of Egypt, and one of the last that will probably be removed, intimately connected as it is with the precepts of the Mahomedan faith.

Our Article has extended beyond the limits originally proposed; yet we cannot conclude it without recurring once more to the extraordinary person who presides over the destinies of this spotted population: we will, however, be brief.

Mohammed Aly is well-spoken of by most European travellers, and, we conceive, not altogether undeservedly, though the author whom we have already quoted (p. 501) appears to think otherwise. 'I sat on the divan,' he says, 'with my eyes fixed on him; I wanted to examine the countenance of a man, who had realized in our day one of those scenes in history which, when we have perused it, always compels us to lay down the book, and recover ourselves—there he sat—a quick eye, features common, nose bad, a grizzled beard, looking much more than fifty, the worn complexion of that period of life, and there seemed to be creeping upon him that aspect which belongs to and betrays the grey decrepitude of lust. . . . They tell you he is not sanguinary; men grow tired of shedding blood, as well as of other pleasures; but if the cutting off a head would drop gold into his coffers, he would not be slow to give the signal. His laugh has nothing in it of nature; how can it have? I can hear it now,—a hard sharp laugh, such as that with which strong heartless men would divide booty torn from the feeble. I leave him to his admirers.'

We must not, however, form our judgment from the opinions of one who travelled post through the country, and had a single short interview with its ruler. It should be recollected that, when Mo-

hammed assumed the command, complete anarchy prevailed in every department. The country was distracted by the conflicting pretensions of the Mamlouks, aided by the Bedouin Arabs, the Albanians, and the Turks, with many rival chieftains. The soldiers were mutinous—the finances were exhausted—property was insecure—agriculture was neglected—and commerce languished. Contrast this with the state of the country for the last sixteen years. Every thing is diametrically the opposite of what it then was. All rivalry is put down—the Bedouin Arabs are submissive—the military controlled, lodged in barracks and tents, and regularly paid—the finances prodigiously increased—new articles of produce raised—and trade carried on to an extent formerly unknown. The whole country from Alexandria to Syene is perfectly tranquil, and travellers pass unmolested, with as much freedom as on the continent. Egypt, in 1804-6, was in many respects like France under the jacobins; and the genius of the Pasha, on a more limited sphere, has often been compared to that of Buonaparte among the French. It is not pretended that the Pasha has not his failings, he has many; but to estimate his character he should be judged by the standard of other Mohammedan princes or governors—of the despotic pashas of Syria or Turkey—and which of all these can be compared to him? It is hardly fair to try him by our own notions of excellence—by European standards, when every thing—custom, religion, government—is so different. His defects are those of education and example. His improvements are the fruits of his own genius.

ART. X.—*Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen.* By Walter Savage Landor, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1824.

LOOKING back twenty or thirty years, we perceive Mr. Landor very gravely occupied in the production of a little volume or two of poetry, which it does any man credit to have understood. We have read the poem of 'Gebir,' and recollect something of a wrestling match between a Nereid and a shepherd, the former of whom, being conqueror, carries off a lamb. This wrestling proves however to be only the sea-nymph's mode of courtship; the happy couple, victor and vanquished, are united upon the surface of the ocean; their bridal bed is strewn at the bottom; and the admiring bridegroom is informed the next morning that he had become the progenitor of 'a mortal man above all mortal praise'—Napoleon Buonaparte!* If we do not mistake, there were also a queen

* In Mr. Landor's present work, 'Napoleon Buonaparte' is treated with as much contempt as any other person of eminence. We cannot resist giving an extract from 'Gebir,'

a queen of Egypt and a king of Spain, who persisted in building a city, though certain enchanters contrived that every thing which was built up in the day should disappear in the night. Poison and other serious occurrences brought the poem to a tragical end. We can add that, amongst much absurdity and obscurity, signs of intellectual, if not of poetical powers, excited expectations which Mr. Landor has allowed us to forget. Our hope was that time would have reduced to order a mind of some natural strength; but we believe, though Mr. Landor was no stipendiary soldier, his studies suffered an interruption from his martial ardour during the Peninsular war, and his achievements again came to an end from the difficulty of co-operating with ordinary beings. In short, Mr. Landor could neither write nor fight like any other person; his troop of horse must be trained at his own private cost, and his poems published for his own private reading.

The nature of the present work is sufficiently explained by its title, to which we have only to add, that it is distributed into thirty-five conversations, maintained by distinguished personages of various ages and countries, under whose names Mr. Landor enjoys the opportunity of inculcating the most violent opinions of all parties; protesting of course against any of them being attributed to himself. The work being of a very desultory character, our remarks must be equally so.

The reader who is attracted by the names of Southey and Popson, (vol. i. p. 39) and told to expect a specimen of their conversation, must have prepared himself for no scanty exhibition of wit, for much astute criticism, and deep erudition. How will he then be surprised to find, that these eminent individuals meet only to agree upon the merits of Mr. Wordsworth's poetry! that they talk as if they were writing commentaries and tired of it, and that their dialogue is carried on with about the same speed of alterna-

'Gebir,' which our readers may take as a specimen of the poem for better and worse. It occurs after the winning of the prize-lamb by the sea-nymph above-mentioned.

She smiled, and more of pleasure than disdain
Was in her dimpled chin and liberal lip
And eyes that languished, lengthening,—just like love.
She went away: I on the wicker gate
Leaned, and could follow with my eyes alone.
The sheep she carried easy as a cloak.
But when I heard it's bleating, as I did,
And saw, she hastening on, it's hinder feet
Struggle, and from her snowy shoulder slip,
(One shoulder it's poor efforts had unveiled.)
Then, all my passions mingling fell in tears!
Restless then ran I to the highest ground
To watch her; she was gone; gone down the tide;
And the long moonbeam on the hard wet sand
Lay like a jasper column half upreared.—*Book 1st.*

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tion, and vigour of contention, as the celebrated game at chess between the Spanish and Persian monarchs, each of whom resumed his deliberations in his own palace, as soon as the courier had arrived to announce his other majesty's last move! We protest against Mr. Landor's dialogue being supposed to furnish a specimen of Mr. Southey's conversation, and we will not consent to receive a sarcasm elaborately got up, and forced on the attention in all the importunity of italics, as representing Professor Porson's style of wit. Neither can we allow our Northern contemporary, though a much smaller personage than these, to be represented, in the space of half a dozen lines, in the several characters of an ant and a serpent; and though it is doubtless with the best intentions that Mr. Wordsworth is figured in the same fruitful allegory, first as Adam, (or Eve, we do not clearly make out which,) and secondly as an elephant, yet we know enough of that gentleman's modesty to assure ourselves that he would be satisfied with appearing in one of those characters.

We can speak with some commendation of the conversation which follows between Oliver Cromwell and Walter Noble, a leader of his party. It is at the critical period when Cromwell had determined on the death of the king, from which Noble endeavours to dissuade him. The language and manner of Cromwell's resistance is not ill imagined.

Cromwell.—You country gentlemen bring with you into the People's House a freshness and sweet savour which our citizens lack mightily. I would fain merit your esteem, heedless of these pussy fellows from huts and warehouses, with one ear lapped by the pen behind it, and the other an heirloom, as Charles would have had it, in Laud's star-chamber. Oh! they are proud and bloody men. My heart melts; but alas! my authority is null: I am the servant of the commonwealth: I will not, dare not betray it. If Charles Stuart had only threatened my death, in the letter we ripped out of the saddle, I would have reproved him manfully, and turned him adrift; but others are concerned, lives more precious than mine, worn as it is with fastings, prayers, long services, and preyed upon by a pouncing disease. The Lord hath led him into the toils laid for the innocent. Foolish man! he never could eschew evil counsel.

Noble.—In comparison to you he is but as a pinnacle to a buttress. I acknowledge his weakness, I cannot wink upon his crimes. But what you visit as the heaviest of them, perhaps was not so, although the most disastrous to both parties, the bearing of arms against his people. He fought for what he considered his hereditary property; we do the same; should we be hanged for losing a lawsuit?

Cromwell.—Not unless it is the second. Thou talkest finely and foolishly, Wat, for a man of thy calm discernment. If a rogue holds a pistol to my breast, do I ask him what he is about? do I care whether his

his doublet be of dog-skin or of cat-skin? Fie upon such wicked
sophisms! Marvellous, how the devil works upon good men's minds.

Noble.—Charles was always more to be dreaded by his friends than
by his enemies, and now by neither.

Cromwell.—God forbid that Englishman should be feared by Eng-
lishman! but to be daunted by the weakest, to bend before the worst . . .
I tell thee, Walter Noble, that if Moses and the Prophets commanded
me to this villainy, I would draw back and mount my horse!—vol. i.
p. 58.

Charles has but a feeble advocate in this Walter Noble. Per-
haps it would not have been natural that a Roundhead should
say more for him; but it would have been by no means incon-
sistent with Cromwell's practice in this stage of his career, to
listen to the representations of a cavalier, whom dramatic pro-
priety would have permitted to discuss the question fairly; and,
though we are far from desiring to commit such a task to Mr.
Lander's discretion, yet we will affirm that, after all that has been
written on that period of our history, the character of Charles has
never been fully and fairly depicted. It has never been shown
how his character ought to be distinguished from his conduct, how
much of what was wrong in the latter is to be imputed to Bucking-
ham and Digby, how much of what is right to Clarendon; how he
began life with arbitrary principles derived from, and fostered by
his parents; how he discarded instead of becoming a bigot to
them when their injustice was exposed; how his firmness forsook
him in great perplexity and desertion, (we allude to the sacrifice
of Strafford, the worst of the many fatal concessions made about
the same period;) how it returned when all terms were broken
with him, and he knew his cause was good; how adversity atten-
pered his mind and enlarged his views; how patiently and piously
he met the misfortunes of his latter years when there was none
to help him; and with what royal dignity and Christian sanctity
he suffered death when there was none to save him. There is
not in the English language a more enlightened exposition of
what ought to be the English constitution, (for it had then no
existence,) than is contained in the Letter of Charles to his son,
written when there was no earthly hope that it could profit him-
self; there is no exposition more free from the natural pre-
judices of his party, whether we consider its reference to the
good of the people as the basis of all civil authority, or the just
discrimination of the consequences resulting to the people from
excess or defect of that authority. This letter is not sufficiently
known or noticed, especially by those who are disposed to doubt
the authenticity of the *ΕΙΣΑΚΩΝ*. It is entirely congenial with the
spirit of that composition, and written with not less ability. In-

deed if proof of ability were the thing called for by those who impugn the authenticity of the *Eikon*, better could not be desired than the disputation between Henderson, the Scotch polemic, and Charles when all assistance was carefully removed from him. The intellectual acuteness and promptitude evinced by the king in that controversy will surprize those who have rated his capacity according to such ill judgment as is formed of men's talents by their conduct in circumstances wherein probably any course of conduct would be fatal. Their writings are better criteria. We perceive sufficient reasons to clear the *Eikon* from any imputation of being spurious. In the first place, what impostor would have sitten down to fabricate the long prayers and devout meditations with which each section concludes? They bear every mark of being ejaculated from a pious mind at intervals, and under the pressure of afflictions, of being, in short, what they import to be, composed by the king 'in his solitudes and sufferings.' What Royalist, also, writing for party purposes, would have accused Charles in such vehement and unqualified terms as those in which his self-accusations are couched, or ascribed to him such penitence and humility? Yet all this was characteristic of Charles, who was, in his latter years, perhaps the most devout Christian and impartial Royalist in the kingdom. The most beautiful portion of the work is that on parting from his wife; and the grace of conjugal affection was a matter altogether alien from the purposes of an impostor and partizan. It may be remarked also, that Milton directs his efforts to confute the work, not to impeach its authenticity; which, could he have hoped for success, he would no doubt have attempted; for he perceived with deep resentment the general tribute of respect which was paid to it by the nation, and how much it contributed to swell the tide of popular feeling and affection which had run high since the death of the king. The soi-disant Iconoclast could ill bear the thought that his party, by the means with which they won their power, had lost *the voice of the people*,—that old and serviceable argument which had applied itself to every emergency, and in their minds sanctified every crime. Milton at length could entertain a doubt of the people's infallibility, and, whilst in the very same work he rebukes and insults the king for presuming to set his private judgment against the judgment of the people, he rejects and reviles the judgment of the people, because they redeemed it—but too late—from the delusions which his party had inspired.

'As he, (the king,) to acquit himself, hath not spared his adversaries to load them with all sorts of blame and accusation, so to him, as in his book alive, there will be used no more courtship than he uses; but what is properly his own guilt, not imputed any more to his evil counsellors,

sellers, (a ceremony used longer by the Parliament than he himself desired,) shall be laid here without circumlocutions at his own door—*That they who from the beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappiness I know not, are so much affatuated, not with his person only, but with his palpable faults, and doat upon his deformities, may have none to blame but their own folly, if they live and die in such a strooken blindness as next to that of Sodom hath not happened to any sort of men more gross or more misleading.*—ΕΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ. p. 6.

The vox populi was no longer oracular. It was brought to him by an adverse wind, and Milton probably discovered that where the voice of the people is the voice of God, there must be about as many gods as there are people. We return to our subject.

There is a spirit of chivalry about Mr. Landor, which constitutes him the champion of the oppressed and the sworn foe of many giants and windmills. We observed lately in the newspapers that an individual, ambitious of appearing there, has established an office for redressing wrongs gratis; but unfortunately, in the instance which fell under our notice, the individual sustaining the injuries brought a complaint against the individual redressing the injuries for injuries sustained by the redress! We almost fear that such contradictory cases may occur in the experience of Mr. Landor, who has felt himself called upon to assume a similar character. Some mischievous Italian, bent on teasing him, brings forward a couple of stories of military license, trifling if true, which are no sooner swallowed by Mr. Landor than that gentleman subjects himself to a fit of the most generous indignation, calls for a pen, and does execution upon the offender.

Pallavicini.—Your Houses of Parliament, M. Landor, for their own honour, for the honour of the service and of the nation, should have animadverted on such an outrage: he should answer for it: he should suffer for it.

Landor.—These two fingers have more power, Marchese, than those two Houses. A pen! he shall live for it. What, with their animadversions, can they do like this?—*Conversation 9.*

Having taken this signal vengeance upon the culprit Mr. Landor becomes calm, prorogues the two legislative authorities and closes the chapter. To speak seriously, if Mr. Landor had not put this puissant flourish into his own mouth, we should have supposed it was contrived for some unhappy author finishing his studies in the retirement of Moorfields.

In noticing the absurdities and perversities of this author, we are far from denying that he is a man of knowledge and abilities, which nothing but his singular deficiency of judgment could have rendered useless. In the absence of any rational or consistent

consistent design, these volumes display many random thoughts forcibly expressed, pointed invective thrown out at chance directed, a few reflections which are just and valuable, and a lively imagination; though it be rather exuberant than select. Others may be more fastidious, but we have been able to get over much bad taste, many elaborate epigrams, strange prose-metaphors, and politics in verse, to find entertainment in the easier and better parts of the book. Readers less easily pleased than we are will be disposed, we think, to allow that the following passage is not without merit.

‘An English officer was sitting with his back against the base of the great Pyramid. He sometimes looked towards those of elder date and ruder materials before him, sometimes was absorbed in thought, and sometimes was observed to write in a pocket-book with great rapidity. “If he were not writing,” said a French naturalist to a young ensign, “I should imagine him to have lost his eye-sight by the ophthalmia. He does not see us: level your rifle: we cannot find a greater curiosity.”

‘The arts prevailed: the officer slid with extended arms from his resting place; the blood, running from his breast, was audible as a swarm of insects in the sand. No other sound was heard. Powder had exploded; life had past away; not a vestige remained of either:

“Let us examine his papers,” said the naturalist.

“Pardon me, sir,” answered the Ensign; “my first inquiry on such occasions is *what’s o’clock?* and afterwards I pursue my mineralogical researches.”

‘At these words he drew forth the dead man’s watch, and stuck it into his sash,* while with the other hand he snatched out a purse, containing some zecchins; every part of the dress was examined, and not quite fruitlessly.

“See! a locket with a miniature of a young woman!” Such it was—a modest and lovely countenance.

“Ha! ha!” said the ensign; “a few touches, a very few touches, I can give them, and Adèle will take this for me. Two inches higher, and the ball had split it—what a thoughtless man he was! There is gold in it too: it weighs heavy. Post! an old woman at the back! grey as a cat.”

‘It was the officer’s mother in her old age as he had left her. There was something of sweet piety, not unsaddened by preage, in the countenance. He severed it with his knife, and threw it into the bosom of her son. Two foreign letters and two pages in pencil were the contents of the pocket-book. Two locks of hair had fallen out; one rested on his eyelashes, for the air was motionless, the other was drawn to the earth by his blood. The papers were taken to General Kleber by the

* This is somewhat out of keeping. In the French army there are no ensigns; and sashes are never worn. A painter who should take his subject from a Peninsular campaign, might as well represent a Highlander in a cocked hat, or Mr. Lander in the uniform of the regulars.

naturalist

naturalist and his associate, with a correct recital of the whole occurrence, excepting the appendages of watch, zecchins, and locket.

"Young man," said Kleber gravely, "is this a subject of merriment to you? Who knows whether you or I may not be deprived of life as suddenly and unexpectedly? He was not your enemy; perhaps he was writing to a mother or sister. God help them! these suffer most from war. The heart of the far-distant is the scene of its most cruel devastations. Leave the papers: you may go: call the interpreter."

"He entered:—*Read this letter.*"

"*My adored Henry*" "Give it me," cried the general; he blew a strong fire from his pipe and consumed it.

"Read the other"—*My kind-hearted and beloved son* "Stop: read the last line only."

The interpreter answered, "it contains merely the name and address."

"I asked no questions: read them, and write them down legibly."

He took the paper, tore off the margin and placed the line in his snuff-box.

"Give me that paper in pencil, with a mark of sealing-wax on it."

He snatched it, shrunk, and shook some tobacco on it. It was no sealing-wax. It was a drop of blood; one from the heart; one only; dry, but seeming fresh.—vol. i. p. 129.

Had there been a predominance of such passages as these, they should have protected the work from our censure; but on the contrary, the volumes in general are characterized by a spirit of pugnacity which, while it takes all its tenderness from criticism, satisfies us that rebuke is wholesome. The objects of this spirit are sufficiently multifarious, but the nearest are the most trampled upon. Our opinion of Italian society, though milder than Mr. Lander's, would not have led us to take up our abode amongst the Italians. Yet Mr. Lander has not chosen ill for himself. We know well that it is a fitting abode for men who like prodigiously to talk of freedom, but never to see it about them; for men whose dependants are expected to shout liberty once in seven years, and go home to shake at an angry look; whose key-note is the independence of mankind, and to whom any thing in mankind but abject servility is insufferable. It is natural enough then, that Mr. Lander should make his home in the midst of a society which is his perfect scorn; amid venality, bad faith, suspicion, cowardice, the prostration of private and the extinction of social virtue, (i. 184.)—where the national religion rests on peculation and fattens on vice, (vol. i. p. 185.)—where the native women have lost all delicacy of character, and even the English women are chiefly those who are little respected at home, arrogant, presumptuous, suspicious, credulous, and speaking one of another

more

*more maliciously than untruly;** (vol. i. p. 190.)—where virtues and duties are vicarious; (vol. i. p. 210.)—where the most trifling of all pursuits is called *virtù*, every thing excellent is *pelegando*; softness is *morbidezza*, a dinner is served up *alla contemplazione*; and a lamb's fry is *cosa stupenda*; where a patriot is a man unfriendly to all established government, who would loosen all the laws as impediments to the liberty of action, with a reserve of those which secure to him the fruits of rapine and confiscation; (vol. ii. p. 140.)—where the aristocracy are the children of sharpers from behind the counter;—where counts and marquesses are more plentiful than sheep and swine, (vol. ii. p. 248.)—where the judges are bribed with harlotry—and where robbery and murder come off triumphant—Here, we repeat, Mr. Landor has done wisely to domesticate. It is in such an Utopian retreat as this that philosophers of his cast seek an asylum from the contact of honest independence and the restraints of a well ordered society.

In a conversation (vol. i. p. 251.) between the author and the Abbé Delille, there is much minute criticism upon French poetry. On this occasion Mr. Landor, being manager as well as performer, takes care to allot the best part to himself, and the abbé cuts a very inconsiderable figure. Indeed it may be observed that wherever Mr. Landor is one of the interlocutors, the responses of the other have about the same proportion of vigour and sagacity that obtains in the more elementary dialogues between Tutor and Charles. The abbé, therefore, stands forward as the feeble prop of French poesy, in whom we can admire nothing but the meekness with which he endures the contemptuous attacks of his adversary; and in this game between the right hand and the left, it is amusing enough to observe the exultation of the winner. French poetry may be better defended, provided the right ground be taken; and in order to this it is necessary at once and without reserve to relinquish the cause of all tragedies and heroics, of all sentimental and romantic poetry in the language. We should then come to the *syllæ* of the country, to the madrigals, epigrams, vers d'amour, baisers, and to the strongest point of defence, the works of Boileau, which Mr. Landor, with his usual ill fortune, has chosen as the main point of attack. Boileau is the most successful of French poets, because he chose those walks of poetry for which only the French language is fitted. He was the fair rival of Pope in all his writings except the Epistle to Eloisa; for from any attempt at poetry of an impassioned character the Frenchman judiciously forbore. It is not our design,

* This elegant form of invective was used by one whose language of reproach was discriminating as well as severe, and to whom we beg to give it back; 'quasi sistentes, stupra et flagitia invicem objectavere, neuter falso.'—Tac. Hist. i. 74.

for it is highly unnecessary, to support the reputation of Boileau against the criticisms of Mr. Lander. They tend to convince the incredulous that an author who published many volumes has written sundry bad lines and weak couplets. They also show that he did not employ a finer modulation of rhythm than his native language admitted. We know, somewhat better than Mr. Lander does, the incurable infirmities of French verse, and the spirit of pedantry by which the tragedians crippled it still further, substituting bad mechanism for natural disability. But we bring forward these facts in favour of Boileau,* and not against him. With regard to the particular defect instanced, it is true that the French heroic is necessarily divided into two cadences, but it is not necessarily, nor indeed is it often, confined to these two. One line—
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, et s'endort,

may express four actions each by its respective movement, and one can scarcely read it without perceiving that it sounds as it ought. By some accident, however, Mr. Lander has come to a just conclusion upon the general subject, and the most unlearned adversary and the worst directed attack shall not tempt us to say a word in defence of French versification.

Amongst other incongruous personages, who meet in Mr. Lander's pages, we have to number Samuel Johnson and John Horne Tooke. They could only have been brought together by some such stratagem as effected the meeting between Johnson and Wilkes. Mr. Lander is ignorant of Tooke's sentiments in ascribing to him a panegyric upon Johnson's Dictionary, for which he entertained more than his ordinary portion of spleen. In all literary history, (not less disgusting than political,) we know of nothing more painful than Tooke's comment, whether for the envy which leads him to make light of a work which he was peculiarly capable of estimating, or for the miserable hypocrisy with which he endeavours to dissemble his spite by declaring that he could never read the preface without tears. Dignified, noble and pathetic as that composition is, beyond all others wherein great authors have adverted to themselves and their works, we refuse to believe that it ever moistened the eyes of Horne Tooke. The Dictionary, no doubt, was capable of improvements, and has received them from other hands, according to the old allegory that

* If Boileau had quarrelled with his native tongue, and indulged in Latin like Mr. Lander, he would scarcely have given way to his classical vein in such verses as these, which describe the effect of Buonaparte's conquests:

Atqui mollior ala servituti

Certe gentibus incubat receptis . . .

Quod ferrum fuit antea, ecce plumbum.—ii. p. 189.

or as those which we find vol. i. p. 227, and which we suppose are also meant for Latin.

the

the dwarf sees farther than the giant provided he stand upon the giant's shoulders. Tooke accuses Johnson of being defective in a scheme of etymology which Johnson never proposed to accomplish. It was not a part of Johnson's design to give the roots of English words; he did not pretend to trace them to their original country, but only to the country whence they last transmigrated. Examples of this practice are adduced in the *Etymologia*, as if Johnson were answerable for not executing a plan which Tooke only contemplated, and which is equally defective after all. That part of the Dictionary will not be complete till the words are traced, not only to the language whence they first came, or to that whence they last came, but also in chronological order *through* every language of their intermediate progress.

Mr. Landon's mind is a self-constituted court of oyer and terminer, ready to try all causes which may come before it; and this court being composed of the most heterogeneous elements, and profoundly ignorant of the extent of its proper jurisdiction, passes upon each and every matter at issue, and upon all parties litigant, a sudden, peremptory, and unqualified sentence. The French nation, we find, are only to be restrained from mischief by the most rigid government, 'they must be scourged into good humour, and starved into content.' 'You Spaniards' (this judgment is delivered in a dedication to General Mina, vol. ii. p. viii.) 'You Spaniards have committed two great errors: the first in not removing to Cuba six or seven hundred known and proven traitors, condemning three or four of the most eminent to death; . . . Now to speak seriously on a matter of life and death, we hold this to be one of the most inexorable passages in Mr. Landon's work, inasmuch as the circumstances adverted to existed very recently, and may exist again, and the measure recommended is practical and feasible, and in truth exactly that measure which, should the circumstances again exist, the parties concerned would be most in peril of adopting. In civil wars the very name of treason ought by all parties to be especially avoided. They whose partisans suffer the punishment of treason, must in turn inflict it, and retaliation once at work will overthrow all judicial difficulties, till executions are aggravated into murders, and these multiplied into massacres.

If we have any thing more to observe, it is upon a conversation between Maurocordato and Colocotroni, in which Mr. Landon brings his poetical and military experience to the aid of the Greeks.

'The notes which I intended for this conversation were numerous; but as they contained some particulars which I think it imprudent to divulge at present, I shall insert some verses in their place, not very remote from the subject.'—vol. ii. p. 234.

The

The verses are consummately prudent, for they divulge no meaning whatever. With all Mr. Landon's caution, however, some of the military measures which he had suggested to the Greeks are of so efficacious a nature that he cannot resist throwing them off. The principal ruse de guerre which he recommends to them is to surprize the Turks when they least expect it, by throwing away their muskets and taking to bows and arrows (vol. ii. p. 217).—Equal astonishment is to result from the adoption of cork armour, than which it appears nothing is more cool and refreshing. (vol. ii. p. 223.)—In common prudence Mr. Landon ought to have put these stratagems into verse. On the contrary they are expounded to all the world in Mr. Landon's easiest prose: for aught we know, the Turks may get hold of the bows and arrows first, and it is awful to think on the fate of the defenceless Greeks, left with nothing but steel and gunpowder, when the Turks should fall upon them with bows and arrows in their hands and cased in cork!

In conclusion, whatever measure of absurdity there may be in Mr. Landon's work, we desire to do him full justice: there is also in it a good deal to be admired, and some little to be approved.

ART. XI.—*A Sketch of Old England by a New Englandman, in a Series of Letters to his Brother.* 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 305, 250. New York, 1822.

TRUTH, though not always palatable, is always wholesome, and nations, like individuals, ought to be grateful for the intelligence which detects and the skill which remedies their diseases, although the medicine should be bitter or the operation painful. In this spirit we approach the consideration of the 'Sketch of Old England by a New Englandman,' and although we cannot but regret that he has found so much to blame, we are still thankful that we have fallen into the hands of so enlightened, so liberal, and so candid a censor. We must not conceal, however, that the object of this amiable writer is not the instruction or improvement of Old England; our share in the benefit which his work is to do mankind is only incidental and inferential: his great motive is to raise the Americans in their own opinion and that of the world, by contrasting their freedom, happiness, civilization and refinement, with the slavery, bigotry, ignorance, barbarism and misery of this unhappy and degraded nation. How far it was necessary to publish two volumes to stimulate American modesty into a better opinion of American society, we do not pretend to say, but we can venture to pronounce that the portion of

of his work which shows 'Old England' her real situation, in far from being superfluous. A Grecian sage has concisely expressed the difficulty of knowing one's-self. Our New England monitor, who probably never heard of the sage or the apophthegm, has, by the mere light of his own natural genius, arrived at the same conclusion; and when we look at ourselves in his mirror, we are obliged to confess that England offers a very lamentable example of self-deception on almost every point connected with our manners, our history, our geography, our arts, and even our language. We have eyes but they see not, ears but they hear not; and until we opened these volumes of fraternal expostulation and friendly advice we had no conception of the grossness of our folly and the depth of our ignorance.

The publication is anonymous. No name, indeed, could add to the respect we bear the author, but we confess we should have been severely mortified could we not have relieved our feelings by directing our own and our readers' gratitude individually and personally to the object of our literary admiration: it was, therefore, with no small pleasure we learned that the writer of these incomparable Letters was Mr. J. K. Paulding,* a poet and politician of the first grade, and singularly noted in America for the liberality of his principles and the suavity of his disposition.

We could wish that the benevolent writer had condescended to give us a few dates, and that he had not so frequently left blanks or asterisks * * * * * for names of persons whom he visited or of places where he sojourned. These petty details are by no means necessary to increase our confidence; but, 'as dogs will bay the brightest moon,' we fear there may be those who will pretend to doubt whether any such traveller ever existed, and whether the volumes are not a mere compilation from radical newspapers, treasonable pamphlets, blasphemous libels, vulgar jest books, and all that species of ribald literature. Without participating in these suspicions, candour obliges us to confess that there are little points here and there which at first sight seem to require some explanation; but we must also add that the explanation, wherever it happens to be afforded, invariably proves the author's accuracy, and restores him to a fuller possession of our confidence. Mr. Paulding informs us, for instance, in his second letter, that *he invaded London under cover of a fog so dense that people were obliged to carry lights to find their way through the streets*, (vol. i. p. 13) and in the next page of the same letter he entertains his reader with 'a most capital colloquy' which he overheard between two Englishmen in the street, and which he justly instances as a proof

* Besides these Letters, Mr. Paulding has published '*Letters to John Bull*;' '*Letters from the South*;' '*The Back Woodman*,' and various other poems.

of the *stupidity* of the people amongst whom he has just arrived.

- "Fine day."
- "Very—(um.)"
- "Any news to-day?"
- "Can't tell."
- "Wife well?"
- "Tolerable, thank ye."
- "Fine day—how's Betsey?"
- "Middling."
- "How is John?"
- "So-so."
- "Aunt and uncle pretty well?"
- "Indifferent, thank ye. How's your wife?"
- "Complaining a little, thank you."
- "Old gentleman well?"
- "I can't say he is."
- "Very fine weather?"
- "Delightful."

Now it may, we admit, be asked whether this 'capital colloquy,' of which *fine days*, and *fine weather*, and *delightful weather* form the chief topic, is not a little inconsistent with the time of the year in which the author represents it to have taken place? and whether he does not herein exhibit rather more of a pleasant talent at invention than comports with the character of a sober relator of facts? We think not. Two things appear to have particularly excited the indignation of our traveller on his very outset, viz. the badness of the climate and the *stupidity* of the people; and surely he could produce no better proof of both than the having seen two fellows 'crawl up to each other' in the Strand, in a raw November fog; 'offer a dead hand to shake,' and congratulate themselves on such *delicious weather*!

'Among the few objects I could see, was a person with a lanthorn, who I suppose, like *Æsop*, was looking about for an honest man. You may think, my dear brother, how scarce honest men must be in London.'—vol. i. p. 13.

In these three lines there is an admirable combination of learning, truth and pleasantry. Heretofore the 'old world' supposed that Diogenes was the person who walked out with a lanthorn to seek an honest man: we now learn that it was the fabulist, and not the cynic. What can be more humorous than the supposition that the person who appeared to carry a light to find his own way in a fog, was, in fact, merely looking about for an honest man! and what so sarcastically just as the inference deduced from it, that honest men are scarce in London! The author's modesty forbids

his finishing the passage with an avowal that the lantern-man's search was not quite vain, since he met Mr. Paulding.

'Alighting from the stage,' (for Mr. Paulding made these important discoveries as he was driving through the streets,) there was a great contest for the privilege of carrying his trunks, like—what takes place at Calais, or Cadiz, or Smyrna, or New York?—oh! no—'like that of the Greeks and Trojans for the body of Patroclus.' A *Greek*, as he slyly intimates, 'carried'—the body? no;—the trunk? no, 'he carried the day'!—it seems, however, that he carried neither the trunk nor the day—

'for,' continues Mr. Paulding, 'a good natured person apprised me that if I permitted their attendance, I should probably never see my trunks again; I was not aware of the necessity of this caution, as you know, in our *own dear honest* country, no man hesitates a moment to trust his baggage with the first porter that offers, be he black or white.'—vol. i. p. 14.

The mode in which our traveller argues from this fact is very logical, however humiliating the result must be to the British people at large.

'This is *not* one of those solitary instances from which no general conclusion can be drawn. It affords *decisive proof* that at least one class of people in this country is not as honest as the same class in ours.'—vol. i. p. 14.

'To escape the hacks I called a hack'—the last of these *hacks* was, no doubt, a hackney-coach; what the former means we pretend not to guess. In this hack, be it what it will, he is conveyed, not however without shameful and characteristic imposition, 'to the * * * * coffee-house, the name of which,' he says, 'being derived from my own country, attracted the *yearnings of my inclination*.'

The coffee-house whose name *attracted the yearnings* of our traveller's *inclination*, ought not to be left in doubt; we have therefore run through the list of coffee-houses in London, and can find but two *names* which could have had this sympathetic effect on his bowels, viz. the New England Coffee-house in Threadneedle-street, and the New York Coffee-house in Sweeting's-alley. We regret to be obliged to add that, whichever of these coffee-houses Mr. Paulding honoured with his presence, he found it to be American only in name; for the waiters were exceedingly attentive, and the landlord made him a bow at his very entrance; 'all which,' as he shrewdly observes, 'being contrary to the nature of an Englishman, I took it for granted that he meant to cheat me;' and so he did, for the first day he gave him 'a bottle of half-guinea wine of a pestiferous quality.' Whether the half-guinea wine was port wine, currant wine, gooseberry wine, or elder wine,

wine, we are not informed, nor can we guess in what way (though bad wine might *poison*) it could be said to act pestiferously. This execrable and anonymous stuff, however, the landlord 'pronounced to be such as Lord Somebody always called for' when that distinguished nobleman dined at his house.

'The next day he gave me still worse, finding I had put up with the first, and charged me still higher, on the score of its being a favourite drink of some noble Earl. The third day it was still worse and still dearer, because his Grace of * * * * * always drank it in preference to any other.'—vol. i. p. 18.

Honesty is the best policy. Had the landlord, instead of making our traveller a bow, and charging ten shillings for a bottle of wine, treated him with an honest independence of manner, and been content with moderate prices for his beverage, Mr. Paulding would have probably made his fortune, by acquainting the fashionable world whether it was at the New England, in *Thread-needle-street*, or the New York, in *Sweeting's-lane*, that 'Lord Somebody, and the noble Earl of * * *', and his Grace the Duke of * * * * *, are in the habit of dining.'

By way of atonement, we suppose, for his misconduct, the landlord advised our traveller to buy a certain book called the *Picture of London*, 'which (says he) I did, and very much consolation it afforded me.' Indeed the greater part of the historical matter, much of the legal learning, and the whole of what regards the fine arts as connected with the metropolis are copied from this same *Picture of London*; and we should not have been sorry if, in spite of the landlord's low bows and high charges, our author had by name acknowledged the services of so great a literary benefactor as he turns out to have been.

Mr. Paulding escaped on the fourth auspicious morning from the symposiac rendezvous of the peerage, and fixed himself in a lodging in * * * * * Street, with an 'excellent old landlady,' who seems to have made but a poor return for the affection with which he celebrates her. Indeed nothing can show the disgusting duplicity of the English so much as the conduct of this woman, for, while our traveller praises her, and the neatness of her house, and the civility of her behaviour, with all the sincerity of an American, the abominable hag was amusing herself in *quizzing Jonathan*, (as we dare say she expressed it to her gossips,) and in gulking her unsuspicious friend with such stories as the following.

'She has good blood in her veins, if blood be an hereditary commodity; she claims descent from the Tudors and Plantagenets, and combines the conflicting claims of the houses of York and Lancaster. Though too well bred to boast, she sometimes used to mention these matters, until one day I advised her, *in jest*, to procure a champion to tilt

tilt against young Parson Dymoke for the broom at the ensuing coronation, since her claim was far superior to the Hanoverian upstarts. The good old soul took the joke ill, and I was sorry for it. She has a number of noble relatives among the respectable old-fashioned nobility, who still possess that sturdy antique morality and honesty now so scarce among this class throughout all Christendom. Their *occasional visits in the dusk of the evening*, and the contemplation of her own august descent, seem to constitute her little fund of worldly enjoyment.'—vol. i. p. 9.

Deception is always cruel; but to deceive an open-hearted confiding stranger who was about to write a book,—to take advantage of a little republican vanity, which was tickled at boarding with a Plantagenet, for the purpose of rendering him ridiculous, is so base and profligate, that we did not need the hint about '*occasional visitors in the dusk of the evening*,' to guess into what kind of society our poor New Englander had fallen.

Mr. Paulding makes several excursions in the neighbourhood of London; a city, by the way, which he informs us was built by certain *Goths* from *Scandinavia*, who (proleptically, we presume) compounded its present name from *Lur*, a grove, and *Den*, a town—because, as he pleasantly observes, 'it is a den of thieves.' Of these excursions he declines any minute description, wanting, as he candidly owns, both time and patience. This is the more to be regretted, as in the few notices which he gives of his rambles he has afforded us some very new and important information—and very necessary too—'for *nothing*,' as he elegantly tells us, 'can equal our ignorance of *every thing* that is not directly *under our noses*.' We lament to add, that he proves us to be equally ignorant of many things which *are under our noses*.

The climate and the practice of drinking beer form a combination very detrimental, it seems, both to the picturesque and moral aspect of our country.

'It rains or snows about one hundred and fifty days in each year, and of the remainder between fifty and sixty are cloudy—the grass and the foliage are so *deadly* green that they almost look blue, and resemble the effect of distance, which *you know*,' (we beg our readers to mark this extraordinary phenomenon)—'communicates a bluish tint to the landscape. To me there is something chilly and ungenial in the English summer, and it offends me hugely to hear a fat puffing beer-drinking fellow bawling to his neighbour "a fine day," when the sun looks as if it might verify the theory of one of the *old Greeks*, that it was nothing more than a great round ball of copper. Whether this melancholy character of the climate, or the practice of drinking beer in such enormous quantities, or both combined, have given that peculiar cast of bluff and gross stupidity to the people, I cannot say.'—vol. i. p. 25.

Of

Of the few suburban places which Mr. Paulding condescends to notice, the first is *Canons*, 'because it is connected with the name of our favourite Pope.' This visit is the more complimentary, as the place visited has long ceased to exist, and as the poet always denied his having made any allusion to it; but it gives the New Englander an opportunity of quoting eight lines from the description of Timon's villa, which cannot fail to be very much relished by his correspondent. We are at a loss, after all, to account for the peculiar reverence with which our author combines the recollections of Pope and Canons, for in the very next passage he, with some degree of irreverence, which betrays him into a slight grammatical inaccuracy, exclaims, 'Pope had better held his tongue about Timon's villa:—in this we cannot agree, for if he had, our traveller would never have visited Canons, and his brother might have died in ignorance of the quotation abovementioned.

He next visits Islington—'A place,' he says, 'near London, pleasantly situated, which *deserves to be mentioned* as the scene of—Goldsmith's excellent elegy on the *death of a mad dog*!'—vol. i. p. 27. This excellent elegy, which all our readers, we presume, have by heart, has hitherto been looked on as a piece of burlesque doggrel. The New Englander has, with a gravity almost miraculous, corrected this vulgar error; and admiring votaries will, doubtless, in all future time, cross the Atlantic to visit the 'scene of this pathetic event.' However this may be, we are confident that our traveller will be regarded as the second founder of the village; and we shall indeed be greatly surprised, if the next tavern that is licensed there, does not put up the *Paulding's Head*.

He then proceeds to Twickenham, where Pope's villa 'once was,' and where his grotto is still to be seen, 'a fantastic monument of expensive folly.' We had heard that Pope, having no communication between his front and his back garden but by an arched way under the high road, had, with much good taste, and at the expense of a few bits of spar, endeavoured to hide the necessary defect by giving the passage the air of a grotto—we now submit to our traveller's better authority, who sees no use in this 'flagrant piece of frippery.' On another and more important point too, he brings us new light: Twickenham, he assures us, is 'a village exactly opposite *Greenwich*, and connected with it by a *bridge*.'—vol. i. p. 29. Greenwich and Twickenham we always knew were on opposite sides of the river, but we fancied that they were nearly twenty miles asunder, and that all London was interposed between them; nor were we aware of any bridge at Twickenham, which, however, is a conveni-

ence; for which the inhabitants of that part of the country cannot be too grateful to the American traveller.

In this same neighbourhood of Greenwich, says our judicious inquirer—

‘ I saw a grand house, which I learned was built by a noted brewer of that village. This monument of the inordinate beer drinking propensity of the nation is one of the largest private dwellings I have seen in this country. The story went, that it was finally devised to an Oxfordshire baronet, who not dealing in beer could not afford to keep up the establishment. He accordingly sold every thing *but the walls*, and here it stands, ready for the next portly (*quære porter*) brewer, who shall be smitten with the desire of building up a name with *stone and mortar*.’—vol. i. p. 33.

May we venture here to observe that if the *walls* be standing, stone and mortar are the only articles in which the new proprietor *cannot* indulge?

Mr. Paulding next visits Osterly House, which, says he,—

‘ Attracted my notice, not so much for its magnificence, as its history. Every schoolboy has heard of Sir Thomas Graham, the great merchant, who built the Royal Exchange, and gave such grand entertainments to Queen Elizabeth. There is an old story, that the queen being at a great entertainment at Osterley, found fault with the court as being too large, and gave her opinion, that it would look better divided into two parts. Sir Thomas, like another Aladdin, that very night caused the alteration to be made; so that next morning the queen looking out, saw the court divided according to her taste. Her majesty, it is said, was exceedingly gratified with this proof of his gallantry; but passed, what was considered rather a sore joke upon Sir Thomas, saying, “ that a house was much easier divided than united.” Lady GRAHAM and Sir Thomas were at issue on a point of domestic supremacy.’—vol. i. p. 34.

This allusion to Sir Thomas Graham startled even our confidence; we at first suspected an error of the press; but the subsequent mention of Lady Graham’s name, and finding in another part of the book a reference to the same story of ‘ Sir Thomas Graham and Queen Elizabeth,’ we are forced to submit our doubts to the authority of our excellent guide, and to believe that Sir Thomas Graham built the Royal Exchange.

Our New Englander now proceeds to Oxford: he had heard, he says, that the principal street was a very fine one;—but the curse of the country still pursued him, and he entered the city in so thick a fog that he saw neither street nor any thing else.

‘ The next morning, however, made glorious amends, for it was—a wonder in England—a fine sunshiny morning, which is so uncommon here, that people look for an earthquake or a French invasion shortly afterwards.’—vol. i. p. 39.

As

As there has been no French invasion since the days of King John, and there is scarcely a record of an earthquake in England, we were anxious to hear how Oxford looked under the unparalleled circumstance of a sunshiny day. Our traveller, however, was still unlucky; for, not to say that the fog returned more dense than ever, it happened that just at the moment of his visit, a tailor of the town had quarrelled with the vice-chancellor about a debt due from one of the students of Brazen Nose. The vice-chancellor employed the *senior wrangler* to argue the point with the tailor. The senior wrangler (the first and the last, be it remembered, that Oxford ever saw) was defeated—then came a *terre filius*; him also the undaunted tailor overthrew: then came excommunication—

‘And the recreant tailor brought all the curses of Ernulphus upon him: he was cursed in all the moods and tenses in Latin and English, and would have been cursed in Greek and Hebrew had any of the present professors been sufficiently versed in these tongues.’*—vol. i. p. 42.

This untoward event prevented our New Englander from seeing modern Oxford, although he lingered there a week in the vain hope that this affair—which interrupted all pleasure, all business, all inquiry—might be terminated. He was therefore reduced to hide himself from this dire confusion in the Bodleian, where he found ‘many notices of the early events which occurred in different ages:’ an elegant periphrasis, we suppose, for what are vulgarly called *books*.

‘As such,’ adds our learned author, ‘they are highly worthy of notice; and if I had possessed sufficient time and patience I would have made copious extracts from them.’—vol. i. p. 44.

He does, however, find time and patience to copy a dozen pages from two ‘*old books in the Bodleian*.’ Those rare bibliographical curiosities, which furnish the whole of what our author says of Oxford, are Wood’s *Athenæ* and Strype’s *Memorials*; and we cannot sufficiently admire the zeal for knowledge which induced him to tarry a week at Oxford, in a fog, for the purpose of making extracts from two volumes, which he might have found, by the help of a lanthorn, on any stall in London.

If his account of Oxford in former days be somewhat tedious, his authorities, as we have seen, are solely to blame: when he draws on his own resources he is strikingly concise, as our readers will admit, when we assure them that, although he says Oxford was never visited by a more enthusiastic votary, all he tells us of it is condensed into the following passage:—‘I must not forget

* It was, we presume, one of these professors who helped our erudite author to a quotation from *Xephelin* in the original *Latin*.

to inform you, that there is no place in Christendom where they say their prayers so fast as at Oxford.'—vol. i. p. 54.

On his return from this inauspicious visit, his eye was caught by a rose, which, as we understand him, peered above the palisades of a little garden that bordered the road. Of this flower he meditates the seizure; and nothing can exceed the dexterous evolutions by which he effects his purpose. We cordially join in the exultation which he expresses at carrying off his prize without being, as he says, 'caught in a man-trap, shot by a spring-gun, or prosecuted afterwards for a trespass.' This, Mr. Paulding adds, he 'records as the first miracle* which happened to him in this country.' In this we agree with him; though we cannot avoid saying at the same time, that we think him less ingenuous than usual. He leaves his indignant countrymen to suppose that roses are common in England, which he well knows is not the fact. True it is, that we have roses, and indeed have had them from an early period—thus Strabo, *Anglia gaudet rosis*, England rejoices in roses—but then they were dog-roses. The garden-rose has always been a kind of prodigy among us; hence the powerful artillery with which our traveller found it every where protected. We have little doubt that as he walked on with his valuable capture, 'in the button-hole of his coat,' he was followed by all the boys and girls of the village, *as if the bears were in procession*.

We have not space to follow him through an interesting and profitable tour through the midland counties and part of North Wales, in which he found the Severn to be less than the Mississippi, the Wye than the Hudson, and Bala-pool than Lake Superior. To confess the truth, the author indulges in so sarcastic a vein of pleasantry at the expense of our diminutive 'puddles' and gutters, (for he will not allow them to be termed lakes and rivers,) that we feel almost ashamed of them ourselves. All the waters of the Island, he says, might be poured into Lake Superior without causing any undulation in it. After this, we almost doubt whether we shall ever assume sufficient courage to term our mole-hill of an island *Great Britain* again; notwithstanding the amiable author, with a view to soothe the mortification, which he knows we cannot but experience, has the *bonhomme* to cry, with a feeling and taste that rival Johnson's celebrated exclamation at Iona, 'far be it from me to flout these people for not having larger rivers, higher mountains, finer waterfalls, and broader lakes!'

* The author reverts again to this 'miracle,' which appears to have made an awful impression on his mind: nor can it be wondered at, since, as he faithfully assures his correspondent, 'spring-guns and man-traps are all the welcome provided for strangers on English ground.'—vol. i. p. 99.

In the course of this tour Mr. Paulding is every where struck with the miseries of the population; and he laments exceedingly, that throughout all England rents are *no longer* paid in *kind*, the only just and equitable mode towards a tenantry: but, on the contrary, he says, 'rents are *now* only paid in *money*.' He does not exactly say when it was, that throughout all England rents were paid in *kind*, nor from what precise period the introduction of *money* rents may be dated; but we infer from the contrast which he draws between *his* country and *ours*, that there is no such thing as a money rent known in the happy regions of New England. We think we can guess why *no* money rents are paid in the back settlements; but we should be glad to know whether in the neighbourhood of New York or Philadelphia all rents are paid in kind; and if so, by what process the landlords convert the milk, and butter, and hay, and corn into broad-cloth, cutlery, or the Quarterly Review—an article, it seems, of prime necessity on the other side of the Atlantic. Are we to suppose an American land proprietor, when he happens to visit Washington, travels like a patriarch in the midst of his flocks and herds, and, on his arrival, pays into a banker's hands, to answer current expenses, a balance of calves, sucking pigs, turkies, and Indian corn?

On tithes and taxes Mr. Paulding descants with equal profundity.

'In vain has it been urged that both these come eventually out of the pocket of the landlord. *I say they do not*: they come from the sweat of the peasant's brow—the labour of his hands—the privation of his comforts. Every man who looks closely at England will distinctly perceive that both tithes and taxes are paid by the tenant, and not by the landlord,'—vol. i. p. 141.

This proposition is so clear that we do not think it worth while to stop to inquire how it then happens that land *tithe-free*, or on which the *land-tax* has been *redeemed*, produces a proportionably higher rent to the landlord. This and similar anomalies must not be permitted to disturb the assertions of so powerful an authority as this Adam Smith of New England.

Pitiable indeed is the situation to which these complicated evils have brought the starving population of England; and what is still more lamentable, Mr. Paulding foresaw, in the year 1821, that there was no *possible* remedy for these evils, which, instead of diminishing, must of necessity increase *ad infinitum*.

'The people look to parliamentary reform, and the consequent reduction of taxes, as the means of relieving their distresses; and they remain quiet in the hope of *future impossibilities*. Could they by any impossibility be relieved from their burdens, and rise into a state of comparative

parative competency, they would be—what they were—*worthy of being the ancestors of our countrymen!* but such is not even to be hoped without a revolution. The government cannot if it would, and would not if it could, diminish the taxes.’—vol. i. p. 141.

As this must have been written with a knowledge that the government had, between 1816 and 1821, taken off *eighteen millions* of taxes, we conclude that it will not at all change our author’s opinion to hear that, since he wrote, the government, which neither could nor would diminish the taxes, has taken off above *eight millions* more. These, we too well know, are the petty arts by which ministers endeavour to throw discredit on the opinions of the enlightened friends of liberty; and we probably owe to a wish on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make these volumes appear ridiculous, that illusory measure, the reduction of the assessed taxes.

Amongst the most monstrous of the oppressions of the ministry on the poor, was, as our author pathetically remarks, the vote of a million—to build churches!

‘This appropriation of a million sterling of the over-burthened people’s money is I do not hesitate to say, *nothing better than a robbery*, committed upon them by the prince and the government, for the sole purpose of putting a deception on the world. Much more good would have been done if it had been deducted from the amount of *yearly taxes*—this would have made a difference of two millions to the nation.’—vol. i. p. 168.

We recommend this passage to the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, indeed, we doubt not that it will be thought worthy of some notice even at Washington. It proves that by *not* raising the additional million we should, by some sympathetic operation, (which however the author does not explain,) have taken off another million from the existing public burthens. This, as the author justly states, would make a clear difference of *two millions* to the people; and what is still more satisfactory, the saving of the *single* sum of one million, to be raised on one single occasion, would have wiped off two millions *annually* from the public expenditure *for ever*.

Our author proceeds with equal ability to take another, but not less judicious, view of this heart-rending subject.

‘These *two millions*—(he has clearly proved that *one is two*)—these two millions would have prevented a great many people from becoming paupers; or supposing it had been appropriated to *feeding, clothing and educating* some of the thousands of little half-naked, half-starved, and wholly ignorant wretches who prowl about this city.’—vol. i. p. 168.

He supposes, we see, that our churches are not to be built *by hands*; he looks, it seems, upon each of them as a yawning sepulchre

chre which, some how or other, is to swallow down its own unproductive cost. We know not how it may be in New England, but we have a notion *here* that the walls of a *church* are built pretty much in the same way as the walls of a *school* or a *shop*, and that the expense diffuses itself pretty much amongst the same classes. First a small portion of the money goes to the architect; then come the lime-burner, stone-quarrier, brick-maker, mason, carpenter, and plumber; the shipwright who builds, and the seaman who navigates the ships or boats which collect the materials: then follow the tribes of labourers, and all the various tradesmen whose goods these workmen consume—all these people have wives and children who can only be *fed, clothed, and taught* by the earnings of their fathers in their several vocations.

But it is not the *new* churches only which excite ‘the yearnings of the author’s bowels’; he frets and fidgets, and makes himself just as miserable about the *old* ones. Our cathedrals, in particular, vex his pious spirit; and he weeps incessantly over ‘the vast sums which were taken from the poor to rear these monuments of vanity.’ With that intuitive knowledge of cause and effect which distinguishes all Mr. Paulding’s economical measures, he proposes to remedy the evil and relieve the starving population by ‘re-funding to the children the money originally extorted from the parents for the erection of these useless piles.’ For this purpose nothing more is necessary, it seems, than to pull them all down!—‘by which,’ as the author aptly expresses it, ‘nothing will be lost on the score of religion, since these immense structures are not in the least calculated for *sermons*, which cannot be heard through their interminable aisles.’—vol. i. p. 76. Our ancient castles and country seats, too, contribute their full share to the annoyance of this exemplary friend of the poor; he regards them with a kind of instinctive horror, and exults in every symptom of their decay:—not from a mean jealousy of this country’s possessing any edifices more venerable and stately than the gable-end houses of *William the Doubtful* at New York—‘the sun, where Mr. Paulding was born, drew all such humours from him’—but from a conviction that their demolition would materially tend to mitigate that fierce ‘hunger of the lower classes,’ which forms through most of his book the chief topic of the author’s tender commiseration. We certainly take shame to ourselves for not having suspected the extent to which this evil has gone, and the degrading effects it has produced.

‘This abject poverty is the secret of almost all their mobs, crimes, and apparent ridiculous inconsistencies—that they one day execrate the king, and the next shout at his heels and grovel at his feet, is because

cause they were hungry; and CARE IS TAKEN, whenever his majesty GOES ON A TOUR, to quicken their loyalty by distributions of food and ale. A few loaves and a barrel of beer will set crowds of these poor people praising the king, whom an hour before they cursed in the *paroxysms* of HUNGER.'—vol. i. p. 264.

These *paroxysms* of hunger, and the method taken to allay them by an official distribution of ale and bread whenever the king goes abroad, are circumstances which have not been sufficiently attended to by former observers; we are indebted to Mr. Paulding for bringing them so clearly before the eyes of the world. The apparently enthusiastic reception of his Majesty by the Irish is traced to this motive—the author naturally thinks 'so high-minded and high-spirited a people as the Irish' could not, on any other terms, have been induced to applaud their sovereign.

'All the way from Dunleary to Dublin the road was lined with people placed there by the corporation of Dublin, and who, on condition of shouting and throwing up caps with a reasonable degree of loyal enthusiasm, were to be gallantly treated with bread and beer. If you could only conceive the wants of the lower classes in Ireland you would understand perfectly that such a temptation would almost obtain as warm a reception for Belzebub himself, as his Majesty was greeted with. I am assured they did shout most vociferously, and that the more bread and beer they got the more they shouted, as per contract. But this was the mere dregs of the population of Dublin, the lowest and most debased population in the kingdom, following, not the dictates of their hearts in paying a voluntary homage, but acting under the influence of their corporation, and the temptation of a full meal.'—vol. ii. p. 189.

As our author does not appear to have visited Ireland, but speaks from the information of others, it is not inconsistent with our high respect for all his own statements to set him right on the details of the foregoing passage. 1st. The King did not pass from Dunleary to Dublin; his Majesty having landed nearly twenty miles off, at the other side of the bay. 2d. There was no populace to cheer his arrival, for his entry was perfectly unexpected and private; and, except from a few gentlemen who happened to meet his carriage, and who attended it on horseback, there was no opportunity of offering that homage which so much disgusts the noble independence of our New Englander. 3d. There happened to be no distribution, public or secret, of bread or beer, on that or any other occasion, during his Majesty's stay in Ireland; and, finally, the corporation of Dublin have about as much authority over the populace of Dublin as they have over the populace of New York. Although candour obliges us thus to deny every one of these facts, it must be admitted that, if they had been true, the reasoning of this passage would have been fully equal to the dignity of the expression, and the noble and gentleman-

man-like spirit in which it—as well as every other in which the King is mentioned—is conceived.

But not only was the populace bribed and the gentry deluded into these demonstrations of loyalty, but the severest penalties of the law, even death itself, were prepared for any one who should be so bold as to deny the popularity of the sovereign.

‘Thus, to affirm that Lord Londonderry or Sir Benjamin Bloomfield was not greeted with enthusiastic applause by the whole Irish people, is what any opposition paper may do with perfect safety. But to say the like of his Majesty is a different affair altogether. It is disrespect; it is disloyalty; it is *scan. mag.*; it is blasphemy; and, with a little hard swearing of witnesses, a little loyalty on the part of a jury, and a little zeal on the part of the judge, it will go hard, but they will make it out rank *treason*.’—vol. ii. p. 200.

This surely must, if any thing can, open our eyes to the state of contempt into which every thing like law or reason is fallen in England. *Scandalum Magnatum* is, it seems, disrespect towards the King—blasphemy is the same offence—so is high treason—and a person indicted for blasphemy may, if the witnesses swear hard, be convicted of treason. This is injustice more monstrous than we have ever before heard or read of, except under the despotism of the caliph, who punished as treasonable, the omission of a pastry-cook to put pepper in his cream tarts. Mr. Matthews, indeed, has given us an account of an American judge, who, in his charge to a grand jury, places the adulteration of nutmegs above homicide in the scale of atrocity; but even Mr. Matthews does not pretend that a man accused of the forgery of nutmegs may be convicted of murder, and therefore we believe we may repeat, that the portentous practice detected by our author, is peculiar to this unhappy country.

Of the religious intolerance which now reigns in England, we select one out of many lamentable examples:—

‘In one of my late excursions I happened to be at a small town in the diocese of * * * *, where bigotry reigns in very *considerable* perfection, and the Church of England is propped by more than a usual quantity of privilege and prerogative.’—

Here we must pause a moment to express our regret that the author should have concealed the name of the particular town in which the Church of England has greater privileges and more prerogatives than in other places. He proceeds:—

—‘I found the place divided into parties on the score of a little heretical dissenter about nine years old, who had unwittingly been admitted into an episcopal school, and expelled again, because his father would neither subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, nor allow his son to be educated in any other faith than his own. Parties ran high, some blamed the

the church, some the parish, and some the little boy; who, as the dissenters in his neighbourhood were not sufficiently rich and numerous to establish a school of their own in that town, was in danger of growing up in ignorance of any thing but bigotry, when a rich dissenter of the neighbourhood took compassion on him, and undertook his education in pure spite.'—vol. i. p. 209.

We always knew that subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was necessary to a candidate for clerical orders, but we were not before aware that it was required from parents preparatory to sending their children to school. We must own too, that we do not see how the child, by being expelled from the school of bigotry, was the more likely to be educated in bigotry; nor do we understand how the dissenters of the same neighbourhood were at once so rich and so poor; and least of all can we approve, as our author seems to do, the rich dissenter who undertook to educate the child out of pure spite.

The polished circles into which our author had the honour to be admitted, and which he is therefore so well entitled to pronounce inferior to the society of the United States, may be judged of by a *single word*—a word, indeed, which conveys to us no very clear notion, but which, we are informed, will be sufficiently intelligible to those who have had the good fortune to see that elegant specimen of English manners exhibited at the Adelphi Theatre, in the Strand, under the title of Tom and Jerry.

The young men of fashion in London, or, as the author subsequently terms them, the prime spirits of England, are, it seems, *Corinthians*.

'If a stranger wishes to see how the people of fashion spend their Sunday mornings, that is to say, from two till five in the afternoon,' (just the time, we fear, when he would be disappointed,) 'he should go to Hyde Park. Here he will see *Corinthians*, fine ladies, and sons of aspiring cits. It is impossible to describe the vast variety of extravagance exhibited on those occasions, or the whimsical diversity of riders and equipages. This exhibition of vanity continues, till it is time to go home and dress for dinner, to a good appetite for which, half the lives of the young *Corinthians* are devoted.'—vol. i. p. 176.

Should the 'stranger' prefer an 'Egyptian catacomb' to the Park, he will still find the same description of persons:—'during a whole fortnight' (says the author) 'the exhibition of mummies was the favourite resort of fashionable blue-stockings, antiquaries, and *Corinthians*.' Indeed we scarcely know where he will not find them, for it appears that they have even crept into our popular novels, where, it seems, 'half a dozen *Corinthians*, and men of pleasure and intrigue, together with one sentimental religious young man, and one ditto married woman, who generally

ally end with seduction and adultery, compose the principal part of the characters.'—(vol. ii. p. 100.)—Again.

'Nearly one-third of the members of parliament are regular *Corinthians* from the rotten boroughs, sent there by their fathers, or uncles, for sale, instead of being sent to school to learn manners at least. They lounge about, for the most part, in *Corinthian* coats and corsets, without paying the least attention.'—vol. i. p. 234.

Besides the *Corinthian* members, our author condescends to notice a 'better sort of members, such as Mr. Brougham, Mr. Wilberforce, and Sir James Mackintosh.'

'They discuss (he says) some questions with a sagacity and extent of research, highly honourable to themselves and to the country, reminding me not unfrequently of Mr. *****, Mr. ****, Mr. ****, and others of the late members of our congress. But shall I venture upon the heresy? Shall I dare, in the face of old habits, prejudices, and opinions fostered by education, strengthened by books, and the example of all around you, to assert, that these men are not equal to the orators just named? And yet this is as true as that you are alive. With the exception of Mr. Canning, there is scarcely the shadow of an orator in the House of Commons; and the House of Lords is, beyond all doubt, the most sleepy place in England, except the Italian opera, and Mr. Campbell's lectures.'—vol. i. p. 235.

Mr. Paulding does not name the American members whom he thus places above Messrs. Brougham, and Wilberforce, and Sir James Mackintosh, and for once we do not blame the suppression; because, though as a triumvirate he calls our countrymen '*exceedingly worthy, useful, and able men*,' when he comes to speak of them individually, he takes a view of their characters which is less complimentary, and might give offence to the members of congress, to whom he had in general terms assimilated them:—

'Mr. Brougham is rather a heavy, laborious speaker! To me there appears something somewhat grotesque in his attempts at impassioned oratory, wherein he occasionally displays his zeal and warmth in contortions of face and figure nearly approaching to the ludicrous. He has an iron face and an iron figure,'—(the contortions of iron!)—'both equally divested of grace or majesty, nor does his action or expression make amends for these deficiencies of face and person. His eloquence is little more than special pleading. As the leader of a party in the house of commons, he is at most, however, but second-rate. I have heard him occasionally on subjects of foreign policy, wherein the talents of a statesman are put to the test, and was surprised at his crudeness, as well as want of extent of idea and accuracy of information. I certainly have heard a member from our woods talk more sensibly, and display more statesman-like views.'—vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

To this character of an able and useful statesman, the New Englander

Englishman adds, as a proof of his *worth*, that Mr. Brougham was suspected of wishing, in 1821, to abandon his political friends and form a coalition with his antagonists. We are no partizans of Mr. Brougham; but we confess we had not seen in him that precise class of faults which the lynx-eyed American has discovered.

Of the *worthy* Mr. Wilberforce he insinuates, in pretty strong terms, that this '*amateur of charity and philanthropy*' is a very hypocrite. (vol. i. p. 205.) He talks of his *cant* (vol. i. p. 239.), and finally assures his correspondent that 'Mr. Wilberforce will beyond doubt vote for every measure for oppressing the people of England.'—vol. i. p. 243.

Sir James Mackintosh is rather a greater favourite:—

'Sir James Mackintosh is, I think, a much better writer than speaker, although a very powerful orator on the whole. He is fluent and animated, but too florid and studied to appear natural. I can hardly tell what he wants to make him a fine speaker, except it be nature, or that art which supplies its place in some degree. To read the papers and daily productions which record passing events, and confer a nine days immortality, one would suppose Sir James and his compeers were giants of the race of those who warred against the gods, with mountains and torrents of intellectual force and eloquence. But I must again caution you to beware of the deceptions practised upon us at home, by the monstrous and inflated style, which it is now fashionable to use in speaking of every thing rising above mediocrity.'—vol. i. p. 237.

This is by much the most complimentary passage in the whole of these volumes, and yet we know not whether it quite comes up to our ideas of an *exceedingly worthy, useful, and able* man. We are particularly struck with the perplexity in which our author is involved to know what Sir James wants to make him a fine speaker, unless it be *nature and art*; two *pretty considerable* wants we *guess*! Our author concludes this topic by giving it as his decided opinion—'that each of the American speakers above-mentioned, and he will add * * * *, is fully able to contest the palm with any member of the present House of Commons.'—vol. i. p. 238.

This assertion ought not to surprise us; we have heard it before, and from an equally respectable quarter. There appeared, some years ago, in the London Courier, two very well written letters from an American Quaker, Mr. Ezekiel Grub by name, who gave his correspondent an account of our House of Commons, in which exactly the same view of the relative merits of the leaders of that assembly and of congress is taken. In noticing a then celebrated English orator, Mr. Grub says:—'He is a very boisterous and lengthy speaker, and strongly remindeth me of
Bully

Bully, Pycroft, of Kentucky, whom thou knowest, though the Englishman is inferior to Pycroft in taste and eloquence?

Of the *Opposition* collectively, the opinion of our New Englander is, we are sorry to say, not much more favourable.

‘They are men, (he says) who have neither the power, nor, I firmly believe, the will, to breast the exigencies of the times, but who are a knot of peddling, tinkering politicians, that talk big, bluster finely, but are much more afraid of the Tower and the attorney-general, than of arbitrary power and parliamentary corruption. They are like your big fish, which are ever the greatest cowards.’—(A dissertation on the courage of fishes would be an interesting and useful chapter, in what another learned American calls, *Piscology*).—‘Estimating their own importance most highly, they are the first to run away; while the lesser fry, confiding in their insignificance, remain behind, are caught, and cooked for want of higher fare. These men will never bring about a reform, such as is wanting to the prosperity of the people of this country. Those who undertake this glorious object must not mind fine, pillory, or loss of ears.’—vol. i. p. 244.

This detail of the perils which paralyse the *Opposition* party in the British House of Commons is at least novel. Of the manners and deportment of the House itself, Mr. Paulding gives the following amusing picture.

‘In spite of all the sneers against our talkative congress, uttered both here and at home, I assure you, brother, I should not fear the result of a comparison with the British parliament. There is not half the decorum observed in the latter that prevails in the former. You will hardly believe it; but I do assure you, some of these independent members may be seen lying upon their backs on the seats, and kicking against the walls with all their might, to testify their approbation of one of the minister’s incomprehensible speeches. Finally, when the house breaks up, they trundle out like so many school-boys dismissed to a long vacation, or so many fiddlers from the orchestra, when the curtain rises to the first act of a tragedy.’—vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

We reluctantly omit the rest of the author’s statistical and political observations; and proceed to give a cursory view of his opinions of a few of our men of letters.

There is an author of the name of Milton, for whom, as a republican, he expresses great esteem; and, indeed, he intimates that at one time this author may have had some vogue in England, but unfortunately—

‘The admirers of genius here have never purchased a copy of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* since they found out that he was a republican, and sold his poem for twelve or twenty pounds.’—vol. i. p. 216.

This fact exhibits, in a striking point of view, the ignorance and bigotry of this nation. Milton published, in 1648, a defence of the proceedings against Charles I., called ‘*The Tenure of Kings* and

and Magistrates';—in 1649, *Iconoclastes*, in reply to the *Icon-Basilike*;—in 1651, he published his first celebrated answer to *Salmasius*;—in 1654, he gave his *Defensio Secunda*;—on the death of Cromwell, he published a *Letter concerning the Rupture of the Commonwealth*, to prevent the restoration of the king; and it was not till 1667—many years after the publication of all his republican works, and seven years after the Restoration—that *Paradise Lost* appeared. The exact period, therefore, at which the admirers of genius discovered that Milton was a republican, and in consequence discontinued buying *Paradise Lost*, would be a matter of curiosity, which we regret the author does not state.

There is another writer, of the name of Dryden, of whom our New-Englander has, we believe, no very high opinion; but he has been lucky enough to discover a poem of this author's, of which, as being in praise of Cromwell, and a proof of the republicanism of the poet, he gladly quotes a few lines.

'I have seen,'—(says this laborious antiquary,)—'a copy of verses to Dryden in an old collection of poems, printed in 1700, to the memory of Oliver Cromwell, in which are the following stanzas:

"His grandeur he deriv'd from Heaven alone, &c. &c."

vol. ii. p. 67.

This 'copy of verses' of the great Dryden, accidentally discovered in an old volume printed in 1700, filled us with delight, which, however, has been a little abated by finding that it was originally printed in 1659, and that it is to be found in every edition of Dryden's works that has since appeared!

Mr. Paulding's just appreciation of the merits of Goldsmith we have already intimated, by recording his admiration of 'the excellent Elegy on a Mad Dog,' the piece, it seems, by which that elegant and pathetic writer is best known in New England.

Of living authors his opinions are equally correct and candid; but it might be considered invidious to make a selection, and we have not room for all. There is one passage however which, for the justness of its criticism and the brilliancy of its wit, we cannot refrain from quoting.

'Thomas Crabbe is a country clergyman, and has given a series of poems founded on the results, I presume, of his experience; descriptive of rural manners and rural vices as they present themselves in this country; he seems in truth a sour and crabbed genius, as his name imports; and I never look at his works without thinking when you and I used to stand on the bridge at * * * * * to see the crabs come floating up; these rogues were never in a good humour—they snap at every thing, even a brother crab: Thomas Crabbe seems a crab among poets.'—vol. ii. p. 131.

Wherever the English language is read, the accurate delineations

tions of life; the delicate strokes of character, the grave humour, the weighty sense, and, above all, the tender and pathetic touches of nature and good feeling which pervade the works of *George Crabbe*, are admired by every understanding, and felt by every heart; but of Thomas Crabbe, the cynic and satirist, 'the *Crab* among poets,' we have never before heard: the New Englander has therefore at once brought an unknown bard to light, and displayed his own accuracy as to facts, his own taste in poetry, and his own felicity in punning.

It is scarcely possible to pass these and similar instances of deep and extensive research, profusely scattered through Mr. Paulding's pages, without felicitating America on the possession of so complete a view, not only of the literary, but of the natural, moral, and political state of this country. We recollect a proposal for forming a sort of elementary history from the *Newgate Calendar*, and other authentic records of the same kind, by way of supplying the American youth with just and liberal notions of the English people. Whether the plan was carried into effect, we know not—nor is the inquiry, at present, worth pursuing; since the book must, at all events, ere this, have been superseded in every school by the more elaborate and faithful '*Sketch of Old England by a New Englander*.'

It will, doubtless, be a very agreeable piece of intelligence to the majority of our literary men, that they are not only all pensioned by the government, but are actually, in some cases, indemnified by ministry for the losses in their literary speculations.

'There are *hundreds* (of authors), who are in the enjoyment of places, pensions, and patronage of some sort or other.—The government having the heaviest purse and the most extensive patronage is of course the best paymaster, and, consequently, retains by far the greater proportion of authors either as apologists of itself or calumniators of others.'—vol. ii. p. 80.

The chief duty of these calumniators is libelling America; and this mean pursuit our government carries on with a perseverance and profligacy which really alarm us.

'The English travellers in America, those I mean who really visit us, are of various kinds. I have taken pains to inquire into their characters and pursuits, and will be a little particular in my details. The first are British officers of one grade or other, either civil or military, who have travelled from New-York to Canada, or from Canada to New-York; or who have resided some time in the States, or British provinces, and seek to recommend themselves to promotion by publishing a book of travels, calculated for the palate of honest John Bull, or his rulers. Lieut. * * * *, whose travels I sent you some time ago, is quite in disgrace at head-quarters, because he had the unpatriotic candour

dour to do us justice. It is not therefore very likely that any other officer will follow his example.'—vol. ii. p. 159, 160.

So great an abuse of the royal prerogative in the matter of military promotions should be exposed, and we therefore hope the New Englander will not fail, in a future edition, to furnish us with names and dates, to enable some patriotic member to bring the subject before parliament. But this is not all:—

'The government *always stands security* for any loss the bookseller may sustain by the publication of this mass of dulness; and, if the worst came to the worst, the author is placed out to luxuriate in some good place or other.'—vol. ii. p. 160.

Worse remains behind—

'So timid is now grown this expiring phantom of despotism, (the British government,) that it is beginning to be afraid even of American literature, and every effort is made to exclude all republican books; but such as are in a greater or less degree anti-republican. The bookseller here, who republished Mr. Breckenridge's account of the mission to South America, becoming lately insolvent, was *actually refused a certificate of discharge*, on the score of his "imprudence," in thus investing a part of his capital in an American book!'—vol. ii. p. 178.

We who happen never to have heard of this portentous work of Mr. Breckenridge, might hesitate to give implicit credit to this statement; but our author, in addition to his own established veracity, can adduce evidence to the same effect from 'a most respectable London bookseller.'

'He turned my attention, with a good-natured kind of smile, to some half-bound books lying on the counter, which I found to be a new batch of travels in the United States. "They are," said he, "as you may suppose, full of the old leaven, for no bookseller here DARE publish, at his own risk, a favourable picture of your country, without a preface apologizing for the offence, and expressing his doubts of its truth."—vol. ii. p. 165.

Even this is not the worst—

'For, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
Still opens to devour!—'

Not satisfied with their host of libellers, government, it seems, have taken a body of nominal emigrants into pay, for the purpose of calumniating America with more effect. It is *well known*, the author says;—but we beg to observe here, that the natural perspicacity of Mr. Paulding renders him, in general, too indulgent to the understanding of others; and that we, in particular, did *not know* (well or ill) of this plan, the profound policy of which fails to reconcile us to its flagrant duplicity!—But let him tell his own story.

'The practice' (he is speaking of emigration, and deploring its decrease) 'has been chiefly discouraged—by the return of several emigrants,

grants, who, it is well known, were shipped to America and brought back again at the expense of the English government, for the sake of proving that there was no longer a possibility of gaining employment there.—vol. ii. p. 174.

We always feel the greatest reluctance to speak of *ourselves*; but there are occasions on which we cannot otherwise do justice to the works under our consideration; and this is one of them. Our readers, we anticipate, will be fully of this opinion when (with, we hope, a not unpardonable vanity) we acquaint them that the whole circle of English literature, and all the authors of all sizes, sexes and ages, from Chaucer down to Lady Morgan; don't attract so much of Mr. Paulding's notice and occupy so many of his pages as the Quarterly Review alone. We will not so far offend against modesty as to quote any of the numerous eulogies which he pronounces upon us. We pass over the compliments of being the 'bully of orthodoxy,' (vol. ii. p. 118.) 'the great watch dog at the door of the palace, (*ibid.*) and a thousand other similar descriptions; the honest author is far from being a flatterer, and some of his expressions might lead a superficial observer to doubt the sincerity of his respect and regard for us; but against any such doubts we have only to repeat that in these little volumes, which embrace a description of London, a tour through England and Wales, together with general observations on the whole frame of English society, politics, arts, arms, history, literature, and every thing else, the too partial writer has found or made opportunities of dedicating an immense proportion of his attention to us, not only collectively, but, so far does his condescension extend, in our individual capacities. There is one passage, however, in which he shows a knowledge of men and manners, and a gentleman-like feeling, so *truly American*, that we cannot refrain from quoting it, and expressing our humble gratitude. The author states that the public taste is wonderfully influenced by this Review, and that *mere notice* from us never fails to confer popularity on any publication; and he then proceeds to intimate that he has discovered the principles upon which our recommendations are founded.

'There are some of the booksellers here, who ensure a very considerable sale for a work, by simply publishing it with their names. Among these the most distinguished is Mr. John Murray, a worthy and respectable man, whose character, I believe, is without reproach. He has general orders from a great number, not only of the booksellers, but of the nobility and gentry, for one or more copies of every new work that issues from his press. Thus the first edition of a new book is, I am told, generally bespoke, and a second becomes necessary. Mr. Murray is, besides, as you know, publisher of the Quarterly Review; and though I do not mean to say there is any collusion, yet it were a disgrace to the human heart to suppose, that the intimate association, the comadu-

nity of feelings and interests, thus produced between him and the editors of that work, did not bring about a mutual good will. Fractious and intolerant as are these literary bullies, they *assuredly cannot resist Mr. Murray's excellent dinners, and far-famed port.*—vol. ii. p. 86.

We are very far from being such a '*disgrace to the human heart*' as not to be sensible of intimate associations, and community of feelings and interests, and all the other exalted and honourable sentiments which our author cannot separate from the idea of '*excellent dinners*' and '*far-famed port.*' We must, however, venture to own that the *fame* of Mr. Murray's *port* has not yet reached us; and we rather *guess* that the frugal habits of the New Englander may a little overrate the value of that beverage now-a-days:—it may have been, for aught we know, the '*half-guinea wine of pestiferous quality,*' which soured his temper on his arrival; but he may be assured the time is gone by when bribery took the colour and substance of '*port.*' As we have been forced by the good-humoured and good-mannered partiality of Mr. Paulding to become egotists, let us be permitted to make one final appeal on our own behalf. We call upon him, then, to declare whether we ever *dined* or drank *port* with him at the New York Coffee-house, in Sweeting's-alley, or in his lodgings kept by the heiress of the Plantagenets?—he must, as we know, reply in the negative, and yet we hope he will admit that we have paid him, without any such bribe, a reasonable degree of impartial attention; and, as Mr. Paulding so obligingly states, that notice from *us* is a kind of passport to fame, we trust he will be satisfied with the notoriety we have conferred upon him. His own modesty may hesitate about the justice of our praises, but no other person, who reads his book, will think that we have said of him half so much as he deserves.

ART. XII.—*Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her Second Husband, the Hon. George Berkeley, from 1712 to 1767. With Historical, Biographical, and Explanatory Notes.* 2 vols. 8vo. 1824.

THE French have been long allowed to
 'Shine unrivall'd in the gay Memoir.'

But we question whether they are more rich than we are in that other sort of auto-biography which an individual gradually and insensibly composes in the course of his epistolary correspondence, and which possesses an advantage over professed Memoirs, as exhibiting the sentiments and feelings of the writer, contrasted with, and of course corrected by, those of his correspondents. The Augustan age of Queen Anne and the reigns which succeeded,

succeeded, gave occasion to several collections of this nature. Pope, who felt his own powers in this particular department, and was unwilling that the public should remain in ignorance of them, contrived, it is said, by a manœuvre not perhaps entirely worthy of a man of genius, to give to the public what was professedly designed for the cabinet. His example, and perhaps his assistance, produced the letters of Swift, Gay, and Bolingbroke, and since his time we have had the admirable correspondence of his fair friend and foe Lady Mary Wortley Montague; the playful, ingenious and amiable letters of Gray and Cowper; and the mingled history and gossip of the satirical, keen, and polished Horace Walpole.

It is no wonder that the public should receive with unabated favour the various epistolary collections which have from time to time been laid before them, for they are peculiarly qualified to gratify that undefined yet eager curiosity, which, without having any determined object, pursues the great to the inmost recesses of their privacy, and eagerly seeks after the personal details of the lives of those whose names are eminent either in history or in literature. The possession of their letters gives us the same command over them which Gulliver exercised over the ghosts of the departed great by the favour of the Governor of Glubbdubdrib; they—the long insensible and silent—seem thus to revive to human feeling, to mingle again in the world, and to add their passions, wishes and complaints to those which swell the living tide of humanity.

Sharing this general feeling, we opened with no little interest the present work, containing the correspondence of those distinguished persons, who, deeply engaged in the politics or literature of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, were led from peculiar circumstances to make the celebrated Countess of Suffolk,—still more celebrated perhaps as Mrs. Howard,—the common centre of their interest.

'Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Young;—the Duchesses of Buckingham, Marlborough, and Queensberry;—Ladies Orkney, Mohun, Hervey, Vere, and Temple;—Misses Bellenden, Blount, Howe, and Pitt;—Lords Peterborough, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, Lansdowne, Mansfield, and Bathurst;—Messrs. Fortescue, Pulteney, Pelham, Pitt, Grenville, and Horace Walpole.'—*Introd. p. xxix.*

Such is the illustrious list of Lady Suffolk's correspondents; but the editor has shewn an honest desire rather to moderate than enhance the expectations which such names might excite. He observes, (with a candour not usual with editors, whose labours, in general, impress them with perhaps an undue partiality in favour of their subjects,) that—'the letters themselves can hardly be said to fulfil the expectations which the reputation

of the writers must create;’ which he proceeds to account for, by saying that Lady Suffolk was of a character too prudent to preserve much that related to political intrigue; and he intimates that perhaps the real abilities of some of the writers were not quite equal to their reputations. But after these deductions, he expresses an opinion, in which we cordially concur, that there remains a great deal which is both interesting and curious; and we will add, that the correspondence is rendered still more acceptable to the general reader by the judgment, precision, and critical taste with which the editor has supplied the necessary illustrations, filled up chasms in the correspondence, and pointed out the light which the present publication throws upon facts and characters which had been previously misconceived or misrepresented.

The situation of Mrs. Howard is well known, in respect to its general relations at least. Henrietta Hobart was the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, Bart. and through her influence her paternal house was ennobled in the person of her brother the first Earl of Buckinghamshire. She made an early and, as it proved, an unhappy marriage with the Honourable Charles Howard, who afterwards became ninth earl of Suffolk. In the last years of Queen Anne, they visited together the court of Hanover, and there Mrs. Howard seems to have laid the foundation of that intimacy with the Electoral Prince and his consort, afterwards George II. and Queen Caroline, which subsequently distinguished her. Upon the accession of the house of Hanover, she became bed-chamber woman to the princess, and enjoyed so great a share in the confidence of the royal couple, that the world presumed an attachment towards her on the part of the Prince prudently connived at by his politic consort—a presumption which was increased to something like certainty by Mrs. Howard refusing to quit her situation in the household even in obedience to the commands of her husband. These evil reports (which, true or false, arose so naturally out of the circumstances of the case, that we never have before happened to hear them doubted) are, in some particulars, questioned by the editor of the correspondence before us. He does not indeed express any disbelief on his own part of the truth of the general impression on this subject; but he finds, and finding, we think he was bound to state, that several of the facts on which that impression has hitherto rested are unfounded, and he clearly proves that some *details* which Horace Walpole gives in support of a very scandalous version of the case are erroneous. The editor alleges that, although Mr. Howard undoubtedly took some violent steps to remove his lady from the prince’s household, his motive was not mere jealousy, but a desire to gratify George I., who was willing in this as in other matters to annoy and mortify his daughter-

daughter-in-law; and, strange as it may appear, it certainly does seem that the supposed mistress was almost as great a favourite with the wife as with the husband. The editor avers besides, and we have no hesitation to believe him, that in no line of the mass of papers which he has carefully examined, does there occur the least proof of the imputation so generally believed by the world and so pleasantly commented on by Walpole. We regret that his researches have not enabled him to state whether it is true that the restive husband had a pension of £1200, for which Walpole tells us that he sold his own noisy honour and the possession of his lady. Walpole was too wicked a wit to adopt the most favourable view of a court-intrigue; but he admits, that the lady's friends always affected to consider the attentions of the royal friend as quite Platonic, and that she maintained great decency and received uncommon respect to the end of her life.

For our own parts, without believing all Walpole's details, and in fact disbelieving many of them, we substantially agree in his opinion (which indeed seems to be that of the editor) that the king's friendship was by no means Platonic or refined; but that the queen and Mrs. Howard, by mutual forbearance, good sense and decency, contrived to diminish the scandal: after all, the question has no great interest for the present generation, since scandal is only valued when fresh, and the public have generally enough of that poignant fare without ripping up the frailties of their grandmothers.

Whether founded on love or friendship, Mrs. Howard's favour in the family of the Prince stood so high, that all who were discontented with George the First's government and Walpole's administration, and hoped to see a change of affairs under his successor, sought her patronage as the most secure road to that of her royal protectors.

Among these, an illustrious band of British authors, whose names are indissolubly united with the literary fame of their country, appear for a time to have paid successful court to Mrs. Howard, and through her to the Princess Caroline, who was unquestionably a woman of talent, and, though more attached to the study of metaphysics than of letters, was capable of admiring, if she did not accurately appreciate, the powers of such men as Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Gay. From a tract written by the witty physician himself, intitled *Gulliver Deciphered*, we learn (by a story not very delicately told) that it was his professional abilities which established him at the Prince's little court, where he easily paved the way for the reception of the rest of the Scriblerus club. They approached royalty and future sovereignty not quite so circuitously as their own creature P. P. but certainly their proceed-
ings

ings were not without some slight share of that vanity which they laughed at in Bishop Burnet. Pope had not as yet embraced any very marked line in politics, although his bias to toryism, arising both from his religion and his friendships, had already rendered him suspicious to the court and ministry. But it is probable that he was drawn to the princess's court by the natural desire of being distinguished in such a circle, and by the hope of rendering himself useful to Gay, a person in whom all his friends took an interest, which perhaps had its original source in the good-natured simplicity and helplessness of the indiscreet and indolent bard.

Gay's first motives were probably those of personal interest; but his intimacy with Mrs. Howard seems to have ripened into a real and mutual kindness. On the one hand she appears to have exerted herself in his behalf, and on the other she did not scruple to employ him on many little occasions, when she would have feared to employ, or perhaps dared not even to ask the assistance of Pope, or the yet more formidable Swift.

The last of these three friends, while we may suppose him pleased at regaining a share of that importance which he had held during Oxford's administration, had of late turned his active mind to the politics of Ireland in particular; and as the 'true patriot—the first, almost the last'—of that ill fated country, he desired to make her grievances known, and, if possible, to obtain redress. As for Arbuthnot, we may presume that his Jacobite principles induced him to hope that the breach betwixt George I. and his son might be attended with consequences favourable to the depressed party to which he continued to adhere. Such seem to have been the separate motives which produced the attendance of these distinguished persons at the court of the Prince of Wales, where they received the countenance to which their talents entitled them, and endeavoured, each in his own manner, to secure the continuance of their common favour. Mrs. Howard listened to the poetical flattery of the Bard of Twickenham, and to the yet more poignant compliments which the Dean of St. Patrick's could pay under cover of that fine irony which, as she justly boasted,

He was born to introduce,

Refined it first and shew'd its use.

But of Gay's talents she made a more every-day use, for she not only employed him in divers little domestic affairs, but it appears that she engaged his pen in conducting the literary correspondence which she entertained with some wit of the day, and which she was too diffident or perhaps too indolent to support upon her own mental resources. The editor believes that the other party was the celebrated Earl of Peterborough. Mrs.

Howard

Howard makes the following apology for devolving her own share of this intercourse upon her substitute Gay.

'Perhaps you think I treat you very oddly, that, while I own myself afraid of a *man of wit*; and make that a pretence to ask your assistance, I can write to you myself without any concern; but do me justice, and believe it is, that I think it requires something more than wit to deserve esteem. So it is less uneasy for me to write to you than to the other; for I should fancy I purchased the letters I received (though very witty) at too great an expense, if at the least hazard of having my real answers exposed.'—vol. i. p. 122.

The reader will naturally be desirous to know the character of the correspondence thus maintained by the poet on behalf and in the name of Mrs. Howard with the celebrated Earl of Peterborough,—versed in courts and camps, ardent, impetuous and ambitious, who moved in war with the speed of a thunderbolt, and in peace with the celerity of a carrier pigeon,—and not small will be his surprise when he discovers its object and its tenor. Unquestionably, the ultimate design of the Earl was, by this correspondence, to maintain a political interest with the favourite of the Prince and Princess, but the means are sufficiently singular. Addressing her in the character of a Platonic lover, he plies her with all the overstrained jargon of metaphysical conceit and affected wit, leaving us at a loss to conceive how a man of common understanding could have written or even read such solemn nonsense. Perhaps fashion, which recommended *Euphuism* to the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth's time, might render the following explosion of *la belle passion* interesting to those of George I.

'Change of air, the common remedy, has no effect; and flight, the refuge of all who fear, gives me no manner of security or ease: a fair devil haunts me wherever I go, though, perhaps, not so malicious as the black ones, yet more tormenting.

'How much more tormenting is the beauteous devil than the ugly one! The first I am always thinking of; the other comes seldom in my thoughts: the terrors of the ugly devil very often diminish upon consideration; but the oppressions of the fair one become more intolerable every time she comes into my mind.

'The chief attribute of the devil is tormenting. Who could look upon you, and give you that title? who can feel what I do, and give you any other?

'But, most certainly, I have more to lay to the charge of the fair one than can be objected to Satan or Belzebub. We may believe they only have a mind to torment because they are tormented; if they endeavour to procure us misery, it is because they are in pain; they must be our companions in suffering, but my white devil partakes none of my torments.

'In a word, give me heaven, for it is in your power; or may you have an equal hell! Judge of the disease by the extravagant symptoms:

one

one moment I curse you, the next I pray for you. Oh! hear my prayers, or I am miserable.'—vol. i. p. 152.

Some passages of the answers, which are written by Mrs. Howard herself, are easy, and ridicule the highflown style of her admirer; but all that Gay seems to have supplied are also 'in King Cambyzes's vein,' and when we consider that in 'this keen encounter of wits' Johnny Gay was the Earl of Peterborough's real correspondent, it is impossible not to think of the similar case of Slender, who, though he cried 'Mum,' and his partner 'Budget,' had the mortification after all, to find that, instead of Mrs. Anne Page, he had carried off 'a great lubberly boy.'

Mrs. Howard's patronage of Gay proved, as is well known, if not totally ineffectual, still so far short of what he himself and his friends had expected, that the post offered him, in the formation of the royal household, was regarded as only fit to be rejected with contempt. Lady Betty Germaine, in a very spirited and sensible letter addressed to Dean Swift, (vol. ii. p. 54.) repels the doubts which he, with some of Gay's other friends, had entertained (or, as the editor supposes, *affected* to entertain) of Mrs. Howard's sincerity upon this occasion. 'Thus far I know,' says her ladyship, 'and so far I will answer for, that she was under very great concern that nothing better could be got for him, and the friendship upon all other occasions which she shewed him did not look like a double dealer.' The editor takes a somewhat higher line of defence for her and her royal mistress, and seems (vol. i. p. 31.) to think the situation of gentleman-usher to a royal babe no bad preferment for a bard whose chief reputation at that time was founded 'on fables written for another royal infant. *Otium* there might be in the place; for it must have been a sinecure; but the *dignitas* was wanting, and as the character of such situations is fixed by public opinion, we must suppose that the proposed preferment ranked very low, since Gay, who was during all his short life looking for court-patronage, refused it without hesitation. The editor, however, thinks (and indeed shows, vol. i. p. 118.) that Gay had indiscreetly attacked Sir Robert Walpole, and he expresses an approbation almost amounting to surprise, that Walpole should have been so generous as to leave the author of the Beggar's Opera in possession of a small situation as a commissioner of the lottery; but we hope that he remembers and approves the noble answer of Harley, when some interest was used with him to protect Congreve from the consequences of the fall of Godolphin's administration.

Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pœni,

Nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol jungit ab urbe.

We suspect the truth to be, that the fate of the poor poet was mixed

mixed up with matters of far greater importance, and his disappointment is to be regarded chiefly as a sign of the ascending splendour of Sir Robert Walpole in the horizon of the new court. All expected the fall of this mighty favourite; and all who had speculated upon that event were confounded to see him re-established in his power, with even additional authority, by the very prince to whom, as his father's favourite minister, he had been supposed most obnoxious. It was incumbent on him in policy to show his complete predominance, and to evince to the world that his will was the chief consideration in the distribution of favours at the new court. Sir Robert Walpole, with many great qualities, was neither a judge nor a friend of literature, and he had been already the subject of satire to Swift and other wits of the time. An attempt to reconcile *Flinnup* and *Gulliver* to each other had been defeated by the prejudices of both, and it was at last a measure of precaution on the part of the minister to shut the court against a politician of Swift's bold, dexterous, and enterprising character, who had avowedly great changes to propose in Irish politics, and whose popularity rendered him formidable to those by whom the affairs of that country were administered. He was no idle and inconsiderable walker of ante-chambers, no tame *lion*, to use a modern phrase, to be wondered at by the ladies, and bantered by the wits of the court. Swift had already successfully encountered and defeated, by the Drapier's letters, a favourite scheme of the arbitrary administration of Ireland, and his only interview with Walpole was employed in the very unpalatable subject of that nation's grievances;* and it was prudent, at least, in the minister, to elude the chance of that collision which the dean's transference to an English preferment, perhaps an English mitre, might have occasioned. This jealousy of Swift may probably have increased his dislike of Gay, of whom Pope had already said, as an objection to his preferment, that 'because he had humour he was supposed to have dealt with Swift; in like manner as when any one had learning formerly he was thought to have dealt with the devil.' After all, however, it must not be forgotten, that Gay had written the Beggar's Opera, and that the quarrel between Peachum and Lockit was universally believed to be an allusion to a personal collision which had taken place between Walpole and his brother-in-law and colleague Lord Townsend.

Swift seems to have been quite sensible that he was under the ban of the minister, for he declined to stay in England, though urged by Mrs. Howard, who again and again assured him of the queen's continued regard. Taking his leave in a dutiful letter, as his ill health (brought on by the illness of Stella) pre-

* See a letter from Dean Swift to Lord Peterborough, dated 28th April, 1728.

vested his personal appearance at court, he retired to Ireland for the rest of his life. It was some time after this, and not until his nerves were rendered irritable by Gay's death, and his domestic calamities, that his complaints of Mrs. Howard's insincerity were made. Perhaps some unknown circumstances happened to exasperate his feelings against her; perhaps however, and this we think the most probable conjecture, he was only disappointed, and therefore displeased with or without reason, with all who had been concerned with his hopes and their failure. Assuredly Queen Caroline became afterwards often the butt of the dean's satire, as well as Sir Robert Walpole. The present work preserves one of those lampoons against the latter, which the author of *Gulliver* alone could have written, and which, written and corrected in Swift's own hand, was found among Lady Suffolk's papers. The editor observes, that in this bitter and exaggerated catalogue of the minister's feelings there are still some traits of his real manner and character.

With favour and fortune fastidiously blest,
He's loud in his laugh, and he's coarse in his jest;
Of favour and fortune unmerited, vain,
A sharper in trifles, a dupe in the main;
Achieving of nothing, still promising wonders,
By dint of experience, improving in blunders;
Oppressing true merit, exalting the base,
And selling his country to purchase his place;
A jobber of stocks by retailing false news;
A prater at court in the style of the stew;
Of virtue and worth by profession a giber;
Of juries and senates the bully and briber.
Though I name not the wretch, you all know who I mean—
'Tis the cur-dog of Britain, and spaniel of Spain.

vol. ii. p. 32.

But although Swift retained a keen sense of the disappointment of the hopes which he had entertained of being, through the influence of Mrs. Howard, settled in England, he is completely vindicated in this work from the imputation of having, as is alleged by Horace Walpole, left a written character of that lady, published after his death, differing materially and much to her disadvantage, from one which he had sent her during her life.

'The *Character*, carefully written in the Dean's own hand, and as carefully preserved by Lady Suffolk, here follows; and a comparison of it with the character printed in Swift's posthumous works will show there was but *one* character, and that Walpole's statement, and *all* the charges he builds on it, are absolutely without foundation.'—*Introduct.* p. xxxviii.

It however is right to add that Walpole's mistake in this instance

stance was clearly unintentional; and arose out of a mere misapprehension; we are glad to find a case of such black duplicity as this would have been, so indisputably and triumphantly disproved.

Another very pointed statement by Horace Walpole is also satisfactorily refuted. He has stated in his 'Reminiscences,' that, in order to discover whether Mrs. Howard's influence could really be effectual, she was put upon asking 'a coronet for Lord Bathurst, which having failed through the interference of the queen, Swift retired to Ireland in despair, 'to curse Queen Caroline.' The editor confutes this anecdote as follows:—

'On this it is to be observed in the first place, that George the Second was proclaimed on the 14th of June, 1727—that Swift returned to Ireland in the September of the same year—and that the first creation of peers in that reign did not take place till the 28th of May, 1728. Is it credible that Mrs. Howard should have made such a request of the new king, and suffered so decided a refusal ten or eleven months before any peers were made? But, again: in this first creation of peers, Mrs. Howard's brother is the second name. Is it probable, that with so great an object for her own family in view, she risked a solicitation for Lord Bathurst? But there is yet stronger evidence;—we shall see (vol. i. p. 275) that Lord Bathurst writes, on the 24th of October, 1727, (a month after Swift had gone to Ireland,) to beg Mrs. Howard to explain to the king his proceedings relative to the Gloucester election. The whole tone of that letter, and the very selection of Mrs. Howard as his mediator, are almost decisive against the fact of her having been so lately and so signally defeated in another request in his behalf. But that which seems most convincing is Swift's own correspondence. He left London, suddenly indeed, alleging his ill health as the cause of his return home; but it is now known that his disorder, his departure, and his *despair*, were all occasioned—not by Lord Bathurst or Queen Caroline—but by the commencement of the fatal illness of poor Stella. And what may confute the argument on this point, is Swift's letter to Mrs. Howard, of the 9th of July, 1727; in which, rallying her on the solicitations to which the followers of the new king would be exposed, he says, "for my own part, you may be secure that I will never venture to recommend even a mouse to Mrs. Cole's cat, or a shoe-cleaner to your meanest domestic!"—*Introduc.* pp. xxv.—xxvii.

One or two other inaccuracies are noticed as occurring in the 'Reminiscences' of the noble owner of Strawberry Hill. When it is considered, however, that he was speaking of very remote events, which he reported on hearsay, and that hearsay of old standing, such errors are scarcely to be wondered at, particularly when they are found to correspond with the partialities and prejudices of the narrator. These, strengthening as we grow older, gradually pervert, or at least alter, the accuracy of our recollections, until they assimilate them to our feelings, while,

'As beams of warm imagination play,
The memory's faint traces melt away.'

There

There is much interest in the light correspondence of the merry maidens of the Princess Caroline's court, the wit of Mary Lepel, the vivacity of the beautiful Mary Bellenden, the gaiety of Miss Howe, Lady Vere, and Mrs. Bradshaw, which, however, is often pushed by these free dames and damsels far beyond 'the limits of becoming mirth.' We used to feel indignant at the frolics of the maids of honour at the court of Brobdignag, to which Gulliver has given circulation, and at the report of other wags of the period, who alleged that the attendants of Princess Caroline were great adepts in the noble art of 'selling bargains.' But we must now apologize to the traveller and the wit for having suspected them of outstepping the limits of truth and probability, and admit that our grandmothers, however portentous the length of their stays, did not, after all, lace them so tightly as we have always hitherto supposed. There is great amusement in comparing the style of the same individual at different periods of life or acting under different circumstances. The correspondence of Lady Hervey, published some years since, is grave, moral, and literary, and shows little of the wit and gaiety for which she was famous. But then her correspondent was the Reverend Mr. Morris, her sons' tutor; whereas many of her letters in the present collection are written in the original character of the light and laughter-loving Molly Lepel, and are full of an amiable vivacity; yet it is but justice to remark that even her gaiety never leaps the pale like that of Miss Howe, Miss Bellenden or Mrs. Bradshaw.

We subjoin an extract from the correspondence of Miss Howe, in illustration of our remarks.

'Miss Howe to Mrs. Howard.

'[The Holt, 1719.]

'You will think, I suppose, that I have had no flirtation since I am here; but you will be mistaken; for the moment I entered Farnham, a man, in his own hair, cropped, and a brown coat, stopped the coach to bid me welcome, in a very gallant way: and we had a visit, yesterday, from a country clown of this place, who did all he could to persuade me to be tired of the noise and fatigue of a court-life, and intimated, that a quiet country one would be very agreeable after it, and he would answer that in seven years I should have a little court of my own.

'I think this is very well advanced for the short time I have been here; and, truly, since what this gentleman has said, I am half resolved not to return to you, but follow his advice in taking up with a harmless, innocent, and honest livelihood, in a warm cottage; but for fear I should be tempted too far, put my Lord Lumley in mind to send the coach for me on Tuesday se'night; for, though it will be a sort of mortification for me to leave this place, I will not be so ill-natured as to let you all die for want of me.

'I am

' I am just come from Farnham church, where I burst out in laughing the moment I went in, and it was taken to be because I was just pulling out one of my Scotch cloth handkerchiefs, which made me think of Jenny Smith. The pastor made a very fine sermon upon what the wickedness of this world was come to; * * *—vol. i. pp. 36—38.

Another year, and what was this gay, fluttering, thoughtless creature!—the victim of seduction, abandoned by the world for which alone she lived, and dying, in solitude and shame, of a broken heart. One friend, indeed, she found; and there is reason to hope that when she 'entered His courts,' she did it with other feelings and other thoughts than those suggested by cloth handkerchiefs or the recollection of Jenny Smith.

There is a good deal of this romping and hoydening with the pen in Mrs. Bradshaw's letters, but, thanks to the editor, it usually stops on this side of offence, and upon the whole we consider this lady as a very pleasant correspondent.

' Mrs. Bradshaw to Mrs. Howard.

' [Gosworth Hall,] May 28th, [1722.]

' Our bells have rung ever since four this morning, which is more a proof of Lady Mohun's power than the people's inclinations.

' I am told you expect from me an account of the manners and customs of this place: it is impossible for me to obey your commands at present, for the weather has been so wet that none of the neighbouring nymphs or swains have been able to make their appearance: but if you can be contented with a description of the hall, and the manner of life we lead this Christmas time, (for so it is here, I do assure you,) take it as follows.

' We meet in the work-room before nine; eat, and break a joke or two, till twelve; then we repair to our own chambers and make ourselves ready, for it cannot be called dressing; at noon the great bell fetches us into a parlour, adorned with all sorts of fire-arms, poisoned darts, several pair of old shoes and boots won from the Tartars by men of might belonging to this castle, with the stirrups of King Charles I. taken from him at Edge-Hill.

' Here leave we the historical part of the furniture, and cast your eye (in imagination) upon a table covered with good fish and flesh, the product of our own estate; and such ale!—it would make you stare again, Howard. After your health has gone round, (which is always the second glass,) we begin to grow witty, and really say things that would make your ears tingle: your court wits are nothing to us for invention (plots only excepted); but, being all of a side, we lay no scheme but of getting you amongst us, where, though I say it that should not, (because I would have my share in it,) you would pass your time very agreeably in our dike, for you must know we have hardly seen dry land since we came.

' Mr. Mordaunt has once or twice made an effort to sally out into the gardens, but finding no rest for the sole of his foot, returns presently

to us again; and, I must give him his due, always in good humour. Miss had a small ray of hope last night, for Colonel Lawrence, and a gentleman with him, swam to us; the last was clothed in blue, turned up with red, and adorned with plate buttons, upon which she puts me on her lutestring suit, not omitting all the little flirtation she is mistress of: if she brings it to any thing you shall be sure to have notice time enough to provide another maid.

'Nay, I will assure you, old as I am, I have my little gallantries too. A gentleman, of three hundred per annum, fancies me extremely, and if he had not been under an engagement before I came, I have some reason to believe I might have kept a chaise of my own; however I live in hope that a loose man may come, though it will be some time first, for all the best families in the parish are laid up with what they call the yoke—which in England is the itch. We have had a noble captain, who dined in a brave pair of white gloves, to my very great surprise; but it was when I was in my London ignorance.

'I am now called upon to see a pond drawn, which will produce carp as big as some of your lords of the bedchamber. Madam Howard, I live in expectation of an epistle from you, which is the only wish I have out of my company, who are all your humble servants; but nobody is more entirely so than your slave

'PEGGY.'—vol. i. pp. 91—94.

There is an admirable letter from Lady Betty Germaine to Swift, in defence of Mrs. Howard from the charges which he was too much in the habit of bringing against her, but it is too long for our purpose, and we must therefore content ourselves with a sprightly *échantillon* of her correspondence which occurs vol. i. p. 72. In general, the strains of this lady 'are of a higher mood' than those of her female friends. Her whole life, the editor says, seems to have been an exercise of good humour, generosity and affection; of all which qualities, he justly adds, the following letter to her brother appears very characteristic.

'Why, thou fool, puppy, blockhead, George Berkeley, dost thou think that I will be troubled with securities? or can it enter into your *no-head* that if you were put to distress for four thousand pounds, that I should not think myself happy to be able to serve you?—But please yourself, sir—I have desired the Speaker to let you have what you want. He tells me he fears another such call from the Bank; but even though you should take the four, still I shall have enough without:—they are much higher discount than 13, which most of my last were sold at. I hope to have the honour to see you in town next Sunday—so adieu. Worse and worse here every day—no soul left here that we know but Lady Kit and Mrs. Coke, who sit and sigh for S. Sea.'—vol. i. 72, 73.

It would be hardly fair to close our extracts without offering the reader a specimen of the epistolary talents of Mrs. Howard—the pivot on which all this correspondence turns:—the shortest we

we can find is a letter to poor Gay, who in pure simplicity seems to have entertained a design of falling in love, and making his fortune by matrimony. He does not quite speak out; his simpering however is fully understood by his more practised correspondent—But we had better give his letter.

‘*Mr. Gay to Mrs. Howard.*

‘ Madam,

Tunbridge, July 12, 1723.

‘ The next pleasure to seeing you is hearing from you; and when I hear you succeed in your wishes, I succeed in mine—so I will not say a word more of the house.

‘ We have a young lady here that is very particular in her desires. I have known some ladies, who, if ever they prayed, and were sure their prayers would prevail, would ask an equipage, a title, a husband, or inatadores; but this lady, who is but seventeen, and has but thirty thousand pounds, places all her wishes in a pot of good ale. When her friends, for the sake of her shape and complexion, would dissuade her from it, she answers, with the truest sincerity, that by the loss of shape and complexion she can only lose a husband, but that ale is her passion. I have not as yet drank with her, though I must own I cannot help being fond of a lady who has so little disguise of her practice, either in her words or appearance. If to show you love her, you must drink with her, she has chosen an ill place for followers, for she is forbid with the waters. Her shape is not very unlike a barrel; and I would describe her eyes, if I could look over the agreeable swellings of her cheeks, in which the rose predominates; nor can I perceive the least of the lily in her whole countenance. You see what thirty thousand pounds can do, for without that I could never have discovered all these agreeable particularities: in short, she is the *ortolan*, or rather *wheat-ear*, of the place, for she is entirely a lump of fat; and the form of the universe itself is scarce more beautiful, for her figure is almost circular. After I have said all this, I believe it will be in vain for me to declare I am not in love; and I am afraid that I have showed some imprudence in talking upon this subject, since you have declared that you like a friend that has a heart in his disposal. I assure you I am not mercenary, and that thirty thousand pounds have not half so much power with me as the woman I love.’—vol. i. 108.

‘*Mrs. Howard to Mr. Gay.*

‘ Richmond Lodge, July 22, [1723]

‘ I have taken some days to consider of your *wheat-ear*, but I find I can no more approve of your having a passion for that, than I did of your turning parson. But if ever you will take the one, I insist upon your taking the other: they ought not to be parted; they were made from the beginning for each other. But I do not forbid you to get the best intelligence of the ways, manners and customs, of this wonderful *phenomène*: how it supports the disappointment of bad ale, and what are the consequences to the full enjoyment of her luxury? I have some thoughts of taking a hint from the ladies of your acquaintance, who

pray for matadores, and turn devotees for luck at ombre; for I have already lost above a hundred pounds since I came to Richmond.

‘I do not like to have you too passionately fond of every thing that has no disguise. I (that am grown old in courts) can assure you, sincerity is so very unthriving, that I can never give consent that you should practise it, excepting to three or four people that I think may deserve it, of which number I am. I am resolved that you shall open a new scene of behaviour next winter, and begin to pay in coin your debts of fair promises. I have some thoughts of giving you a few loose hints for a satire; and if you manage it right, and not indulge that foolish good-nature of yours, I do not question but I shall see you in good employment before Christmas.’—vol. i. p. 110.

In noticing the familiar appellation of *Schatz*, by which Lady Hervey, and, it seems, Lord Hervey were known in the princess’s court, the editor seems not to have been aware that *schatz* (treasure) is a German term of endearment; it is, however, possible, as we do not see how the word, in its original meaning, could be applied both to my Lord and my Lady, that it may have been employed, as the editor thinks, from the similarity of the sound, and by a *plaisanterie de société*, to mark the elsewhere-recorded volubility of the discourses of Lord and Lady Hervey.

There occurs in these volumes a long correspondence between Lady Suffolk and Lord Chesterfield. This distinguished nobleman seems to have had something foreign in his original concoction, nor does he ever appear to have been aware that in Britain the estimate of public men is formed less in a court than in the opinion of the people at large, who are always more interested by the broad and striking lights and shades of character, than by all those fine *nuances*, the study of which he recommends so earnestly. His letters, however, are extremely amusing, and those written near the conclusion of his life are distinguished by the same ease and pleasantry which marked his juvenile productions. Walpole has informed us, that by his assiduous court to Lady Suffolk, Chesterfield gave umbrage to Queen Caroline, and in reality impeded instead of advancing his own political views. This statement the editor combats, and seems to us, by the assistance of several admitted facts and dates, materialy to weaken, if not to overthrow it. His Lordship’s constant friendship with Lady Suffolk for thirty years after she retired from court, proves, at least that it was more disinterested than Walpole’s suspicions allow.

The letters of the eccentric but clever and entertaining Duchess of Queensberry are also an agreeable addition to the stock of English letters. She never, as all the world knows, changed the fashion of her dress, insomuch that we recollect

collect having seen her picture in what she was pleased to call the character of a milkmaid. A milking pail she bore sure enough; but her dress in other respects was the same in which she went to court. Her generous though somewhat excessive patronage of Gay, and especially the sincerity with which she cherished his memory, do honour to her taste and feelings. In some of her places of residence, there are traditions however of the poet's escaping from her grace's vigilance to enjoy himself in some favourite ale-house, free at once from state and patronage. But in all such cases, the duchess, who acted as his physician as well as his Mentor, had him sought out and reclaimed as soon as possible. Too proud and too independent to fear the shafts of wit any more than she feared the frown of royalty, the duchess was perhaps the only person who, in corresponding with Swift, sent, without regard to his talents and the use he often made of them, precisely that which arose in her own mind. Sometimes capricious, sometimes sensible, but always entertaining, because never affected, her grace's letters are among the most amusing in the volume.

There are also several letters of William Pulteney, who, having enjoyed the name and reputation of a patriot during his whole public life, concluded his career by accepting the Earldom of Bath, a step which would have been overlooked in a man of less talent, but which appeared an unpardonable inconsistency and meanness in one who had taught the world to believe that he held his principles with a sincerity and a pride equal to the talents with which he enforced them. The editor, with a good nature which we cannot wholly participate, seems inclined to extenuate if not to vindicate Mr. Pulteney's conduct in this particular. His letters, though they contain little information concerning politics, are easy, witty and diverting.

The second volume of the collection contains chiefly correspondence which took place after Lady Suffolk's retirement from court. This happened in the year 1734, shortly after the death of her husband the Earl of Suffolk. Independent and generous in her disposition, Lady Suffolk had been all her life ignorant of those arts by which court favour can be turned to pecuniary advantage. Her fortune was narrow, but economy and good order rendered it easy; and the beautiful villa of Marble Hall, near Twickenham, had been in part acquired by the bounty of her royal master and mistresses, and here she enjoyed during the rest of her life the liberty she had gained by retiring from court. In 1735, she married the Honourable George Berkeley, youngest son of the second Earl of Berkeley, with whom she appears to have lived in a state of conjugal harmony, which compensated

the unpleasant circumstances attending her first marriage. The correspondence after this period is rather of a more private nature than that which was carried on while Lady Suffolk was in the midst of court bustle and political intrigue; but as she continued to be loved, valued, and occasionally consulted by her former friends, and as these were chiefly distinguished by situation and talent, there is, we think, no decay of interest. There are several letters from Horace Walpole, lively and entertaining, as may be supposed. We had closed our extracts, but there is one of his epistles, which presents so amusing and at the same time so just and characteristic a picture of the grotesque splendour of the receiver-general and court-banker of the last century, that we must trespass upon our limits for a few lines.

‘ *Mr. Horace Walpole to Lady Suffolk.*

‘ Paris, Dec. 5, 1765, but does not set out till the 11th.

‘ Since Paris has begun to fill in spite of Fontainebleau, I am much reconciled to it, and have seen several people I like. I am established in two or three societies, where I sup every night; though I have still resisted whist, and am more constant to my old flame loo during its absence than I doubt I have been to my other passions. There is a young *Comtesse d’Egmont*, daughter of Marshal Richelieu, so pretty and pleasing, that if I thought it would break any body’s heart in England, I would be in love with her. Nay, madam, I might be so within all rules here. I am twenty years on the right side of red-heels, which her father wears still, and he has still a wrinkle to come before he leaves them off.

‘ The dauphin is still alive, but kept so only by cordials. Yet the queen and dauphiness have no doubt of his recovery, having the bishop of Glandeve’s word for it, who got a promise from a vision under its own hand and seal. The dauphine has certainly behaved with great courage and tranquillity, but is so touched with the tenderness and attention of his family that he now expresses a wish to live.

‘ Yesterday I dined at La Borde’s, the great banker of the court. Lord! madam, how little and poor all your houses in London will look after his! In the first place, you must have a garden half as long as the Mall, and then you must have fourteen windows, each as long as the other half, looking into it, and each window must consist of only eight panes of looking-glass. You must have a first and second antechamber, and they must have nothing in them but dirty servants. Next must be the grand cabinet, hung with red damask, in gold frames, and covered with eight large and very bad pictures, that cost four thousand pounds—I cannot afford them you a farthing cheaper. Under these, to give an air of lightness, must be hung bas-reliefs in marble. Then there must be immense armoires of tortoiseshell and or-molu, inlaid with medals. And then you may go into the *petit-cabinet*, and then into the great *salle*, and the gallery, and the billiard-room, and the eating-room;

room; and all these must be hung with crystal lustres and looking-glasses from top to bottom; and then you must stuff them fuller than they will hold with granite tables, and porphyry urns, and bronzes, and statues, and vases, and the Lord or the devil knows what. But, for fear you should ruin yourself or the nation, the Duchess de Grammont must give you *this*, and Madam de Marsan *that*; and if you have any body that has any taste to advise you, your eating-room must be hung with huge hunting-pieces in frames of all-coloured golds, and at top of one of them you may have a setting-dog, who, having sprung a wooden partridge, it may be flying a yard off against the wainscot. To warm and light this palace, it must cost you eight-and-twenty thousand livres a year in wood and candles. If you cannot afford that, you must stay till my Lord Clive returns with the rest of the Indies.—vol. ii. p. 311.

Some excellent letters also from George Grenville appear in this part of the book: two from Lord Mansfield and Charles Townsend, which the editor inserts as deriving consequence from the reputation of the writers, cannot derive consequence from any thing, and have nothing to recommend them to publication.

We take our leave of the work with thanks to the editor for the labour and attention which he has bestowed upon the illustrations, and biographical notices which he has inserted wherever they are necessary or even desirable. Without prolixity or dullness, the information which they afford us is pointed and correct, and the opinions which they express are acute, liberal, and intelligent. Such notes, easy as they appear, are not to be collected without considerable difficulty, and the most intelligent reader will cheerfully confess that if the information had not been thus supplied, the correspondence would have wanted much of its poignancy and interest.

ART. XIII.—1. *Speech of the Right Honourable George Canning, Secretary of State, for Foreign Affairs, on Wednesday, the 17th of March, 1824; to which is added an Order in Council for improving the Condition of the Slaves in Trinidad.* Published by Authority. London. 1824.

2. *Negro Slavery, published by the Sunday School Tract Society.* 8vo. pp. 10. London.

3. *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated as it exists both in Law and Practice, as compared with the Slavery of other Countries, Ancient and Modern.* By James Stephen, Esq. 8vo. pp. 480. London.

4. *The West India Colonies; the Calumnies and Misrepresentations circulated against them by the Edinburgh Review, Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, &c. &c. examined and refuted.* By James M'Queen. 8vo. pp. 427. London.

5. *A Commentary on Mr. Clarkson's Pamphlet entitled Thoughts on the Necessity of improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies, with a View to their ultimate Emancipation.* By the Rev. John Hampden, A. B. 8vo. pp. 69. London.
6. *First Report of the New York Colonization Society.* 8vo. pp. 31. New York.
7. *Colonial Slavery. Letters to the Right Honourable William Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, &c. &c. on the present Condition of the Slaves, and the Means best adapted to promote the Mitigation and final Extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies.* By John Ashton Yates. 8vo. pp. 110. Liverpool.
8. *Report of a Committee of the Council of Barbadoes, appointed to inquire into the Actual Condition of the Slaves in this Island, with a View to refute certain Calumnies respecting their Treatment; and also to take into Consideration certain Measures affecting the West Indies, which have been lately agitated in the House of Commons.* 8vo. pp. 127. London.

IN our Number for July, 1823, we gave a short sketch of the debate in the House of Commons on the 15th of May, on the motion of Mr. Buxton. We also cursorily reviewed the various publications of the Abolitionists which at that time had proceeded from the press; and endeavoured to supply, what we considered to be absolutely necessary for the elucidation of the subject, a detailed sketch of the actual treatment and condition of the slaves in our West India colonies; concluding with an inquiry into the practicability of effecting improvements in the system of colonial labour, without putting to hazard the property of the planters, or the welfare of the Negroes themselves. We are now anxious to return to the consideration of this great question, to which recent events have attached an increased interest. Before we resume the subject, however, and record the various circumstances that have occurred since the period alluded to, we feel it necessary to transcribe the Resolution moved by Mr. Buxton, as well as those which were substituted by Mr. Canning, and which received the unanimous concurrence of the House. The resolution moved by Mr. Buxton was as follows:—

‘That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British dominions, with as much expedition as may be consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.’

The following were the Resolutions moved by Mr. Canning:—

1. ‘That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating

meliorating the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's colonies.

2. 'That through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

3. 'That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

4. 'That these resolutions be laid before his Majesty.'

In the early part of the last session, papers were presented to parliament by his Majesty's command, containing the correspondence of Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary of State, explanatory of the measures adopted by the government for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population. Lord Bathurst's Dispatches of the 9th of July recommended to the Colonial Legislatures the adoption of those improvements which the government had decided to carry into effect in the colonies more immediately under their own jurisdiction. A general knowledge of their intentions was thus transmitted from one end of the West Indies to the other. We have not space for an analysis of the various answers which were received from the colonies. It is important, however, to observe, that Jamaica and Barbadoes appear to have taken the lead in protesting generally against the recommendations, as well as against the authority of the government to carry those recommendations into effect. The impression produced in the other colonies was various. In some, the discontinuance of the stimulus of the whip in the field, and of the punishment of female slaves under any circumstances by flogging, was protested against, as a measure incompatible with a state of slavery, and with the necessary authority of the masters over their slaves; in others, these innovations did not appear to create any alarm. In the address of the island of St. Vincent it is observed, that those practices had been virtually discontinued; and the government are reproached with their ignorance of the fact. In Demerara the Court of Policy were peculiarly zealous in assenting to and expressing their readiness to enforce those two particular regulations. In Antigua, the draft of a bill was submitted to the legislature, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves; but it was lost on the third reading. The prevailing opinion was, however, that it would be extremely unwise for the local legislatures to be parties to any alterations which might possibly tend to diminish the value of their property in their slaves, until a clear and unambiguous consent to the principle of compensation had been solemnly given by
the

the British legislature; and while it was admitted, that such alterations were, in some instances, in themselves desirable, it was still argued that the contingent danger justified a suspension of the intention originally manifested by the local legislatures, to meet the views of government. In Jamaica, contrary to the reasonable expectation that, where a greater proportion of property and talent was assembled, sounder opinions would have been entertained; much irritation and even violence prevailed; although the measures suggested in the circular dispatch of the Colonial Secretary were the same with those recommended by a considerable portion of the West India body in England, and that portion containing men most eminent for their fortune, education, and rank in society:—the partial admission of the evidence of slaves may indeed be considered as an exception; but that admission was guarded by restrictions which disarmed the measure of the objections attached to it in a more general point of view. The Assembly of Jamaica, on the contrary, appeared to suppose that the measures of government had been solely derived from the suggestions of the abolitionists, and that all those principles of prudence were to be abandoned which had hitherto characterized its proceedings in relation to the colonies. It was contended that the West India absentees could not be supposed to possess that local knowledge which was necessary to inspire confidence in their recommendations:—but even if we were to admit that those persons (several of whom were not only extensive proprietors in the West Indies, but had been long resident there, or had visited that country for the express purpose of becoming acquainted with the nature of their property) could be considered as not sufficiently informed upon the subject; it is impossible, at any rate, to deny that they must have had ample means of fortifying their own judgments by access to practical information, and that a sense of their own interest, if no superior principle were supposed to influence them, would have restrained them from becoming parties to suggestions of improvement which could justly be considered as ruinous, or ultimately prejudicial to the prosperity of the colonies.

It was scarcely to be expected that the temper which had manifested itself in Barbadoes and Jamaica should not have existed more or less in the other colonies. No legislative measure has hitherto passed any assembly comprehending the whole of the improvements suggested in the circular Dispatch of the 9th of July. The government had consequently no alternative but to proceed steadily in the execution of that work which was imposed upon them, not less by the vote of parliament than by the general opinion of the country; and the Order in Council for improving the condition of the slaves in Trinidad was accordingly issued.

issued.* We cannot convey to our readers the substance of that Order more satisfactorily than by referring them to the following passage of the speech of Mr. Canning.

‘The course which government intended to be pursued with respect to the Island of Trinidad, will be shown by reference to an Order in Council, which is to be found among the Papers laid on the table.

‘With the permission of the House, I will state to them shortly the different regulations which that Order in Council comprises. The House will have the goodness to compare what is there done with the statement which I made last Session, of what ought to be done; and I think it will appear that none of the points upon which I dwelt, on that occasion, have been neglected.

‘In the first place, it is directed by this Order in Council, that the shocking and unseemly practice of the chastisement of females by the whip, shall be entirely abolished. Here, Sir, it is but justice to say, that the abolition of this punishment has also been recommended by the Resolutions of the West India Body in this Country, in the course of last year. It is also no more than justice to add, that some of the Colonies have adopted, some even anticipated, the recommendation. To raise the weaker sex in self-respect, as well as in the esteem of the stronger, is the first step from barbarism to civilization.

‘The Order in Council next abolishes the use of the whip, when applied to males, as a stimulus to labour;—that wanton and degrading use of it, which places the Negro slave on a footing with the cattle of the field. The whip is not to be carried into the field by the driver, nor is it to be borne as a symbol of authority. It is not in any case to be employed summarily;—but it is not, as to males, to be laid aside as an instrument of punishment. The House will see that it is quite a different thing, when brandished as a symbol of authority, and applied to the brute nerves of the negro as an incitement to labour: or when used for the infliction of a punishment, of which the reasoning faculties of the slave can appreciate the justice. Even as to males, and as an instrument of punishment, the whip is to be employed only under certain regulations, both with respect to the amount of infliction, and to the time. Delay of punishment for some time after the commission of the offence is the best security against abuse from the suddenness of passion. It is further provided that witnesses shall be present at the punishment of a slave; and that all punishments shall be accurately recorded. These alterations at once raise the mass of the negro population from the brute state to that of man.

‘To provide the means of religious instruction and worship is an object first indeed in importance, but necessarily subsequent in order to those

* This Order in Council was framed with reference to the Spanish law and custom which is in force in the island of Trinidad. It has been stated in Parliament, that Orders in Council comprehending similar provisions, but varying in the terms of their enactment, will be issued for the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and the Cape of Good Hope, and the French colonies of St. Lucie and Mauritius, equally with reference to the existence of Dutch and French law and custom in those respective colonies.

which

which I have already mentioned; because it is not till the Slave population are raised in the scale of nature that they can be capable of comprehending, or fitted to receive, the blessings of Christianity. It is intended to increase the amount, and widen the basis of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in the West Indies. That Establishment was founded for the benefit of the White Population alone. It was no more calculated for the Negro than for the brute animal that shares his toils. I am not stating this as a matter of charge, but as a matter of fact. This Establishment, though founded on the principles of the National Church, will not exclude other denominations of Christians. The authority and the discipline of the national church will be lodged in Bishops, to be resident in the Colonies. With religious worship will be combined religious instruction. It is not my business on the present occasion to trouble the House with details: but here, again, I am bound to do justice to the West India Body in this country, who have declared their anxiety for the institution of religious instruction, and to more than one of the Colonies which have already acted upon that declaration.

‘Sir, after religious worship and religious instruction naturally come those charities of life, which religion promotes and sanctifies. The Order in Council enjoins the local government of Trinidad to encourage marriage. This injunction, I am again bound to say, and I do so with much satisfaction, is in perfect consonance with the recommendation of the persons most interested in the Colonies who reside in this Country, and has also received a ready assent in many of the Colonies. In consideration of marriage, and of the other charities of life, which grow out of that connexion, it is provided by the order in council, that in all future sales—I fear that I must still use that word—families shall not be separated. In transferring slaves from one property to another, care will be taken in future that husband and wife, or reputed husband and wife, and parent and child, shall not be severed from each other.

‘The influence of family ties will naturally beget in the mind of the Slave an increased desire of property. The Order in Council gives the security of law to that possession of property which is at present respected by custom; and enjoins that measures shall be taken to secure to the Slave the power of bequeathing it at his death. In aid of these provisions it has been thought advisable, (however singular it may appear, that a very late invention of a Country far advanced in civilization, should be supposed capable of taking root in a rude society like that of the West Indies)—it has been thought advisable, I say, to institute a Bank, in which the little savings of Slaves may be accumulated. To the right of enjoyment, and to the power of bequest, secured by law, will be thus added the further security derived from the overwatching eye of public observation.

‘Sir, when, by measures of this kind, new ideas are infused into the mind of the Negro,—when he is lifted from a level with the beast of the field,—when he has been allowed to take his stand amongst the human race—

“*Cælumque tucri
Jussus, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus;*”

when

when he has been taught to appreciate the endearments of family connexions, the ties of kindred, and the blessings of property,—when his nature, as well as his condition, has been thus improved,—then comes the fit opportunity for considering a subject, which is surrounded by many practical difficulties—the admissibility of the evidence of Slaves in courts of justice.

‘It would be as wild to say, that the evidence of slaves should be indiscriminately admitted in all cases, as it would be unjust to exclude it in all cases. In this country, a person in the situation of a slave,—I do not mean politically, but morally,—an infant, whose mind is not sufficiently expanded to be able to estimate the obligation of an oath, is not permitted to give evidence. It is first ascertained, by examination, that the mind of the infant is in fact so matured, as to be capable of comprehending that obligation. It would be improper to admit the evidence of Blacks without a similar guard. It is proposed, therefore, that those persons who are to have the care of instructing the Negroes should have power to certify, not with respect to a particular case in which the evidence of a Slave may be wanted, but generally, that such and such Slaves have made such advances in civilization as to be cognizant of the nature of an oath. It is proposed, that a register of such Slaves shall be kept, constituting as it were a privileged class, and presenting (what is the spring of all human action) something like an object of ambition to their fellow-slaves. Under this arrangement, the competency of a Slave to give evidence will not be judged by subjecting him at the moment to an examination, probing his intellect to the quick, by questions which he may not be able to comprehend: but it will be known at once, when any individual Slave is proposed as a witness on a trial, whether he is one of that class whose evidence has been certified to be admissible. It is just to state, that under certain qualifications, the evidence of Slaves is already admitted in the courts of justice of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincents, and I believe St. Christophers, and Tobago.

‘A natural consequence of the determination to impart religious instruction to the slaves, will be the abolition of Sunday markets, and of Sunday labour. The order in council prescribes this abolition, so soon as the means of religious worship shall be established. It prescribes immediately a restriction of the Sunday market, within certain hours—ultimately, as I have said, its total abolition. In some of the colonies this regulation is already partially anticipated.

‘By this process, and by these degrees may the slave be gradually fitted for the last grand consummation of benefit, the power of acquiring his freedom. Heretofore the restraints on granting manumissions were extremely numerous: but these are now considerably reduced; several taxes and imposts have been removed in different colonies; and in others, a like disposition has been manifested. The order in council, however, goes beyond what has been hitherto at all generally practised in the colonies. It ordains that a Negro, who has acquired sufficient property, shall, under certain guards and regulations, therein set forth, be entitled to purchase his own freedom, the freedom of his wife, or that of his children.

‘I have

'I have, thus, sir, stated to the house, the provisions of the order in council. I know, that, with respect to the last point; namely, the purchase of freedom, great prejudice, great dislike, great apprehension, prevails. I am far from saying that it is not a perplexing question: but the principle has been admitted to a certain extent in St. Kitt's, and also at Trinidad. No principle can be considered as impracticable, which has, even in a single instance, been voluntarily admitted in the West Indies. It is astonishing how much good might be done by merely collecting, and bringing to bear on one society, all the beneficial regulations which are scattered through the different colonies. I admit on the one hand, that the existence of such beneficial regulations affords an answer to the general declamation which has been heard about the total neglect and abandonment of the Negroes by West Indian governments and proprietors: but I must on the other hand contend, that the people of this country, who, on account of their distance from the colonies, are compelled to look at them through the eyes of others, are entitled to consider as good authority for any improvement of which they recommend the introduction, the fact, that what they wish to recommend has been by any one West Indian community already voluntarily adopted.'—pp. 10, &c.

The West India colonies, having local legislatures, will therefore, when they meet in the course of the present year, perceive that the government, as well as parliament itself, have made allowance for that irritation which has characterized their public proceedings; they will find a standard by which to regulate their own legislative measures; they will be called upon to embody into their local law those improvements in the condition of the slaves which are enjoined by the Order in Council for Trinidad, and confirmed by the unanimous sanction of the House of Commons.

What measures it might be expedient for government, under the sanction of parliament, to pursue, in the event of a permanent resistance to the recommendations which have been sent out, is a question that has been most prudently set aside in the discussions which took place in the course of the last session. It is not fair, at least it is not wise, to argue that the resistance of the colonies will be perpetual; it does not require to be deeply acquainted with human nature to perceive the absurdity of expecting to induce men to improve their conduct by the assertion, blended with taunt and menace, that you are convinced they are incapable of acting better. Such a mode of remonstrance would, under any circumstances, be imprudent; but, in the present case, it would be in the highest degree illiberal and unjust. It is by no means the love of slavery which characterizes the proceedings or the sentiments of the West India colonies: it is the dread of the loss of property;—it is the instinctive anxiety for the preservation of life;—it is the fear

fear of an experiment involving a radical change, which, however benevolent in its intention, may lead to results which the promoters of it did not contemplate, and which their habitual modes of thinking, and their means of information, may not have rendered them competent to anticipate. The real causes of the resistance of the colonists have neither been fairly appreciated nor fully understood. Were the most intemperate of the West India colonists to be asked whether they would consent to the abolition of slavery, provided they could still find the means of prosecuting the cultivation of their properties with the same advantages, we venture confidently to predict that the unanimous answer would be, that they had no predilection whatever for slavery; that, on the contrary, they felt it to be full of inconveniences and dangers: but they would add,—‘this is an evil not created by the colonists themselves, or for their separate interests, but by the mother-country and for national purposes; satisfy our minds that a change can be effected, without accomplishing our ruin, and we will concur with you in every effort which promises a result beneficial to all parties.’

It appears, therefore, to us, that all considerations which do not directly apply to the question of the practicability of the transmutation of slave labour into free labour by a process not endangering the property of the planter, are completely irrelevant; and that the object of all those who discuss this question should be, instead of awakening animosities and widening dissensions, to invite both parties to some common ground, where at least they may agree in principle, though they may differ in some points of practice. We would inquire, therefore,—whether the resolutions of the House of Commons on the subject of colonial slavery, passed in the course of the last year, admit of an explanation, as to their spirit and their letter, which would be satisfactory to both the parties opposed on this subject—the Abolitionists and the West Indians? The former insist, that the slaves will be made more valuable to their masters as free labourers than they have been in the state of slavery: the latter are sceptical as to the result of such an experiment; and they contend, that compensation is due to them for any legislative change which affects the value or security of their property:—but if such transmutation would, as is asserted, be necessarily advantageous, these objections would be removed.

The first Resolution of the House of Commons declared that it was ‘expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slaves in his Majesty’s colonies.’ With respect to this resolution, we think it may be asserted, that the House never could be supposed to admit a claim for indemnification on the part of the proprietors of slaves upon the introduction

duction of such measures generally; but, at the same time, we conceive, that if any specific measure suggested for that purpose can be proved in its necessary consequences to have produced a positive injury to property legally acquired, there can be no objection on the part of parliament to consider such claim for indemnification upon its special grounds. In Trinidad, for example, it is contended, that it is an act of great hardship to prohibit the voluntary labour of a slave on a Sunday, if he chuses to work for hire; but we do not understand how compensation can fairly be claimed for a prohibition which places the planter of the West Indies only on the same footing as the inhabitants of this country, who are equally subject to the necessity of allowing one-seventh portion of the week to be passed in a state of relaxation from labour. The master never purchased the right of working his slave on a Sunday.

With respect to the second Resolution, we conceive it may be fairly asserted, that the House of Commons never contemplated the accomplishment of such a progressive improvement, otherwise than by the gradual dissemination of moral and religious instruction. Such changes, indeed, in the condition of any class of society, are inevitably of slow progress; more especially must they be so in a climate which is calculated to supply the wants of nature almost spontaneously in some situations, and in all with comparatively little exertion; and where consequently the temptation to work as a free labourer must be excited by the impulse of a new series of feelings and opinions, creating an interest in property, and a fixed and unshaken desire to better the condition of himself and his family. And even this supposed change must be considered to rest rather on speculation than on precedent; since we may confidently assert, (from the result of much inquiry,) that no example whatever exists, of free negroes collectively performing the duties required in the cultivation of the sugar cane, the staple production of the tropics.

With respect to the third Resolution, it might be unquestionably asserted that, when parliament expressed its anxiety for the improvement of the situation of the slaves at the earliest period which should be compatible with the conditions specified in the resolution, it never considered that that object could be effected otherwise than by the operation of those gradual changes to which we have just alluded. We would not prejudice the case, as to what effect may be ultimately produced by a progressive transmutation of slave labour into free labour; and we are in the fullest degree convinced of the difficulties, and of the uncertain success which may await the experiment; but we must with equal confidence

confidence assert, that if it were successfully carried into effect, the property of the planters would be benefited by it rather than injured.

In the view, then, which we take of this great question, we think that much which occupies the attention of the public, is comparatively matter of little importance, and in a practical point of view, irrelevant. It is therefore on the question of free and slave labour, that the abolitionist and the West Indian should endeavour to meet. It is on this debateable ground, that they may concur in the pursuit of an inquiry, which must afford much interesting information to both parties. And it clearly appears to us, that without such an inquiry no real progress can be made in the final solution of the difficulties which encompass this momentous question.

The labour required for the production of sugar has these peculiar characteristics,—it is continuous, and sometimes severe; it is incapable of being interrupted for any length of time, without serious prejudice to the cultivators; and at present, it is impossible to deny that one of the principal inducements to that continuous exertion, is the dread of punishment. We must here again introduce the remark, that it is the nature of the African to be indolent, inasmuch as his wants are few, and those few almost spontaneously satisfied in the climate under which he lives. There is little difference of opinion among those who have examined the subject, as to that inseparable connection of exertion with climate, which would enable any one to pronounce on the probable industry of a nation, from the mere knowledge of this physical circumstance. This proposition would necessarily be modified by density of population and particular circumstances of civilization; but still the principle is true, and not to be dismissed from our view in the consideration of this difficult problem. The practical question then is—what stimulus do we expect, by our progressive improvements, to substitute for this fear of punishment, so as to induce the free Negro to perform the task of sugar cultivation with that energy and continuity which can alone render his labour beneficial to the planter? It is necessary to substitute some equivalent *moral* stimulus. The first, and unquestionably the only safe basis, on which we can proceed, is moral and religious instruction. On this must be superinduced the artificial wants of civilized life—the fair desire of the acquisition of property; which object of desire, when once created, can only be obtained through the medium of continued industry. Can any principle be suggested, under the operation of which free labour can be substituted for slave labour, that is not brought about by such a process? If the answer be in the negative, the question then is, how are we to regulate

gulate the intermediate stage between the present state of things and the accomplishment of the object, without injury to the property of the slave proprietor? And if injury of a pecuniary sort be inseparable from this transmutation, in what degree, and in what manner, and when, is compensation to be given? It appears to us, that it is by such an inquiry alone, fairly and temperately pursued, that the subject can be brought fully into view; and it will, moreover, have this peculiar advantage, that parliamentary discussions might be postponed until adequate information had been procured, while the attention of the contending parties, being called to one common principle, would be diverted from those retrospective considerations of wrongs and injuries on both sides, which have produced, and must and will produce, the most inconvenient and dangerous results both at home and abroad.

The Order in Council has been framed in furtherance of the resolutions of parliament. We consider it as the commencement of one of the most important political experiments ever attempted; and we are satisfied that if angry feelings are suffered to prevail on either side so as to impede its fair course, and to prevent the operation of those natural causes, which are to combine with law and regulation in its completion, the most fatal results will ensue, results, in which not only the property of the planter, the existence of the colonies, but the interest of the mother-country will be sacrificed; and sacrificed with a convulsion, which, in comparison with the accompanying horrors and devastation, will make the pecuniary loss appear as nothing.

We have already stated, that no precedent exists of free negroes having performed the duties necessarily required in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, in such a manner as to afford a profit to their employers. We are not, however, in any degree disposed to infer from this fact, the impossibility of free labour being ever substituted for slave labour with advantage to the proprietors; we only mean to show that such a contingency has not yet taken place in the production of sugar in the West Indies, and that it can only take place under a combination of circumstances which has never yet occurred; and if we do not succeed in bringing about this substitution, it is absolutely impossible to escape from the alternative of either affording to our West India colonies a pecuniary compensation from the national funds, or of effecting the ruin of the proprietors, who will be unable to carry on the cultivation in which they have vested their capital under public sanction, and in consequence of public encouragement. If it can be shown that our opinions are erroneous, we shall most willingly abandon them; but we shall never yield to declamation, or to arguments that are not directly founded upon facts of a clear and unimpeachable nature;

nature; and—in a question of such extreme delicacy, we must beg leave to observe that those ~~who advance facts~~, of the correctness of which they are not absolutely certain, ~~allow themselves a latitude~~ very nearly approaching to criminality. We are sometimes afraid, that there are ~~persons~~ engaged in polemical controversy upon this subject, so hurried on by their detestation of a state of slavery—so morbidly anxious for its extinction, that they are ~~disposed~~ to adopt that most dangerous of all human principles of action, ~~that the end~~ may occasionally sanctify the employment of means which in themselves, and abstractedly taken, cannot be justified.

In the British and Colonial Weekly Register for June the 19th, 1824, we find the following letter:

‘ Sir,

‘ A Tract has been issued by the Sunday School Tract Society, intituled “ Negro Slavery,” which comprises in the space of ten pages a concise enumeration of the horrors of slavery, plainly told and clearly put together. It is a most useful paper, and I wish you, sir, to take this public notice of it, that it may be more known. By thus impregnating the minds of the children of the poor with a thorough knowledge and deep-rooted hatred of slavery, we are gaining a vast accession of strength from a class of people who, unless they be informed in this cheap, and easy, and concise method, will remain altogether ignorant of the question, and thus, through the advocates of the cause, find reason to deplore the coldness of the present generation; and though it may not be granted to them to see the final extinction of this system, they may yet reflect that a people is rising into manhood and activity, full of abhorrence of slavery and of zeal for its abolition, in high spirits and in the vigour of youth, energetic and determined, to whom they may safely commit the accomplishment of the work which they have been compelled to quit.’

We are well aware that this is only a part, and a very small part, of a system which is now in active operation, and which we cannot but decidedly reprobate; not that we object in the slightest degree to a deep-rooted hatred of slavery, or a thorough knowledge upon that or any other subject; but we must protest against this thorough knowledge or deep-rooted hatred being confounded with religious feeling, or employed for party purposes. The parliament having deliberately placed in the hands of the executive government the solution of this difficult and fearful question, we consider it a breach of public faith to thwart and impede their measures, unless it can be shown that they are disposed not to act up to the fair spirit of the resolutions to which the House unanimously assented, and which must be both the basis and the key-stone of their policy and practice. We say nothing of the irritating effects which must be produced on the mind of the West Indian colonist by this perpetual identification of him with the system pronounced to be so detest-

able, but for which we have already said he is not responsible, and for which therefore it is most unjust to reproach him.

Sierra Leone is often cited as a proof of the advantage of free over slave labour. We consider that a practical experiment has been carried on in that colony with respect to the capacity of the African; it is there that we shall have an opportunity of ascertaining to what degree he is capable of intellectual improvement and moral conduct, and of adaptation to the duties of civilized society. That such an experiment was highly desirable we admit; we are therefore prepared to approve the considerable expenditure of the national capital which has been liberally afforded by parliament for the purposes of its trial—we consider that experiment comparatively in its infancy—but we absolutely deny that, as far as it has gone, it in the slightest degree affects the question of the transmutation of slave labour into free labour, *under circumstances wherein the pecuniary interests of the proprietor are equitably regarded*. The question is not whether the African slave, repossessed of freedom in the colony of Sierra Leone, may not, after having been maintained at the expense of the government for some years, be placed in a situation where he can procure a subsistence for himself,—the implements and the capital necessary for the preparation of the land being provided for him, and the resources of the parent state afforded to give every advantage to the disposal of commodities produced by him—but whether the slave made free in the West Indies will consent to the exertion of labour on a sugar estate for the sake of receiving an adequate return in wages, whereby the proprietor will be enabled to continue its cultivation with advantage.

After all, the labour in Sierra Leone is not the cultivation of sugar, and therefore the analogy fails at once; for it is the cultivation of sugar that is the main practical question with respect to the West India proprietor.

With respect to the island of St. Domingo, an example of far greater importance, we have more to observe: Mr. Whitmore, in his Speech, (13th of May) refers to a letter from the secretary, M. Inginac, to the president of Hayti, addressed to his correspondent in London; in that letter, after remarking the progressive increase of the prosperity of the colony, he states,

‘Commerce has considerably increased, of which you will have an idea by consulting the paper I send you of the importations and exportations of the year 1822, collected at the different custom-houses. I am nearly certain, that the quantity of coffee produced in the year 1823, surpasses more than a third the quantity produced in 1822, and there is great probability that the crop of the present year will be still more considerable, because more people are employed cultivating the fields, because they are more assiduous in their tasks, and more contented, in consequence

consequence of our rural code having been much improved, and offering good security to the cultivation.*

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* We do not mean to impute any improper motives or even want of caution on the part of this gentleman in this particular instance in which he founded his arguments upon a document that could not but be considered by him as official. But if we compare this statement with the official returns from the United States we shall find a discrepancy which makes it impossible that both official documents can be correct.

In a table drawn up by M. Inginac, entitled 'General Balance of the Commerce of the different Foreign Nations with Haiti for the year 1823,' it was stated, that the United States employed 884 vessels of the tonnage of 88,478 tons to import cargoes into St. Domingo, which cargoes were valued at 6,641,570 dollars. We have no means of comparing the statement as to the number of vessels, as the official returns of the United States for the same year only give the tonnage, and which is stated to have been only 44,113 tons, which is not one half of the quantity mentioned by the secretary-general of Haiti. The value of the exports sent from the United States to Haiti is given as being worth 2,119,811 dollars, which is less than one-third of the Haitian document.

The export trade from Haiti to the United States is said by the secretary-general to employ 508 vessels of 50,912 tons. The United States official returns only admit of 44,300 tons, including their own and foreign vessels, and of the last, 736 tons are stated to have been Haitian.

The total value of all the articles exported from Haiti to the United States is represented in the Haitian document to have been 3,293,892 dollars, nearly one third of the value of all the exports from the island. The official returns of the United States, however, give only 2,341,817, as the value of the exports from Haiti to America.

The value of the coffee exported from Haiti to the United States is represented in the Haitian document to have been 10,144,378 dollars, which must be an error, as coffee forms only part of the exports, and yet is here made to exceed the whole amount in value. The United States' official document gives 1,801,150 dollars as the value of the coffee from Haiti; and the weight thereof is stated as being 8,394,393 pounds.

As we have drawn attention more particularly to the cultivation of sugar by free labour in the West Indies, we shall notice the discrepancy in this article also between the official documents of Haiti, and the United States. The former represent sugar to the value of 64,994 dollars, as having been sent to the United States, the official returns of which, on the other hand, only acknowledge to have received sugar to the value of 1631 dollars, and give the weight thereof as being 24,241 lbs. or about sixteen hogsheads.

From the proclamation of President Boyer, it becomes doubtful how much even of that small quantity was produced in Haiti, as the whole, or part thereof, may have been imported or smuggled from the neighbouring islands, where cultivation by slaves prevails. The doubt, however, is merely expressed to show the unsatisfactory state of our knowledge as to the value of free labour in the cultivation of this staple production of our West India colonies. In the letter from M. Inginac to his anonymous correspondent, he says that the commerce of Haiti is increasing, and that the quantity of coffee produced in 1823 will be a third more than in 1822.

As Great Britain and the United States are represented by the Haitian documents to be the greatest importers of coffee, the returns of these countries ought to show this increase.

In 1822 Great Britain imported from Haiti 41,632 cwt. or 4,662,784 lbs. in weight, which the Haitian document gives as being 13,548,591 dollars in value—an obvious mistake, for both statements cannot be correct. Taking the smaller quantity as being most favourable to M. Inginac's accuracy, by adding one third to it we have 6,217,045 lbs. weight which Great Britain ought to have imported from Haiti in 1823; instead of which the official documents laid before parliament show that only 44,442 cwt. or 4,952,864 lbs. of coffee was received from Haiti.

As the coffee sent from Haiti to the United States formed four-fifths of the value of the total exports, if such an addition had taken place, as M. Inginac states, we ought to have found the total value of the exports from Haiti to the United States in 1823 to

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We presume no abolitionist, in citing the example of St. Domingo, would venture to argue that the increased happiness and prosperity of the slaves, under their new condition in that island, (admitting, for the sake of the argument, that such improvement has taken place,) would justify a general revolution in our West India colonies, accompanied with a similar destruction and ruin of the European inhabitants of those colonies. With respect to the improved condition of the Haytian slave, in his new character as a free labourer, we find certain qualifications in the *Code Henri*, which must be very mortifying to the advocates of sudden emancipation, for in this very colony, which burst forth into a state of freedom from slavery, we find the same hours of labour irrevocably established as in the slave laws of our own colonies—work was to commence with the day-light, and to be continued uninterruptedly till eight o'clock; one hour was to be allowed to the labourer for breakfast, on the spot where employed—at nine, work was to recommence, until noon, when two hours repose were to be given to the labourer—at two, exactly, he was to recommence work, and not to leave off before night-fall: and no labourer, without permission of the lieutenant of the king, was to be allowed to absent himself from the plantation on working days, unless at the special request of the overseer, or conductor. We do not know how far these regulations, supported by strong penal enforcements, in some cases amounting to the loss of life, and pronounced to be 'irrevocable,' have been modified, but we think them eminently calculated to show, that the gradations of freedom hitherto attained by the labouring population of that island are not very far removed from the character of slavery; and we have an authority, to which the abolitionists perpetually refer us, to prove that even where the freedom of the slave was most dear to the government, and was, in fact, the principle of its existence, these cautionary measures were still deemed necessary for the support and welfare of the state. Toussaint L'Ouverture, in one of his proclamations, in the ninth

have been 3,293,892 dollars; instead of which, by official returns, it was only \$341,817 dollars.

As to the assertion respecting the great increase of commerce in 1823, the official returns of the United States, who carry on one-third of the trade of Haiti, show that in 1822 they employed in that trade 42,975 tons of American and 1325 tons of foreign shipping; but that in 1823, so far from increasing, the American tonnage employed was only 32,292 tons, and the foreign only 1,011 tons, forming the diminution of about one-fourth in the tonnage employed, if the American official documents be correct. We have no hesitation in saying that, after a careful examination of the subject, we entertain no doubt whatever of the accuracy of the American statement as compared with that of the Haitian secretary, and under this conviction we cannot too strongly reprobate this attempt to impose upon our credulity, and we are satisfied that it will meet the reprobation of all reasonable men, whatever their sentiments may be upon the general question; and we hope it may serve as a caution to all those who wish to form an accurate opinion upon this contested subject, to examine well the data on either side before they surrender their conviction.

year

year of the French Republic, referring to a former proclamation, which he recites, and which was calculated to establish a uniform system of laborious industry, peremptorily directs,—

‘All field labourers, men and women, now in a state of idleness, living in towns, villages, and on other plantations than those to which they belong, with the intention to evade work, even those of both sexes, who had not been employed in field labour since the revolution, are required to return immediately to their respective plantations.’

And in the 7th Article,

‘The Overseers and Drivers (as it is translated in the appendix to the “Crisis of the Sugar Colonies”) of every Plantation, shall make it their business to inform the commanding officer of the district in regard to the conduct of the labourers under their management, as well as of those who shall absent themselves from their plantations without a pass, and of those who, residing on the estate, shall refuse to work; they shall be forced to go to the labour of the field; and if they prove obstinate, they shall be arrested and carried before the military commandant, in order to suffer the punishment above prescribed, according to the exigence of the case, the punishment being fine and imprisonment.’

The remark made upon this proclamation in the ‘Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,’ published in 1802, and supposed to be written by Mr. Stephen, is this:

‘The paper certainly, if genuine, proves that Toussaint had established, or was endeavouring to introduce, a very strict military government; but a man must be grossly ignorant of the nature of West India bondage, not to know that such a government, however to English eyes disgusting, is, when compared to domestic slavery, a substitute most ardently to be desired.’

Mr. Stephen, in his work, ‘The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated,’ p. 90, states, with respect to St. Domingo, that—‘the negroes there are working for themselves, at their own choice, and many of them doubtless no more than the subsistence of their families demands.’ And he quotes this with reference to a passage in a publication of President Boyer, who says that a labourer in Hayti can obtain his subsistence for a week, by working half-an-hour in each day. We do not dispute the correctness of this statement; but how does it accord with the arguments of those who insist that the labour of slaves, when free, is more productive than in a state of slavery; and who cite the instance of St. Domingo in support of that observation? We are not here considering the relative condition of the human being in these two states, but the possibility of effecting the change in the manner that we have sketched, or with reference to the necessity of compensation, in case that change should not be effected without a sacrifice of the interests of the

proprieters. And here we might dismiss the subject, resting upon the authority of Mr. Stephen himself, one of the most able and indefatigable advocates in the cause of abolition, and showing the impossibility of his argument being compatible with the arguments of his friends, who are contending for the superior advantages, in a pecuniary and commercial sense, of African free labour, in contrast with that of slavery; but we are anxious, in corroboration of this opinion, to cite a passage from the above mentioned pamphlet, 'The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' which appears to us to confirm, in the most conclusive manner, the reasoning which we have adopted. Speaking of St. Domingo, the author says:

'While the negroes were in bondage, that colony was rich and flourishing by the effects of their labour: since their enfranchisement, it has become comparatively almost a neglected waste. All the solicitations of the officers of the republic, all the influence and authority of their own favourite chiefs, have failed to recal them to any tolerable degree of regular industry. What then remains but, either to restore the rigid yoke of the private master, and renew the coercion of the cart-whip, or permanently to leave this fine island in its present unprofitable state?'

And is this all that 'remains'? We trust not. We trust that an alternative may be found between the two extremes of restoring the rigid yoke of the master and the coercion of the cart-whip, or of leaving the West Indies in a situation similar to that of St. Domingo. If such an alternative can be found, it is in the gradual operation of those changes and regulations which the government, under the sanction of parliament, have directed. But we are decidedly of opinion, that this intermediate alternative can never be accomplished, unless the abolitionists, as a body, are contented to leave the question in the hands of the government, and to wait for the operation of time and circumstances, to effect that change which the ingenuity of man would be utterly incompetent to bring about by any efforts of legislation. The volcano pours forth its lava; and the surrounding country presents only a scene of sterility and devastation. No human efforts can remedy this infliction; but the slow and progressive course of seasons gradually diffuses over the surface the elements of vegetation, till in the progress of time, the forest and the harvest occupy that space which had formerly presented only the traces of destruction and ruin. We must be contented in these important experiments upon the moral condition of mankind, to take our analogies from the lessons which nature affords us; and however mortifying it may prove to our vanity, or tantalizing to our impatience, we must wait with resignation, but with confidence, for that period when 'a benign though insensible revolution

revolution in opinions and manners* can be expected to work out their full and adequate completion.

After what we have observed, it may be expected of us to point out in some detail the contrast which, with reference to her annual production, St. Domingo affords in the present day, to that of her state under the dominion of France. Before her revolution she produced 150,000 hogsheads of sugar (19,500,000 cwts.); and her exports collectively amounted to seven or eight million sterling. It is doubtful whether she now exports more than four or five hundred hogsheads. And we find in Lord Bathurst's speech that the president had actually issued a proclamation wherein the introduction of foreign sugar into St. Domingo is distinctly admitted. We leave our readers to guess how absurd such a proclamation would be, in a colony where there was any power of producing sugar, in the manner and in the quantity which St. Domingo formerly produced it. We subjoin a passage from the proclamation:—

‘ Ne voyons-nous pas tous les jours arriver dans nos ports des marchandises sortant des îles dont il est question? Ne savons-nous pas que des caboteurs haïtiens vont y charger à leur bord, du sucre, du sirop, du tafia, du rum, &c. par l'appât d'un gain illicite, et les introduisent en fraude sur notre territoire contre le vœu de nos lois? Pourquoi donc, malgré tous ces avantages que les colons des îles de notre archipel retirent de leurs communications avec nous, ne cessent-ils d'avoir en exécution le nom haïtien, et d'insulter à notre caractère national par des actes indignes?’

‘ A tant d'outrages il faut une fin.’

(Signed)

BOYER.

(Countersigned)

B. INGINAC.’

Dated 20th March, 1823.

20th Year of the Independence.

With reference to the subject of the comparative merits of free and slave labour, it may further be interesting to those who are disposed to look to the analogies of history for illustration of passing events, to refer to the beginning of the sixteenth century; not that we are disposed ourselves to rate such analogies very highly, for unless the circumstances and conditions under which events occur be nearly similar, no practical inference can be founded upon a comparison between them. At the period to which we allude, there appear to have existed parties who may be considered as the Abolitionists and the Colonists of that day. In the year 1511, Montesino, an eminent preacher among the Dominicans, endeavoured to show, that the maintenance of the Indians in a state of slavery by the Spaniards, was contrary to natural justice, to the precepts of Christianity, and to sound policy. The colonists, at

* See page 8 of Report of the African Institution, 1845, by Mr. Stephen.

whose

whose head was Don Diego Columbus, complained of the monk to his superiors, who, however, instead of condemning, applauded his doctrine, as being equally pious and expedient :—those who approved but were unwilling to avow their approbation of the existing system; endeavoured to palliate what they could not justify; and they alleged in excuse that it was impossible to carry on any improvement in the colonial possessions of Spain, especially in the colony of St. Domingo, unless the Spaniards possessed such authority over the natives as legally to compel them to labour. The parties thus opposed to each other applied to Ferdinand for his decision. The speculative point in controversy was determined in favour of the Dominicans, and the Indians were declared to be a free people entitled to all the natural rights of men; notwithstanding which, however, the *repartimientos*, or distributions of Indians among the colonists, were continued upon their ancient footing. As this determination admitted the principle for which the Dominicans contended, they renewed their efforts to obtain relief for the Indians with additional boldness. After some time had elapsed the colonists prevailed, and Ferdinand issued a decree in contradiction to his former opinion, which stated that the servitude of the Indians was warranted both by the laws of God and man; and then, with a view of propitiating the religious party, he declared that unless they were subjected to the Spaniards and compelled to reside under their inspection, it would be impossible to reclaim them from idolatry, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith; and as a qualification to this declaration, he published an edict containing general regulations for their treatment, which was of the mildest character. The Dominicans, though unconvinced, were silenced, and retired from the contest, until the violent oppressions of Albuquerque, the new distributor of Indians, revived their zeal, and called forth the energies of Bartholomew De las Casas. This intrepid champion of the Indians addressed Cardinal Ximenes, who as Regent had assumed the reins of government in Castile upon the death of the king; and as his impetuous mind delighted in schemes bold and uncommon, he soon fixed on a plan which astonished the ministers trained up under the formal and cautious administration of Ferdinand. Without regarding either the rights of Don Diego Columbus, or the regulations established under the late reign, he resolved to send three persons to America with authority, after examining all circumstances on the spot, to decide finally with respect to the point in question. Las Casas was appointed to accompany them, with the title of Protector of the Indians. The three commissioners were chosen from the monks of St. Jerome, as being a neutral party between the Dominicans and their opponents the Franciscans. To supply

supply their deficiency in legal knowledge, Zuazo, a private lawyer of distinguished probity, was associated with them.

Upon the arrival of these men with Las Casas at St. Domingo, the first act of their authority was to set at liberty all the Indians who had been given to Spanish courtiers, or to any person not residing in America. This, together with the information which had been received from Spain concerning the object of the commission, spread a general alarm. The colonists concluded that they were to be deprived at once of the hands with which they carried on their labour, and that their ruin was unavoidable: but the fathers of St. Jerome proceeded with such caution and prudence, as soon dissipated their fears. They discovered in every step of their conduct a knowledge of the world, and of affairs, which is seldom acquired in a cloister. Their ears were open to information from every quarter; they compared the different accounts which they received, and after a mature consideration of the whole subject, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it impossible to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the cardinal. Their opinion was, that no allurements were so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great was their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rites of Christianity which they had been already taught.

The remedy provided for these difficulties was certainly of the most singular nature: Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, and to transport them to America, in order that they might be employed as slaves in working the mines and cultivating the ground; thus, as Robertson remarks, 'Las Casas, from the inconsistency natural to men who *hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favourite point*, was incapable of distinguishing the palpable iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery while he was devising and consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another.' Some of the abolitionists of the present day might profit, we think, by this judicious observation: it characterizes that 'inconsistency' which we detect in their conduct, of 'hurrying on with headlong impetuosity towards a favourite point;' while it forcibly points out to them the unreasonableness, if not the iniquity, of sacrificing, by hasty and injudicious measures, the property and possibly the lives of their fellow countrymen, the colonists of the West Indies, to the object, however honourable, however just, however Christian, of rescuing men from a state of slavery.

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There are other points bearing directly upon this subject, on which we should have wished to enlarge, had we not been restrained by the length to which this article has already extended; viz. the result of the abolition of slavery in Guadeloupe and Cayenne—the abolition of slavery in Ceylon, under the judicious regulations of Sir Edward Barnes—at St. Helena, under the auspices of Sir Hudson Lowe—the experiment at Barbadoes on the estate of Mr. Steele, &c.; the tendency of all which would be to establish the fact, that in cases where an emancipation had taken place in our own colonies, no sort of analogy existed to render the experiment a model for any measures in the West Indies. As ‘Mr. Steele’s system,’ however, has been repeatedly quoted, and much relied upon, as proving the facility and safety of the transition from slavery to freedom, and the superior profit attending the cultivation of sugar-estates by free labour, we cannot pass it over quite so summarily, or refrain from pointing out the incorrectness of some of the facts stated in support of it, and the fallacy of the conclusions which have been drawn from them.

The failure of this system either as increasing the comforts of the negroes, or as an experiment of profitable cultivation, is shown in Mr. M’Queen’s work, and in a letter recently published by Mr. Sealy, the manager of a neighbouring estate during the same period, and now residing at Bristol. The following is an extract from Mr. Sealy’s letter :

‘ It so happened that I resided on the nearest adjoining estate to Mr. Steele’s, and superintended the management of it myself for many years; I had therefore a far better opportunity of forming an opinion than Mr. Clarkson can have. He has read Mr. Steele’s accounts: *I witnessed the operation and effects of his plans.*

‘ He possessed one of the largest and most seasonable plantations, in a delightful part of the island. With all these advantages, his estate was never in as good order as those in the same neighbourhood, and the crops were neither adequate to the size and resources of the estate, nor in proportion to those of other estates in the same part of the island. The copyhold system was noxious to the slaves, because the power was placed in the hands of a few ignorant and unfeeling negroes, slaves like themselves; frequently governed by motives of private pique and secret malice. This could not fail to produce jealousies and heart-burnings among them. They were paid for the work which they actually performed, not in the currency of the island, but in copper pence, *which would not pass out of the plantation*, so that they were obliged to lay them out on the estate. To avoid this regulation, they would purchase articles from the plantation-storekeeper, and sell them again to the neighbouring negroes at a loss, in order to obtain the money of the island. Finally, after an experiment of thirty years, under Mr. Steele, and his executor Mr. T. Bell, Mr. Steele’s debts remained unpaid, and the plantation was sold by a decree of the Court
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of Chancery. After the debts and costs of suit were paid, very little remained out of £45,000 to go to the residuary legatees.

‘It was very well known that the negroes rejoiced when the change took place, and thanked their God that they were relieved from the copyhold system. Such was the final result and success that attended this system, which has been so much eulogized by Mr. Clarkson.

‘After the estate was sold and the system changed, I had equally an opportunity of observing the management; and certainly the manifest improvement was strong evidence in favour of the change. Fields, which had been covered with bushes for a series of years, were brought into cultivation, and the number of pounds of sugar was, in some years, more than doubled, under the new management. The provision crops also were abundant; consequently the negroes and stock were amply provided for.

‘If Mr. Clarkson, or any other person, should doubt the correctness of what I have advanced, they may apply to the records in the secretary’s and master’s in chancery’s offices in Barbadoes, where what I have asserted will be fully confirmed.’

The result of this system is also thus described in a letter from the Attorney-General of Barbadoes. (*M^{rs} Queen*, p. 426.)

‘I was surprised to see it asserted lately in print, that his (Mr. Steele’s) plantation succeeded well under that management. *I know it to be false*—it failed considerably; and had he lived a few years longer, he would have died not worth a farthing. Upon his death they reverted to the old system, to which the slaves readily and willingly returned: the plantation now succeeds, and the slaves are contented and happy, and think themselves much better off than under the copyhold system, for their wages would not afford them many comforts which they have now.’

The statements of the great increase in the profits of Mr. Steele’s estate, during the first three years after the establishment of his system, as quoted by Mr. Clarkson, in proof of its success, are sufficiently answered by the testimony of Mr. Sealy and the Attorney-General of Barbadoes, and by the embarrassed state of Mr. Steele’s affairs at the time of his death, after an experiment of thirty years, during a period perhaps the most prosperous in the whole history of the West India colonies.

It is also impossible for any person who examines dispassionately the details of the system, to be surprised at its having proved equally unsatisfactory to the negroes, or to consider that it could be generally adopted with any chance of advantage.

Mr. Steele paid the negroes for their labour, and he fixed a rent upon their cottages, and their land; and supplied them from his store with every thing which they had occasion to buy: but he fixed all the prices at his own discretion. He opened a debtor and creditor account with every negro, and paid him the balance of that account. If such a system were generally to be adopted, and

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to be administered by the managers of the estates of absentees, what an opportunity would be afforded for fraud, and what chance would there be of the negroes feeling satisfied with accounts which they could not either check or understand?

But it is asserted, that under this system the negroes prospered;—at least, that they increased in number. In Mr. Clarkson's pamphlet, p. 39. we find the following quotation:—

'In a plantation of 200 (qy. 288?) slaves in June, 1780, consisting of 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys and 60 girls, though under the exertions of an able and honest manager, there were only 15 births, and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three months. In four years and three months after the change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which 10 deaths were of superannuated men and women, some above 80 years old.'

Now it is stated in Mr. M'Queen's work, page 212, that 'upon reference to Mr. Steele's books in Barbadoes, those of his executor who continued his plan, and the records of the Court of Chancery of that island, it appears that, at the commencement of his system in 1780, there were on that estate 288 negroes, and at its close in 1797, only 240, (a decrease of 48,) while the surrounding properties had a general natural increase.

As a moral experiment, with the view of ascertaining the use which the negroes would make of civil rights, Mr. Steele's system was no less fallacious.

Mr. Steele was resident amongst his negroes, with the absolute power of instantly resuming every privilege which he had conferred. The negroes could not for a moment forget that he possessed this power,—what inference then could be drawn as to the use which they would make of the same privileges, if conferred upon them irrevocably by law?

As a test of the use which they would make of their entire freedom, the inference would be still less to be relied upon.

Though Mr. Steele is stated to have brought them to the 'threshold of freedom,' it does not appear that he intended them to pass it. His feelings, at least with respect to slavery, were not of the same character with those of the gentlemen who so much admire his system. 'By a coloured woman, a slave belonging to Byde Mill Plantation, which he rented, he had two children, a son and a daughter.'—'He left them a considerable part of his property, but he left them all slaves;' (M'Queen) and, as it appears from the copy of his will, he did not include the mother in the provision which he made for purchasing the manumission of the children.

The proceedings of the society instituted at Washington for the purpose of colonizing the free people of colour, furnish matter of interesting speculation as connected with this subject, as well as those

those of the auxiliary societies at Baltimore, Philadelphia, Virginia, New York, and Ohio, and in most of the states. We may be tempted to recur to this subject at some future period; at present we will only say that the free people of colour are considered throughout America as constituting the worst class of her citizens; that it does not appear that they generally devote themselves with assiduity and steadiness to any system of employment, and specifically not to the cultivation of sugar, where opportunities exist for that employment, as, for instance, in Louisiana.

We cannot close this Article without adverting to a meeting of the society established for the purpose of abolishing slavery, in the colonies, held at Freemasons Tavern, Great Queen Street, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester being in the chair, on the 25th of June. The Report of this meeting is given at length in the Morning Chronicle of the 26th of June, where it is said that Mr. Wilberforce, junior, read the Report of the Committee, which stated that the insurrection at Demerara was proved to have originated solely in the concealment by the governor of the instructions sent from the government at home. Mr. Stephen, in seconding the first resolution, expressed his entire conviction of the innocence of Mr. Smith of the London Missionary Society, who had received a sentence of a court-martial in the colony of Demerara; and, at a subsequent period of the proceedings, Lord Calthorpe concluded his speech by moving, that the meeting, in common with the nation at large, view with sorrow and indignation the gross violation of law and justice exhibited at Demerara in the trial of Mr. Smith. On the subject of that trial, of the circumstances which preceded it, of its character and consequences, and of the nature and tendency of the debate which occurred upon it in the House of Commons, we shall not now offer any opinion, further than to declare that, whatever may have been the circumstances which preceded or characterized that trial, whatever may have been the merits or demerits of the parties concerned in it, Mr. Smith, in our judgment, was guilty of the fact of concealing a traitorous conspiracy, and that that concealment was calculated to produce, and did produce consequences which were most injurious, and which might have been fatal to the whole community: we cannot, however, refrain from expressing our apprehensions of the incalculable injury which must accrue to the cause of missionaries in general if the opinions avowed by Doctor Lushington at this meeting, 'that Mr. Smith's conduct had throughout his mission been marked with the most *circumspect prudence*,' should be adopted by the London and other Missionary Societies.' Could it be wondered if the fears of the colonists should be roused, on learning that the

the men now exercising the functions of Missionaries in the West Indies, had been sent out by persons who entertain such sentiments?

But whatever may be the guilt or innocence of Mr. Smith, the expiation of the tomb has passed between him and us, and that consideration alone is sufficient to silence all reflections and remonstrances upon the subject: if, however, we have no disposition to violate the sacred repose of the dead, we are equally called upon not to abandon the honour and character of the living, believing, as we conscientiously do, whatever may have been the defects in the course of proceeding which the court-martial adopted, that the intention of its members was pure, and that they had no desire but to do justice in that crisis of prejudice and passion to which they were on all sides exposed.

We think also, that one of the Resolutions moved at this meeting by Mr. Baptist Noel displays in too unqualified a manner 'the headlong impetuosity' with which, to repeat the words already quoted from Robertson, some men 'hurry on toward a favourite point,'—That resolution is:

'That in the opinion of this Meeting the bondage in which 800,000 of their fellow subjects are held is repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, contrary to the soundest maxims of policy, and a gross violation of the principles of humanity and justice; and that, animated with the hope of being instrumental in putting a period to this state of oppression, of suffering, and wiping out this foul reproach to the British name and character, the meeting now pledge themselves to prosecute the sacred cause they have undertaken with zeal, activity, and perseverance, until, by the blessing of God on their united efforts, they are enabled to rejoice together in the final accomplishment of their great work of mercy.'

To the above resolution we cannot so well reply as in the eloquent and statesman-like language of Mr. Canning, in his Speech on Mr. Buxton's motion, (p. 26.)

'God forbid that I should contend that the Christian religion is favourable to slavery. But, I confess, I feel a strong objection to the introduction of the name of Christianity, as it were bodily, into any parliamentary question. Religion ought to controul the acts and to regulate the consciences of government, as well as of individuals; but when it is put forward to serve a political purpose, however laudable, it is done, I think, after the example of ill times, and I cannot but remember the ill objects to which in those times such a practice was applied. Assuredly no Christian will deny that the spirit of the Christian religion is hostile to slavery, as it is to every abuse and misuse of power: it is hostile to all deviations from rectitude, morality, and justice; but if it be meant that in the Christian religion there is a special denunciation against slavery, that slavery and Christianity cannot exist together,

together, I think the honourable gentleman himself must admit that the proposition is historically false; and again I must say, that I cannot consent to the confounding, for a political purpose, what is morally true, with what is historically false. One peculiar characteristic of the Christian dispensation, if I must venture in this place upon such a theme, is, that it has accommodated itself to all states of society, rather than that it has selected any particular state of society for the peculiar exercise of its influence. If it has added lustre to the sceptre of the sovereign, it has equally been the consolation of the slave. It applies to all ranks of life, to all conditions of men; and the sufferings of this world, even to those upon whom they press most heavily, are rendered comparatively indifferent by the prospect of compensation in the world of which Christianity affords the assurance—true it certainly is, that Christianity generally tends to elevate, not to degrade the character of man; but it is not true, in the specific sense conveyed in the honourable gentleman's resolution, it is not true that there is that in the Christian religion which makes it impossible that it should co-exist with slavery in the world. Slavery has been known in all times and under all systems of religion, whether true or false.

‘When Christianity was introduced into the world, it took its root amidst the galling slavery of the Roman Empire; more galling in many respects (though not precisely of the same character) than that of which the honourable gentleman, in common, I may say, with every friend of humanity, complains. Slavery at that period gave to the master the power of life and death over his bondsmen: this is undeniable; known to every body: *Ita servus homo est!* are the words put by Juvenal into the mouth of the fine lady who calls upon her husband to crucify his slave. If the evils of this dreadful system nevertheless gradually vanished before the gentle but certain influence of Christianity, and if the great Author of the system trusted rather to this gradual operation of the principle than to any immediate or direct precept, I think parliament would do more wisely rather to rely upon the like operation of the same principle than to put forward the authority of Christianity, in at least a questionable shape.’—*ibid.* p. 28.

For our own part we would add, that, to remove that bondage without the necessary precautions, and to hazard the results which such a removal would (we might perhaps say, must) produce, is more repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, more contrary to sound maxims of policy, and a greater violation of the principles of humanity and justice than to maintain it even as it is. But we are reduced to no such alternative; and here we are glad to have the confirmation of the same great authority.

‘If I am asked, whether I am for the permanent existence of slavery in our colonies, I say, No. But if I am asked whether I am favourable to its immediate abolition, I say, No. And if I am asked which I would prefer, permanent slavery, or immediate abolition, I do not know whether, under all the perplexing circumstances of the case, I must not say, I would prefer things remaining as they are:—not, God knows!

from any love of the existing state of things, but on account of the tremendous responsibility of attempting to mend it by a sudden change. Happily, however, we are not driven to either of these extremes. Between the two, there is an open debateable ground. By gradual measures, producing gradual improvement, not only may the individual slave be set free, but his very *status* may be ultimately abolished. Such has been the progress of improvement in nations of Europe that once were most barbarous, and are now most polished. But such a consummation is not a measure of single enactment and of instant effect. Much is to be done and much is to be forborne, before we can hope to arrive at it. The co-operation of adverse parties and the concurrence of various circumstances are requisite for its accomplishment; and, after all, the measure will eventually make its way rather by the light of reason, than by the coercion of authority.—p. 8.*

If immediate emancipation to the negro himself, I am most happy to hear the honourable gentleman disclaim. It would indeed be a lucky gift. To be safely enjoyed, it must be gradually and diligently earned. *Laus facilem esse rem, voluit*, is the condition under which it has pleased Divine Providence that all the valuable objects of human aspiration should be attained. This condition is the legitimate stimulant of *habile industry*, and the best corrective of ambitious desire. No effort of an individual, and no enactment of a legislature can relieve human nature from the operation of this condition. To attempt to shorten the road between desire and attainment is, nine times out of ten, to go astray, and to miss the wished for object altogether. I am fully persuaded, that freedom, when acquired under the regulations prescribed by government, will be a more delightful as well as a more safe and more stable possession than if it were bestowed by a sudden acclamation.

In dealing with the negro, we must remember that we are dealing with a being possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. To turn him loose in the manhood of his physical strength, in the maturity of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his un instructed reason, would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance: the hero of which constructs a human form, with all the corporeal capabilities of man, and, with the *claws and sinews* of a giant; but being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right and wrong, he finds too late that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made.

Such would be the effect of a sudden emancipation, before the negro was prepared for the enjoyment of well-regulated liberty,—I, therefore, would proceed gradually, because I would proceed safely. I know that the impulse of enthusiasm would carry us much farther than I am prepared to go. I know it is objected that all this preparation will take time. Take time, sir! To be sure it will; to be sure it should; to be sure it must! Time, sir!—why—what is it we have to deal with? Is it with an evil of yesterday's origin? with a thing which has grown up in our time; of which we have watched the growth—measured the extent, and which we have ascertained the means of cor-

Mr. Canning's Speech, Wednesday, 17th March, 1831.

recting

recting or controlling? No; we have to deal with an evil which is the growth of centuries, and of tens of centuries; which is almost coeval with the deluge; which has existed under different modifications since man was man. Do gentlemen, in their passion for legislation, think that, after only thirty years' discussion, they can now at once manage as they will, the most unmanageable perhaps of all subjects? or do we forget, sir, that in fact not more than thirty years have elapsed since we first presumed to approach even the outworks of this great question? Do we, in the ardour of our nascent reformation, forget that, during the ages which this system has existed, no preceding generation of legislators has ventured to touch it with a reforming hand; and have we the vanity to flatter ourselves that we can annihilate it at a blow? No, sir, no—we must be contented to proceed, as I have already said, gradually and cautiously.—p. 20.

'If we are to do good (which I earnestly hope and sincerely believe we may), it is not to be done by sudden and violent measures; but by efforts of a patient and comparatively tame character; by measures slow in their progress, but steady and sure in their operation; measures which must be carried into effect, not by a few individuals of rare talents and conspicuous zeal, but by the great body of those whom the advantages of the negro distrust and seem disposed to put aside.

'Yes, sir, if the condition of the slave is to be improved, that improvement must be introduced through the medium of his master. The masters are the instruments through whom and by whom you must act upon the slave population; and if, by any proceedings of ours, we shall unhappily place between the slave and his master the barrier of insurmountable hostility, we shall at once put an end to the best chance of emancipation, or even of amendment.—Instead of diffusing gradually over those dark regions a pure and salutary light, we may at once kindle a flame only to be quenched in blood.'—p. 31.

To these sentiments we give our most unqualified assent. We will not weaken them by a commentary; but we would implore those who appear to us, on this subject, unconsciously to blend their passions and their prejudices with their benevolence, to listen to the warning voice which speaks in the foregoing passages, so splendid in diction and so irresistible in argument.—If they do not, instead of diffusing gradually over those dark regions a pure and salutary light, they will kindle a flame only to be quenched (if ever quenched)—in blood!

In the Article on 'Faux's Memorable Days in America,' (Q. R. No. LVIII.) a passage was introduced from that work reflecting on the reputation of the lady of Mr. Law. We have since been fully satisfied that every part of the statement in which she is mentioned is devoid of truth; and we therefore take this opportunity of expressing our regret that a calumny so unfounded should have been unwittingly copied into our pages.

Now we have mentioned this Article, we may add, that in saying, it was not mentioned by what means, Mr. Law acquired his immense property in India, there was no thought whatever of impeaching his integrity. We know no more of Mr. Law than Faux tells; and merely meant to say, that nothing was to be found in his work respecting the capacity in which Mr. Law acted in India, or the situation which he held.

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